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HISTORICAL
SOCIETY

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OF THE

Wentworth Historical Society

VOL. I

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1892.

Never was isle so little never was sea so lone
But over the sand and the palm trees an
English flag was flown' Kipling

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PREFACE

A RECOGNITION of the neglected state into which much of the historic ground in the Province of Ontario had fallen, led to the inauguration of the Wentworth Historical Society. The strip of land lying between Lakes Erie and Ontario, will ever remain identified with the history of Canada, forming as it does one of the great battle grounds upon which five races have struggled and fought for victory: the Indian, French, British, American, and Canadian.

The War of 1812-14 and the Rebellion of 1837-38 proved crucial tests of the loyalty of the United Empire Loyalists towards the British Government, and it is more particularly to these two epochs in our history that the people of Ontario turn with interest, as in this lovely garden cluster the memories of their most loyal struggles. Brock and the memorable Battle of Queenston Heights will never be forgotten as long as the Niagara River speeds past the monument erected to his memory.

The objects of the Society are clearly laid down in the Constitution, and are, it is assumed, of such an order of thought that the prosecuting and fulfilling of the same can only tend to the development and stability of a national life, which shall embrace the Canadian half of the continent of North America.

The Wentworth Historical Society felt that this year of centennial celebrations must not pass away without placing upon record by publication, what contemporary and corroborative testimony it had been enabled to gather together during the four years of its existence by tracing the rise and growth of our provincial life. This Society aims at recording history or current events with fidelity and accuracy, leaving the publication of scientific and polished literature to some of our sister associations. To curtail or make an abstract of some of the papers, would destroy much of their value and lessen what in the future will be looked upon as being amongst our most important contributions.

The Society takes this opportunity of thanking the public generally, the press, and the several sister societies and associations in the Province, for the hearty co-operation extended to it in responding to the requests made in the large number of circulars distributed through the country asking for information regarding the settlement of the country. Biographical sketches of pioneer families and persons holding important positions, or of those who have been associated or identified with any great movements in the religious, political, educational, social or philanthropic development of the country. Any such reports or data will always be gladly received as an important communication and brought before the consideration of the executive council.

The Society hopes that much good has been accomplished by the dissemination of literature in the form of circulars containing copies of the Constitution, list of membership, and drafted questions seeking information as to early settlers, their progress and other matters of historical interest.

The Society further desires to acknowledge the advantage it has gained by affiliation with the Royal Society of Canada

ORGANIZATION

On the evening of December 17th, 1888, the following gentlemen met in the Hamilton Association Rooms, Hamilton, Ont., to discuss the advisability of forming a Historical Society for the County of Wentworth and vicinity, viz.: Geo. H. Mills, F. W. Fearman, Geo. M. Barton, J. H. Land, Richard Bull, F. M. Land, J. Moffatt, Geo. H. Lees, Junius A. Griffin and Capt. Wm. Zealand.

The organization was decided upon, and on the 8th Jan., 1889, the officers were elected, constitution adopted and the Wentworth Historical Society was fairly launched.

The following is the Constitution:

NAME.

The name of the society shall be THE WENTWORTH HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

OBJECTS.

Its objects shall be,

1.—To prosecute researches into the history and archeology of the province of Ontario, and into the genealogy of the inhabitants thereof.

2.—To publish the results of these researches so far as may be deemed advisable.

3.—To collect and maintain a library of books, pamphlets, and manuscripts, more especially such as relate to the history of this province.

4.—To collect and preserve such archæological and other specimens, relics and traditions as tend to illustrate that history.

5.—To record passing events of importance with accuracy.

6.—To create and perpetuate a closer and more friendly relationship between the early settlers of the country and their descendants.

MEMBERSHIP.

The Society shall consist of active and honorary members.

Active members, residents in the county of Wentworth or with a ten miles thereof shall pay a subscription fee of one dollar per annum in advance.

Honorary members shall be admitted without fee or imposition of any kind.

Honorary membership shall be conferred only upon such persons, wheresoever resident, as in the opinion of the Society may for some special reason be considered entitled to such distinction.

Payment by any member of a fee of twenty dollars shall entitle him to life membership, and from the time of such payment he shall be free from all annual and other fees whatsoever.

From and after the first day of May next every candidate for admission to membership of the Society shall be proposed and seconded by members at an ordinary or general meeting of the Society and shall be elected by a two-thirds vote of the members present at such ordinary or general meeting.

All votes for membership shall be by ballot.

Every member on being elected shall either personally or through his mover or seconder pay his annual subscription of one dollar previous to his name being entered on the roll of members.

Any member who shall refuse or neglect to pay his dues for two years after they have accrued, provided he has been notified of his delinquency by the Secretary, shall be considered as having withdrawn himself from the Society, and the Secretary shall erase his name from the list of members.

OFFICERS.

The officers of the Society shall consist of seventeen persons, all of whom shall be active members, viz.: A President, three Vice-Presidents, a Secretary-Treasurer, Corresponding Secretary and eleven other members. These shall form the Executive Council of the Society, and the President, Vice-Presidents and Secretary-Treasurer shall be, *ex-officio*, members thereof.

The government and exclusive management of the Society's affairs shall be and hereby is vested in the said Executive Council, five members whereof shall be necessary to form a quorum.

The President, Vice-Presidents, Secretary-Treasurer and eleven Executive Councillors shall in future be elected annually by ballot at an annual meeting, to be held at the headquarters of the Society or at such other place as may be agreed upon, at eight o'clock in the evening of the fifth day of June, or the first legal day thereafter, of each succeeding year.

If any member of the Executive Council shall be absent from the meetings for a continuous period of three months unless by reason of illness, absence from the province, or other just cause, his office may be declared vacant by the Society and a successor elected in his stead.

In case of demission of office by any Executive Councillor whether by death, resignation or otherwise, the vacancy thereby created shall be filled at the next regular meeting of the Society by the election of another member in his place, and the person so elected shall hold office for the unexpired term of the person vacating the same.

The President, or in case of his absence one of the Vice-Presidents, or in case of their absence a chairman *pro tem* shall preside at all meetings of the Society and shall have a casting vote. He shall be entitled to decide all questions of order, and his decision shall be subject to an appeal to the Executive Council whose decision shall be final and conclusive.

The Secretary-Treasurer shall keep the minutes and records of the Society and give due notice of its meetings. For the time being, and until the appointment of a special officer for that purpose shall become necessary, he shall also act as Librarian. He shall receive all monies of the Society and disburse the same, subject to the order of the Executive Council. He shall furthermore keep an account of the receipts and expenditure, and submit the same to the Society at its annual meeting, or whenever required to do so.

MISCELLANEOUS

The Society shall hold ordinary meetings for the despatch of business on the first Tuesday in every month, at the hour of eight p. m., when the presence of seven members shall be necessary to form a quorum.

A special meeting of the Society may be called by the President or either of the Vice-Presidents upon a requisition, signed by at least five members, which meeting shall be competent to entertain only the business for which it was specially called.

The Society shall at any of its ordinary meetings have power to amend its Constitution and make or alter a By-Law if moved and seconded, and adopted by a two-thirds vote of those present, provided three months' notice of such proposed change had been given at a former ordinary meeting.

The Executive Council shall have power to appoint an Advisory Board consisting of two members of the Society from each township in the county who shall advise with the Executive on all matters referred to them occurring in their respective townships.

BY LAWS

1.—The President shall be *ex-officio* chairman of all meetings, ordinary or special, where he shall be present.

2.—In case of the absence of the President, the Vice-Presidents shall preside, taking rank by seniority.

3.—Should neither President nor Vice-President be present at any meeting, ordinary or extraordinary, the members present may elect a member to preside, who, for the time being, shall be clothed with the powers of the President.

4.—In case of two members rising to address the meeting at the same time, the presiding officer shall decide who shall take precedence.

5.—Any member addressing the meeting shall do so through the chairman or presiding officer.

6.—At all meetings the Chair is to be taken punctually at the hour appointed, and unless thirty members shall be present at the hour, a quorum, the meeting will stand adjourned until such time as the members present shall name and appoint.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

The order of business at the meetings of the Society shall be as follows:

1.—Calling to order.
2.—Reading and confirming minutes.
3.—Reading and referring correspondence, applications, etc.
4.—Nomination and election of members.
5.—Introduction of new members.
6.—Reports of committees.
7.—Inquiries and notices of motion.
8.—Unfinished and miscellaneous business.
9.—Adjournment.

OFFICE-BEARERS

	PRESIDENT	1st VICE-PRES.	2nd VICE-PRES.	3rd VICE-PRES.	SECRETARY-TREAS.
1889	Geo. H Mills.	Hon A McKellar	J E O'Reilly		J H Land
1890	Geo. H Mills.	Hon. A McKellar	F W Fearman	Mrs. Isaac Buchanan	J H Land
1891	Geo H Mills.	Hon A. McKellar	F W Fearman	Mrs J Rose Holden	J H Land
1892	Geo. H. Mills	Hon. A. McKellar	F W Fearman	Mrs. J Rose Holden	J H Land

HONORARY COUNCIL.—Hon G W Allen Pres. Historical Society of Ontario Rev H Scadding D D Pres. York Pioneers Rev Canon Bull M A Pres. Lundy's Lane Historical Society The Presidents of the Pioneer and Historical Societies of Lethbridge and McLeod Blake O'Reilly Q C Very Rev J Gamble Geddes D.D. Dean of Niagara Robert Jarvis Hamilton Col. John Land Peter S VanWagner and Mrs John Rose Holden

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, 1892.—Geo H Mills, president Hon. Adam McKellar F W Fearman Mrs. J Rose Holden Hon. D McInnes, F M Carpenter M. P. J Alexander H C Baker John Muir Judge C C. J W Jones *T H Stinson, Richard Bull Alex McKay M P Hon. J M Gibson John A Barr J H Land, secretary Justus Griffin, corresponding secretary

*Since deceased.

OUTING AT STONY CREEK

The outing of the Society was held on the Stony Creek battle-ground, the 5th of June, 1889, to commemorate the 76th anniversary of that memorable battle, when quite one thousand ladies and gentlemen were present to greet them.

The gathering represented all parts of the county of Wentworth and some of the adjoining counties as well. Among those present were: Mr. Geo. H. Mills, President of the Society; Hon. Archibald McKellar, First Vice-President; Mr. J. H. Land, Secretary and Treasurer, and Messrs. Lyman Moore, H. C. Baker, F. W. Fearman, J. W. Jones, Richard Bull and Ald. T. H. Stinson, members of the Executive Council; also Hon. J. M. Gibson, Provincial Secretary, and Messrs. Peter Filman, Peter S. Van Wagner, James Somerville, M. P., A. D. Lee, W. S. Burkholder, H. B. Witton, George Roach, James A. Wait, Jacob Burkholder, Crawford Cowan, John Carscallen, John Van Wagner, William Nash, N. F. Birely, J. N. Waddell, Robert Evans, M. Murphy, William Jones, C. D. Blachford, James Laidlaw, John Combs, Alva Jones, Amos G. Jones, J. B. Laidlaw, Justus Griffin, F. MacKelcan, Q. C., John Davis, Major Glasgow, George M. Barton, F. C. Fearman, George Holden, Henry Lutz, P. J. Cullinane, Chas. Weaver, Murray Pettit, Erland Lee, A. Lee, A. D. Cameron, John Alexander, Charles Lemon, Jonathan Pencuff, Henry Falker, William Jones, John Gillan, Mark Barker, W. A. Howell, Isaac Corman, John W. Vandusen, William A. Lottridge, P. C. Van Wagner, E. Hopkins, Thomas Jones, R. R. Smith, Clerk of the Township of Saltfleet, Dr. Malloch, Dr. Burgess, W. K. Secord, W. H. Marshall, J. D. Lutz, Hiram Smith, Henry Spera, Marshall Hopkins, Levi Neil, Wm. Harris, Samuel Patterson, J. B. Smith, J. B. Springstead, J. C. Moore, James Springstead, Wm. E. Orr, J. B. Walker, S. Dean, Jasper Springstead, W. H. Wodehouse, Wm. Fortman, Henry Fortman, Capt. W. Lee, George Stewart, Thomas Stewart, P. Utter, Wm. Williams, James Grange, Elias Pettit, Henry Flewelling, George Corman, W. H. Corman, Abram Corman, Geo. Williams, Thomas Murphy H. A. Coombs, Dr. Carr Archibald Spera, Wm Spera, Rufus Glover Charles Marshall, John Springstead, John Hopkins, Nelson St. John J. W Green, John McNulty, John Glover W. Hurd A. Cundy John Anderson, Samuel Sewell, Thomas Carpenter, Arthur G Bates, Walter Ghent, Wm S. Spera, John Spera, jr., E. D Smith, R Squire, W. A. Davis, Thomas Snider, Richard Lacey, S. Gage John Welsh, John Gage, W. H. Spera, Luther D Crosthwaite, Tunis Coleman, A. C. Springstead, James Wallace, Wesley Peterson, George S. Fisher H. E Nelles, A. S Nelles, Dr. A. C. Jones, Geo. H. Lees, F. Kaiser A. T Freed, and others. The County Council attended in a body, there being present Mr J W Gage, Warden, and the following councillors viz: Messrs. Geo. F Lewis, R. L. Biggs, M. S. Wilson, J B Calder, A. R. Wardell, T A. Walker, Wm. Clark, John Dickenson, W D. Waite, T. B. Townsend, Robert Ferguson, W G. Fletcher, W. B. Switzer Joseph Swadell, J. W. Flewelling, Geo. Hart, John Nicholson Dr McGregor, T S. Henderson and B Loosing. Mr Thomas Stock, ex-Warden of the County, Dr Russell of the Asylum County Treasurer Stock, Mr R. R Waddell and Caretaker Plaster accompanied the County Council. The Saltfleet Township Council also attended in a body, and the City Council was represented by Ald. Morgan and Ald. Stinson.

There were also those present who remembered the battle though in 1813 they were too young to know much about it. One of the oldest was J. H. Burkholder He was eleven years old at the time and was born within three miles of Hamilton. Ever since then he has lived in the vicinity. Mr John Davis was also one of the oldest present. He was born about seven miles east of the battlefield in 1803 and has spent the whole of his life almost, in the vicinity. Perhaps the oldest gentleman present was Mr William Mackleon, who is as old as this century if not a little older and whose recollection of the battle is to a certain extent remarkable some of what came under his own observation when a boy. Mrs Beely is believed to be the only living person who was on the battlefield at the time of the great struggle.

The President of the Association Mr Geo. H Mills, in his opening address, cordially welcomed those present, and said he regarded the large assemblage though the weather was not very auspicious, as a flattering indication that the objects of the Society received the hearty endorsement of the public. He lucidly described the objects of the Association; that the chief of these was the collection and preservation of materials for a truthful record of the historical events of this part of the country; to collect traditions that would prove valuable to future historians; to record with accuracy passing events, and thus aid in welding together a patriotic and distinctively Canadian national sentiment, that will enable us to hand down to our children unimpaired this grand inheritance, our country and our laws, as we received them from our forefathers, who preserved them with heroic valor against great odds, when they were of immeasurably less value than they are now. Continuing he said that the influence of Societies like this would go far towards strengthening a determination to maintain, continue, and even enlarge our affectionate relationship with the Mother Land, and this, is the only true course to be adopted, if we desire fulfilment of our aspirations, that Canada shall ultimately become a nation among nations; and if in the future the developments which time produces may render separation necessary in order that Canada may take an independent place among the ruling powers of the earth, that separation will be sanctioned, but the ties of affection existing between this and our parent land will never be severed, and the new nation will carry with it in its constitution, the prestige of England's glory, and the abiding principles of Canadian loyalty. He called upon the Hon. J. M. Gibson to address the audience.

The Hon. J. M. Gibson, when moving the first resolution, in a brilliant and exhaustive speech recounted the history of the battle and clearly set forth the causes which led up to the war of 1812 and 13. He said: "I am sure we are all very much indebted to the Wentworth Historical Society if for nothing else, at all events for the opportunity they have to-day given us of assembling here and commemorating the anniversary of that well-known historical event—the battle at Stony Creek. I have often wondered that steps were not taken of a systematic description to do something in the way of commemorating and rendering permanent the appreciation by the people of the value of our ancestors, who took part on that memorable occasion. I am not here by any means to-day in the character of an orator but I have been requested to move a resolution, and I do so with a great deal of pleasure.

Around me on the platform and on the grounds are men well up in years, men from 50 to 100 years of age, some of whom, perhaps, were either present on that occasion, or, at all events, were so familiarly interested in the events in their childhood as to take a peculiar interest in the proceedings of to-day. Not only the elderly gentlemen, but the women of the district, their daughters and granddaughters, are present, signifying their interest in what is now going on. It has been to me, sir, a matter of great interest since I came upon the ground, to be able to shake hands with an elderly lady, whose husband was present and took part in that memorable fight, the battle of Stony Creek." He referred to the battle of Lundy's Lane, one of the most pluckily fought engagements which ever took place in any country, and also one of the most sanguinary, as the records prove. Are we, the Canadians of to-day, he asked, ready to follow the examples of our forefathers in standing up for our country and in being prepared to shed our last drop of blood in defence of her interests? "I sympathise with the remarks of the President. I am true to British connection, and I feel that it is entirely unnecessary for any one to stand on this platform and preach loyalty to the Mother Country, because if ever a loyal band of people were gathered together, they are before me now." Proceeding, he said, we are proud of the great empire of which we form a part, and while our sympathies will always be found in touch with the Motherland it is right for us to have aspirations. Let us be proud of our country and endeavor to make it what it is destined to become—a great country—and in the same proportion as we show a resolution to depend upon ourselves, will our Mother Country respect us and do for us all we can ask or expect to be done by our parent.

In seconding the resolution Mr. F. W. Fearman said: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen—I recognize and acknowledge the honor I partake of in being permitted to second this resolution. I also recognize in the language of the resolution the fact that we to-day stand on almost sacred ground; that we have assembled here to-day over the ashes of the heroes who 76 years ago took their lives in their hands, and many of them gave them for their homes, families, King, constitution and country; and they are in every sense entitled to our remembrance, gratitude, and what honor we can bestow upon their memories, if we can bestow on them a greater than to proclaim that they died for their country. We do not assemble here to-day to erect a Vendome obelisk, to commemorate the ravages of an ambitious imperial tyrant, or an arch to perpetuate the robberies and rapine of a Roman scourge, but to endeavor to preserve the memories of the brave men who laid down their lives on this never to be forgotten soil on which we now stand, and to celebrate a victory which has proven most important to us Canadians who have succeeded them; a victory which will not be erased from history in all time; a victory that has very few equals; a victory that has secured the home, the family and the country to the British-Canadian people, we trust for all time to come; a victory that we now assemble to honor and commemorate, and to be ever after held fresh in the love and memory of Canadian people. We must acknowledge the neglect of years past, and regret that suitable care and attention have not been given to the memory of the brave and fallen heroes; and I trust now that a suitable memento will be placed over their remains, and that at last we fulfil our duty. I know, sir, that old men live in the past and young men in the future and I cannot refrain from drawing a picture of our country seventy six years ago and comparing it with the nation of to-day. The night that these brave men, led by Vincent and Harvey, left the entrenchments on Burlington Heights (now Hamilton Cemetery), with an army undrilled, poorly fed, worse paid, half clothed, in the darkness of midnight over a forest covered track—not one-third the number of the well-equipped foe who held possession of all the country east of this to the Niagara River, who held possession of the strong points of this field, who had penetrated almost to what are now the suburbs of the city of Hamilton, and that our matchless little army with all its disadvantages should succeed in defeating and destroying the enemy and in a very short time driving them from the face of Canadian soil. It is such recollections as these that lead us to value the memories of these men, and that inspire us to do them honor; and while we look at the possessions, the comfort, prosperity and happiness insured to us by their heroic achievements, by their sacrifices, trials and death, we cannot but feel grateful as a people for all the blessings that Divine Providence has conferred upon us. When we look at this Canada of ours, its wonderful advance among the nations of the world, its increase in wealth, commerce, and comfort; the educational advantages and religious tendencies of the people; the great and rapid means of transit; the vast extent of territory claimed by the agriculturist from the prairie and forest, we can but wonder and marvel that all this has been done in so short a time. But so it is and so may it long continue! The resolution refers to the moral and material support received in the past from the Mother Country. We acknowledge it most gratefully, and also acknowledge its influence on us and on our country, and may the day be far distant when that influence will cease. While we here to-day celebrate the great event that saved this country from the grasp of an invading foe, let us not forget their dead. They lie here in the same graves. They sleep their last sleep side by side with the defenders of our country and let us as Canadians, whether native born or adopted, remember that they were under orders and led, as they supposed by duty, to their sad end. May this, for all the future, be the last record of strife between us and our neighbors to the south. Let concord, peace, and progress forever reign, and the only contest be which can do the most for the happiness, cordiality and advancement of each other, and thereby benefit ourselves individually, and humanity as a whole. Let our motto be: "Peace on earth, good will toward men," and with the poet we will say:

> Cover them over with beautiful flowers,
> Deck them with garlands, those brothers of ours,
> Lying so silent, by night and by day
> Sleeping the years of their manhood away;
> Years they had marked for the joys of the brave,
> Years they must waste in the mouldering grave.
> All the bright visions that waited to bloom
> Fell from their hopes when they fell to the tomb.
> Give them the meed they have won in the past,
> Give them the honors the future forecast,
> Give them the chaplets they won in the strife,
> Give them the laurels they lost with their life.
> Cover them over, yes, cover them over
> Parent and husband, brother and lover;
> Crown in your heart these dead heroes of ours,
> And cover them over with beautiful flowers.

The motion was put and declared carried unanimously.

Mr. A. T. Freed was then called upon. He said: Permit me to say that I am very much pleased with the honor done me in being allowed to make a resolution. We in Canada have a history. We can look around us and say, on these fields our fathers fought and have handed down to us great blessings. Let us prove that we are worthy sons of worthy sires. I feel we will not be faithful sons of worthy sires if we do not place upon the battle-field of Stoney Creek something to mark and tell of the bravery of our fathers.

Mr. Peter S. VanWagner, a veteran, in seconding the resolution said: The ground has been gone over so well that there is little for me to relate, yet I may allude to a few of the details which I learned when at school on the scene of the battle when I was a boy only twelve years after the battle, when I and others used to pick up the bullets, bent bayonets and swords, and old rusty musket barrels about the battle field. At the time of the battle all the courage was not on our side. Oh, no. Our big brother to the south was brave, too, and thought he would lick his little brother, but little Johnny Canuck was stubborn and wouldn't have it. It has often been wondered how the Americans came to be surprised. How did the British get the countersign? Why, it was like this. Mr. Peter Corman was taken prisoner by the Americans for not telling where the British were camped. He talked up the soldiers who had him in charge, and they let him go, giving him the countersign to enable him to get home. He gave the countersign to William Green, a scout, who took it to the British. A council of war was held and a surprise arranged. As you know, it was successfully carried out, and the seven hundred British and Canadians routed the three thousand or three thousand five hundred Americans. We have just as good Canadian boys now as they had then, and should occasion ever offer I am sure they will prove themselves to be so. You will naturally ask, What signs remain of this important event to arrest the eye, to awaken the memory, to honor the dead, to arouse a country's gratitude, to stimulate our patriotism. Nought but those apple trees on the hill, which seem to stand sentry over what was once a long trench, in which forty friend and foe are sleeping and waiting the last bugle call. To this date those apple trees, nourished by the mouldering bones of those who lie beneath them, are the only monument. For ourselves we have carved not a line, we have raised not a stone but we have left them alone in their glory. The band should play "My Cottage by the Wood," for to this tune the brave boys marched away, and we should see to it that the spot where the battle was fought and won should be properly marked.

Major Glasgow was then called upon and read the following poem, written for the occasion by himself:

STONEY CREEK, JUNE 6TH, 1813 AND 1899.

The sun had set on yonder height
That heads Ontario's restless might
The darkness of the summer night
 Enshrouded the display
Where Britons brave, in one appeal
With hearts as trusty as the steel
 Longed for the deadly fray

Young Harvey's hand had grasped his sword—
The fear of death all there ignored
Each hero heard the welcome word
 Proud Vincent uttered low
The signal heard, in British style
Had moved each sturdy rank and file
 To seek the daring foe.

No ringing cheer, no warlike sound
Awoke the echoes of the wood—
A silence that was understood
 Pervaded every man
The muffled guns no warning gave
To foemen that the gallant brave
 Toiled at his secret plan

The little host with pluck for mail
In haste marched down the gloomy trail—
With vanguard ready to assail
 The foeman's camp in view
Then shot and shell and bayonet keen
Wrought havoc in the midnight scene
 Where Stony Creek runs through

Our gallant sires, with blood so warm,
Gave little time for foes to form—
The iron ball, a northern storm,
 Sent many down to death
And few there were who safely won
Their liberty to homeward run
 From Britons in their wrath

Thus Britons in their sternest might,
Will ever battle for the right.
Humanity would feel the plight
 If fortune here should fail
For liberty is still their word
Engraved on every foeman's sword
 Whene'er they assail

Oft has the seasons ceaseless run
Enlivened June's sweet summer sun
Since this famed field was fairly won
 By Harvey's little band.
Yet, many now are here to-day
Who, in their hearts will fondly say
 This is our own loved land.

In moving the third resolution Judge Jones said: I am thankful to you, Mr. President, to give me the opportunity to speak here and to see so many old friends of my former Stony Creek home. My earliest recollections are of my father telling me of Queenstown Heights and the battle of Stony Creek, the battle field being yet the property of my wife and highly prized on account of its history. Let us honor our forefathers for what they have done, and let us follow in their royal example.

In seconding the motion Sheriff McKellar said he was pleased to be present. He congratulated the society upon its successful organization, and alluded to the men of the past who had made Canada what it is. It was to commemorate the deeds of the Canadian pioneers that the society was organized.

The resolutions following were then unanimously carried:

Resolved, That we regard with thankfulness the contentment, comfort and self reliance of the people of this Dominion which the freedom of our institutions and the bravery of our ancestors under Divine Providence have conferred upon us, and we gratefully acknowledge the moral and material support which in the past our Mother Country has ever willingly granted and secured to us in a great measure as the result of the glorious victory, the anniversary of which we now celebrate.

Resolved, That the Dominion Government be respectfully requested to grant a reasonable sum of money in aid of the erection of suitable monuments on the battle ground of Stony Creek and on Burlington Heights in commemoration of the heroic bravery and self sacrifice of the defenders of our country and in grateful appreciation of the important results which the victory attending that battle has secured to us.

Resolved, That this meeting urge the importance of forming Pioneer and Historical Societies throughout the Dominion, as a valuable and influential agency for the collection and preservation of the necessary materials for reliable histories of our country and as an indication of the loyalty of the Canadian people to their country and their attachment to British laws and institutions.

THE BATTLE OF STONY CREEK

Paper read before the Wentworth Historical Society, Thursday, March 21st, 1889

BY J. H. LAND

As I had never read any detailed account of this most important, in its results, of all the battles of the War of 1812, and having heard my father and grandfather repeatedly describe to me its incidents and actors, I thought that it might be interesting to this Society if I put these "Traditions of the elders" into writing in the hope that they may be found worthy of preservation in its archives.

Since I commenced writing it I have been fortunate enough to find an official account of this battle in a copy of the *Anglo-American Magazine* published in 1853, and kindly loaned me by Mr. J. Y. Burkholder, and must thank Dr. Gaviller for a clipping from the *Empire*, giving Mr. C. Durand's account of the battle. From these and the traditions alluded to above, I have collated the following account.

The fourth day of June, 1813, was a day long to be remembered by the handful of harassed settlers at the head of the Lake, and the few but dauntless troops in what they thought to be their last camp on Burlington Heights. The war cloud that had been hovering over our country since June 18th, 1812, when the great United States of America declared war against Great Britain, to avenge the insult offered to their new formed flag by that tottering and effete nation, lowering so close sometimes, that the muttering and echoes of its dreadful thunder reached the ears of the anxious wives, mothers and aged fathers of our brave men, had now settled heavily over the Gore District.

The enemy commanded by Com. Chauncey and Gen. Dearborn, had made a descent upon York (Toronto), had bombarded and driven out its little garrison, who made their way towards Kingston, then crossed the Lake and attacked Fort George and with the assistance of Fort Niagara, had compelled its garrison to abandon it after a most gallant defence, and retreat to Burlington Heights, uniting on the march with the garrisons of Forts Erie and Chippawa, a total force, according to the *Anglo-American*, of some sixteen hundred men. I have been able to find no official report of these troops, but in the account of the action at Fort George I find mentioned the Forty-ninth Regiment and detachments of the Eighth and Forty-first, Glengarrys and a Newfoundland corps. Eight companies of the Forty-ninth, five companies of the Eighth, three companies of the Glengarrys, two of the Newfoundland Regiment and the artillery were stationed at Fort George with three hundred militia and about fifty Indians, in all about one thousand men. Three hundred and fifty-eight of these are reported killed, wounded or missing after the battle at the Fort, and it is probable that the detachments joining General Vincent from Forts Erie and Chippawa did not much more than cover this loss, and we may safely suppose that the force at the Heights consisted of the above named corps, or rather the remnants of them, and take the estimate given, 1600, as the total effective force to meet the victorious enemy then within seven miles of them.

The American forces consisted of two brigades—one under General Winder, composed of the fifth, thirteenth and fourteenth regiments of infantry, the other under General Chandler, of the sixteenth, twenty-second and twenty-third regiments—containing some 1450 men each, together with 400 artillery and 250 cavalry, in all 3550 men. With such odds against them it is little wonder that the determination was reached to destroy all the stores that could not be removed, evacuate the Heights and try to escape to Kingston, leaving the whole western country in the enemy's hands. So scarce was powder in that camp, that though it was the King's birthday they dare not waste the small quantity required to fire the usual salute in his honor.

Preparations were made both for a final struggle should they be forced to it, and the inevitable surrender of this "last post" of the "Men of Gore."

During the day a runner brought news of the leisurely approach of the enemy and a detachment of the Forty-ninth Royal Irish under command of Lieut. Crowther was sent to reconnoitre and, if possible, check the advance. With grim looks and determined tread the heroes left the Heights, crossed the prairie-like plain now covered by our Ambitious City—on which all the fences had been levelled in anticipation of the morrow's fight—down through the deserted farms, whose owners were in the patriot ranks and their wives and little ones in the fort at the Heights; on, within hail of the spot where the jewels of old Barton Lodge lay buried, along the ridge road, keeping a sharp look-out for the enemy through the woods where Bartonville now nestles at the foot of the cliff, as far as the "Red Hill." At this point a scout brought word that the Yankees were just on the other side of the "Big Creek," and a bright idea struck the Lieutenant—he would ambush and capture the whole Yankee army. Concealing his men in the brush, he gave strict orders that not a man must move until he gave the word. Lying in the brush on that sunny hillside they soon heard sounds of the coming foe, and with every nerve strained to the utmost they waited. Soon the glitter of bayonets showed through the brush, then an occasional glimpse of a cockaded hat, then round the bend of the hill on the opposite side of the creek came sweeping the veterans of the advanced guard. No sooner had they come into full view than one of our men, with true Irish impetuosity, blazed away at them, utterly forgetful of his officers' orders. The enemy halted, when a volley from the whole detachment was poured into their ranks. That hint was enough and they broke for shelter, our men getting in another volley to hurry them up—and it succeeded. But the Lieutenant's plan was spoiled, and his rage knew no bounds. He is said to have belabored that unfortunate soldier all the way home and declared he should be hung, drawn and quartered for mutiny. Having ascertained that the enemy was in retreat, and that the main body was preparing to camp at Stony Creek, he returned to the Heights and reported to Gen. Vincent. Knowing the importance of having full and reliable information as to their number and position, Lieut. James Fitzgibbons of the Forty-ninth volunteered to visit the enemy's camp, and disguising himself as a settler he took a basket of butter and marched boldly into the Yankee lines, went freely about, noted their disposition of troops and guards, and the evident carelessness and lack of discipline among them, sold his butter (and the Yankees) and came away satisfied. He reported them encamped on Mr. James Gage's farm, on the easterly bank of a rivulet, just west of the Stony Creek, which ran through a shallow valley some 200 yards wide with steep banks 12 or 15 feet high. Then guns planted on the edge of the bank as on a parapet overlooking the flat; the infantry were encamped behind them in an orchard on the north, and in the fields to the south of the road, while Generals Winder and Chandler and their staff had possession of Mr Gage's house as their headquarters. The luckless advanced guard was posted in the meeting house on the west side of the flat, about a quarter of a mile from the camp.

In the meantime a sail was seen on the lake making towards the beach, ran close in, and a runner brought word that she had landed fully 1000 men to re-inforce the Yankee army at the Creek. Then preparations for destroying everything in the Camp that could not be removed were pushed vigorously on, for, should these troops effect a junction, any attempt to force a battle would be sheer madness for lack of ammunition, ninety rounds per man being all they had. On receipt of Lieut. Fitzgibbon's report, an anxious council of war was held, and Col. Harvey proposed a night attack, as the only plan promising the least chance of inflicting injury on the enemy, and, with the forlorn hope that it might at least delay their attack on the Heights. This desperate chance was at last decided on, and the command given to Col. Harvey. The troops engaged in this action as officially reported consisted of five companies of the eighth, under Major Ogilvie and five companies of the Forty-ninth, under Major Plenderleath. No mention is made of any of the other corps that must have been in camp, or of the militia, yet there is undoubted proof that a considerable number of the latter were engaged. The force numbered seven hundred and four rank and file, and having assured himself that every musket was empty and every flint removed (he did not propose to risk a recurrence of the Red Hill mishap), the plucky commander gave the order to march and in grim silence in the first hours of that fateful sixth of June 1813 his handful of desperate men started on as hazardous a mission as ever Briton sought, to meet at the bayonet's point over three thousand well armed and equipped enemies. For two or three long hours the comrades, wives, mothers and children of those devoted men waited feverishly, breathlessly for some sign of the fray. Just before dawn there came to the straining ears, the sound of firing, scattered at first, then in heavy volleys, then the boom of cannon, then it all died away and they knew that either victory or death had fallen on their comrades and loved ones. Who can paint the surprise that followed? As day broke and the sun rose, they saw the Yankee vessel sailing away and a messenger came spurring and shouting "victory." When the column had reached the scene of Lieut. Crowther's ambuscade, Col. Harvey halted it, and called Col. (then Lieut.) Robert Land, of the 3rd Gore Militia, to him, asked him if he could place himself with a detachment where he could check the advance of the Brigade camped on the Beach, should they try either to effect a junction with the main body or get in his rear. "I can, Colonel," was the ready reply. "Then take three men with you, and that will be your duty to-night," was the order. Captain Elijah Secord and John Applegarth were assigned a similar duty on the brow of the mountain. Lieut. Land chose his position not far from where the extension of Barton Street strikes the Stony Creek road from the Beach, and spent the hours in watching the enemy, until sound of the firing, telling of the attack begun, aroused them. As the sounds of battle increased the Americans seemed to become panic stricken, and, instead of marching on to join in the fray, they hurried on board their vessel, and sailed away without the least attempt to learn what had happened. Having taken these precautions, Col. Harvey and his handful of heroes, pushed on, and as the first tinges of the coming day tinted the east came on the sentry posted at the church. His call of "Who goes there?" was answered "Friend!" by the Colonel, who at the same time spurred forward and clove him to the chin with his sabre. This incident is related differently by a "forty-ninth man" in the *Anglo-American Magazine*. He states that the first sentry was *bayonetted* by the leading section of the forty-ninth under Lieut. Danford, the second sentry served in the same summary fashion, whose groans alarmed the third sentry who fired at them and fled. They then rushed on the sleeping guard, a few of whom escaped, firing as they ran; some were bayonetted, the rest captured.

Mr. C. Durand in his account of it also states that the sentry was bayonetted and that the guard fired at our men, thus alarming the camp.

My information is from Col. Harvey's own account of it to my grandfather corroborated by Dr. Wender who was at his bridle when it was done, and both agree in saying that there was but one sentry and that the guard was captured without firing a shot or giving the least alarm.

Leaving the pickets thus guarded behind them, the column marched on unnoticed by the few of the enemy who were beginning to move about fixing their camp-fires, deployed into line on the flat and sprang up the short steep bank of the little valley, between the muzzles of the guns, among their sleeping foes, whose first hint of the proximity of an enemy was the bayonet thrust that took their lives. "Oh!" said one of ours, "I tell you it was terrible work that, to march right up in front of those cannon, not knowing what instant they might belch forth flame and death right between them and to stick my bayonet into the sleeping gunners." The alarm was of course given, and a scene of the wildest confusion ensued, our troops pushed on over the camp fires and were halted at a rail fence to fix their flints and load. By this time some of the enemy had been got into order and opened fire on our men with fatal effect as they stood in front of the fires, and were fair marks, and but for the fence the casualties would have been much heavier. A few moments sufficed to fix the flints and soon a volley from our troops increased the panic; it was followed by a charge with the bayonet on those making a stand; they broke and fled; other corps of the enemy in succession, were formed, and were broken by bayonet charges until all were scattered, some flying along the road towards Fort George, some towards the Lake, and some up on the foot hills of the Mountain. Whole regiments got away there, and after our troops had withdrawn they came to the camp, destroyed what they could not carry off, left their dead and some of the wounded on the field, and retreated, a disorganized mob, towards the river. It is said that the road was littered with arms, knapsacks and accoutrements, thrown away in the flight. The cannon were used during the fight, as the old church had a number of shot holes in it showing that in the confusion the guns had been fired just where they stood; late, however, they were turned on the enemy and helped to complete his rout. The officers' baggage and army chest were captured at Mr. Gage's, and after spiking the guns he could not bring away, Col. Harvey withdrew his little band towards the Heights, with three guns and one brass howitzer, both the generals, Winder and Chandler, and over one hundred prisoners of war, not deeming it wise to remain in an exposed position with so small a force.

Our lost was twenty-three killed, one hundred and thirty-six wounded and fifty-five missing. The enemy's loss was much more severe. Chandler in his dispatch puts it at one hundred and sixteen but our tradition has it that more Yankees were buried by our troops than we lost altogether in killed, wounded and missing. In the little church yard we buried friend and foe, and there are few marks left by which to distinguish their graves. All are neglected and uncared for, and it should be one of the first duties of this Society to rescue the names of these heroes from oblivion and see that their graves are guarded against desecration.

This battle was a turning point in the war, for except Proctor's defeat in the west, our armies were generally victorious, till the war closed, with Fort Niagara, Buffalo and the east bank of the river in our possession.

The church alluded to has long since disappeared, and perhaps as suitable a monument as could be built would be a more substantial edifice on its historic site.

FIFTY-SEVEN YEARS' EXPERIENCE OF CANADIAN LIFE

A Paper read before the Wentworth Historical Society.

BY JOHN GLASGOW

We left Scotland in the month of May in the year 1832 and reached Quebec after an Atlantic passage of seven weeks and three days, and, after viewing the city and its bomb-proof stronghold, we took steamer for Montreal. On our arrival there, we disembarked and spent a portion of a day looking over the then small city and in getting provisions to carry us up the river. It was then that our troubles as immigrants commenced. The cholera had broken out in Europe ere we left, and, having made its baneful appearance on this side of the water had reached Montreal in our advance, in its most malignant form. The people were alarmed and rightly afraid of each and every one who had left the motherland to better their condition in this new wild and uncultivated home. It was no unusual thing to see a corpse nailed up in a rough box and left in an open shed or outhouse until the authorities had it carted away like so much old lumber. We were put on board of a barge, or Durham boat as they were called—open vessels, without decks and with a footway on each side of about a foot wide for the sailors to walk on while they used the pike-poles to propel the boat, when it was not towed by oxen or horses—so that, in the very nature of things, our progress westward was slow and tedious, as at night no advance whatever was thought of. During the day the passengers would stroll leisurely along the shore, and were very often ahead of the boat, anxiously awaiting its arrival past some dangerous point in the turbulent stream. When the boats were tied up for the night, our bedding was taken out and spread on some green spot, so that we could retire and sleep while the dews of Heaven watered the face of the sun-burned immigrant while he reposed under the unclouded and star-lit canopy. It may seem strange to those who never passed through the ordeal of navigating the St. Lawrence at that critical time, when I repeat the fact that water for culinary purposes was difficult to obtain. We were warned against using the river water, and the wells, with their old-fashioned swing hooks, were invariably chained down, so that the immigrants, with their cholera-poisoned garments and surroundings, would be prevented thereby from congregating in the neighborhood of private dwellings. Under the circumstances, we could scarcely blame them for their apparent inhumanity, the harvest of death by the dread monster being so appalling that only we, who could not flee from its presence, would remain in the proximity of the departed, as those who died on the boats were allowed to remain there for hours until some convenient place was reached for landing. Where the water would permit, a dozen or more of the Durham boats were taken in tow by a steamer, till another dangerous point was reached. Thus we toiled on day after day and finally getting aboard of a steamer at Prescott, we reached Hamilton, having spent three weeks and one day on the way from Quebec.

On our way through the old canal at the beach, the first object sighted was the glittering tin spire of the old court house. All eyes were eagerly turned in the direction of the hamlet which was to be our new home. Many questions were asked by the much interested immigrants about the population of the town and surrounding country, the fertility of the soil, and a hundred other things of which they were anxious to learn. On our arrival at the wharf at the foot of James street we had our baggage put on the platform adjoining the storehouse, owned at that time by Mr. D. C. Gunn. As it was near sundown it was thought best not to go in search of a house at that hour and as usual we had another night in the open air. Our beds were made on the wharf and we passed the midnight watches gazing at the stars or dozing off to sleep as best we could. I might here state that there were four families of us who came as far as Hamilton, one by the name of Lees, related to Wm. Lees, [illegible] and Thos. Lees, watchmaker who reside in this city at the present time. The Lees family went direct to the township of Dumfries. The remaining three families located in Hamilton for a time, and were composed of Mr. and Mrs. Little, their three sons, and three daughters and daughter-in-law. George and Andrew Hall, two [illegible], composed family No. 2; our family consisted of father, mother, one brother and sister and the writer of this narrative. When the sun of the following morning had raised his head above the eastern horizon, and thrown his beams athwart the placid waters of Ontario, we were up and ready to greet his cheery face. Breakfast, not the most appetizing you may be sure, was soon gotten ready and discussed, when all were ready to proceed up James street to King to get a view of the little town, for it should be remembered that between King street and the bay only one house graced the rugged sides of James street at that time, it being the residence of Judge Taylor. As we wended our way over the mud road as far as what is now called Macaulay street, we found ourselves to be in the woods and on a dilapidated corduroy road with a moderately steep bank at the southern terminus of the wooden macadam. With a little care we drove over dry shod, there being much hearty laughter over this new idea in road making. When we had reached the locality of what is now termed Stuart street, our ears were not pierced by the shrill neigh of the iron horse, for that noble animal was an entire stranger and never seen in Canada at that time. Both sides of the street at this point were partially cleared and under crop, being protected by the zig-zag rail fence so common and useful in a new country like this. A little further on, and just about opposite where Christ Church Cathedral now stands, we passed the solitary house before referred to, which is still standing on the west side of James street north, as a memento of old times. On enquiry it was found impossible to procure a dwelling house on account of our having passed through the cholera district. The immigrant sheds, in the north-eastern part of the town, seemed too filthy to enter. By the time that we reached the wharf on our return Bella Little had been seized by the cholera and died. The solemn but small funeral procession left the wharf about four o'clock in the afternoon and the corpse was laid in mother earth at the Methodist church, erected in 1824, on the corner of King and Wellington streets, the only public burying ground in the town at that time. On our return to our headquarters at the wharf, Mr Gunn and his clerk Mr Vallance took pity on us and kindly had us placed in the storehouse, under cover. Mr George Little, who had just married his young wife before leaving Scotland and who seemed to be in perfect health when he returned from the mournful rite performed to the remains of his deceased sister was taken sick at ten o'clock that night and died at two o'clock next morning. The townspeople, though very kind became alarmed and were fully aware of the danger of coming in contact with us. Mr. George Hamilton—for whose sympathy on that occasion I will ever remain a debtor to his family—most kindly and thoughtfully suggested that we should build a shanty at the edge of the woods, about 150 yards south of the court house, the woods at that time reaching from the Mountain fully as far north as what is now Hunter street. We took advantage of the offer, and the remaining members of the families moved into their new abode, where old Mr. Little died a short time after, but not of the cholera. We lived there until the cold weather set in, in October, when we moved into a house on King street, about where Wood & Leggat's hardware house is established, and the other families lived on the opposite side of the street. Very few houses were erected on King street at that time; John street, from King, as far up as Hunter, was the principal part of the town. Mr. John Bradley was doing business about opposite the jail and court house; Mr. Thomas Gillespy kept hotel and boarding house on John street, between King and Main streets, Mr. David Farrell having his blacksmith shop alongside; a person named Carey kept hotel on the corner now covered by the new post office; Mr. John Young had a small store on the south side of King, between John and Hughson streets; Mr. Ruthven had a small store on the northwest corner of King and John streets, at which pens, ink and paper were sold. Ebenezer and John Stinson had a small general store on the south side of King between John and Hughson streets, in which the people could purchase all that was required in those days of rural simplicity. This store contained all that was really needful and useful for the immigrant, such as logging chains, saws, axes, augers, hammers, nails, chisels, etc.; besides, in the dry goods line, cottons, linens, American satinette, corduroy, moleskin, home-made flannel and fullcloth. In groceries, there were two or three kinds of tea, while the sugar would not dim the eyes of the purchaser by its brilliancy; there were also to be had tobacco, snuff, rice, and a little of something which was wrongfully termed oatmeal; but the Stinsons did not indulge in the sale of stimulants, for Canadian whiskey could be purchased in every country village for twenty-five cents per gallon and unadulterated at that price. Sir Allan N. McNab had his law office at the willows, on the northeast corner of King and James streets. Andrew Millar carried on a hotel business on the opposite corner, his orchard covering the ground where the new city hall is now being built. There were but four brick buildings in the place at that time viz. Stinson's store, Carey's hotel, Bank of Upper Canada at corner of Bay and King and the Club House at the corner of James and Main streets, in which the late Andrew Stevens resided. Mr. John Winer was doing business as a druggist on King street, while a travelling butcher supplied the wants of the people once or twice a week and sometimes once in two weeks, just as he could procure the living material. He was not noted for his punctuality for when he got elevated by the unadulterated, he seemed to think that the people, like himself, were full and happy.

The most of the old, or first settlers, Messrs. Land, Beasley, Ferguson, Hughson, Mills, Hess, Kirkendall and some others were still living on their farms. In order to reach the heights at the upper end of the bay the teamster would follow King street west till he reached Queen street, then turn north to where York street is located. All west of James street to Queen street was under fence and cultivated, only a foot path showing the line and direction of the present York street. Peter Hamilton had his house in the neighborhood of the Central School. This vicinity was surrounded by woods, and was of course considered out of the town.

After considerable time being spent in looking up land, the three families purchased their several homes in the fifth concession of East Flamboro, paying four dollars per acre. I am safe in saying it was a wilderness at that time, not one tree having been chopped down on either of the three places. Log houses were erected and occupied about Christmas. Our settlement was three miles from the nearest road. Mr. Hugh Creen, brother of the late Mr. Creen of Niagara, and brother-in-law of the late Archibald Ferguson, of Hamilton, was our nearest neighbor. He had one small field cleared, that being the only land clearance on the east side of the centre road. Three small places were cleared on the west side by Messrs. Fieley, Foster and Baker. There was no other settlement until Carlisle was reached where a few acres were cleared. The next settlement was Guelph where a few half pay military officers had settled. Waterdown was three miles from our lot, and in order to get thither we were forced to make a sleigh track through the woods, and as no eight hour movement was in vogue in those days the work went merrily on from daylight till dark. Some labor was not the only work performed; all hands put in one day in the week gratis, until a temporary road was made passable for a yoke of oxen and sleigh. There were but two wagons in the whole settlement, and they were owned on the east side of what is now the centre or toll road. Each of the families made a small clearing the first year, and one of the greatest difficulties for the immigrant to overcome was how to winter his oxen, if he was fortunate to have them. In the summer season, plenty of fodder was to be had in the woods, but the principal feed for the first winter was browse (the small twigs of the tops of the hardwood), and generally the cattle got very thin and emaciated, ere the spring luxuriance gave relief to the poor and useful beast. The second year was not so bad, for, having straw as an assistant to the browse, things did not look so blue and foreboding.

Immigrants flocked in, year after year, until the whole township was taken up, and the work done by those honest and industrious people who came here to carve out a home for themselves and their children, was of such a laborious character and so beset with difficulties in every direction, that the young generation of to-day can form no correct idea of the toil, trouble, and vexatious losses in stock which the pioneer had to face and surmount ere he made himself even moderately comfortable in his adopted home. It may be asked how and where did we get our provisions for the family. Waterdown, at that time, was composed of a small hotel, a still smaller blacksmith shop owned by a person named Dunham, a shoemaker's shop, and a small tannery to supply the cobbler with poorly tanned leather. This formed the bulk of the little village. There was also a small grist mill where Howland's mill now stands which was of great benefit to the few inhabitants of Waterdown, as well as to the people living in the neighborhood of Hamilton. Mr Ebenezer Griffin, grandfather of Dr. Griffin of this city, was a justice of the peace and kept the people in good humor by dispensing justice when necessary. Mr Alexander Brown, father of the late Warden Alexander Brown of the County of Wentworth, was the first settler on the Mountain and lived on his farm of 400 acres close by the village. He settled there before any white man had ever beheld the Waterdown stream flowing through its rocky channel. Mr Creasen, brother-in-law to Mr Brown, settled there at a later period on the west side of the village. There were no stores of any kind nearer than Hamilton or Dundas, so we had to obtain our supplies in either of those places, and after purchasing only what was absolutely necessary, we then, like beasts of burden, had to carry the whole supply on our backs to the settlement. At that time Dundas was a much larger place than Hamilton, and our supplies, such as they were, we often procured in the former place. It might now be asked why we did not hitch up our oxen, and by that means get our supplies. I will relate one incident in connection with obtaining supplies in that manner. James Little and your humble servant with two yoke of oxen hitched to a wooden shod sleigh—iron-shod sleighs were a rarity at that time—left for Dundas on a fine day in November, 1833, to get beans and shorts for feeding purposes, for at that time we had not raised any small or spring grain to fatten the long snouted breed of pigs peculiarly and well known by the name of "racers." There was no snow on the ground, and by the time we had gotten less than half way the oxen began to show signs of fatigue from the labor of dragging the sleigh on the bare ground. Mr Thomas Church, at that time living on Dundas street, quite near the boundary line between East and West Flamboro, loaned us his wagon, and we then got along much better. By the time that we got our small load in the bags and returned to where we got the wagon, it was dark, and Mr. Church very kindly asked us to stay all night. As it would be impossible for us to reach home before morning, we thankfully accepted the offer, rested, and slept as sound as boys generally do who are possessed of clear consciences. Next morning we were called up long before daylight, and beheld the grandest and most soul-stirring scene that I ever saw or expect to see—meteors, or shooting stars darting by tens of thousands in every direction, until the morning sun eclipsed their never to be forgotten brilliancy. We reached home that night with our small load, having spent two days on the trip. I will now relate another little incident which will, as far as it goes, show one of the many difficulties with which we had to contend. The chimney in our house, having been built late in the fall and with poor mortar was likely to give way, and as two-thirds of its entire length was made of wood plastered over with clay, it was thought better to have it taken down and a safe one built, provided we could get someone able to do it. This was in the spring of 1834. We had heard that a family named Campbell had settled on the thirteenth concession of the township, and that one of the brothers was a mason. I left home at 12 o'clock noon in order to find such a distinguished person as a stone mason. I found my way to Carlisle on the ninth concession very well, for the trees were blazed all the way, but from the ninth to the thirteenth concession I had no mark to guide me. I knew the direction from where I stood by the number of the lot which I had previously learned, but how to go four or five miles through the woods and hit the right spot was rather a serious undertaking, there being but two acres slashed at the time. However, I reached the place and persuaded Campbell to come and do the job, as we could not get another person to do it. I was asked to remain all night, being advised that I would never find my way home, night being at hand. However, I started on the return trip, but after proceeding a short distance I stood still for a short time and thought over what was best to be done. I reasoned within myself as to whether the course I was taking was correct. The best course would be to look neither to the right or left, but sight three trees in a straight line in front of me, and when I reached the first of the three to then sight another one. I adopted this plan, and when I came to a fallen tree, over which I had to go, I did not go around, but straight over, still keeping the trees in view. Fortunately I came out right. It was a life and death struggle, and made me cautious in the extreme, for had I lost myself on this occasion, my chances for life would have been small. I reached home at 11.30 that night, and thankful for my escape, firmly determined never to try such a foolish thing again at such a late hour of the day. I can scarcely conceive at this distant day how I got through, for I had often lost myself while near home and while not travelling one half the distance.

Wheat, at that time, was the only grain that would command cash, store pay being the order of the day for all other kinds of produce. It was only at certain times that wheat was saleable, the best season being in the spring when navigation was open. Threshing machines were something of the future. We had raised the fourth crop of wheat ere we could hire anyone to thresh it out. The machines used in those days were articles that the people were not forbidden to worship, as they were unlike anything on the earth, or in the waters under the earth. The wheel of the horse power was in segments, and continually breaking. There were three breakdowns in threshing that crop of less than one hundred bushels of badly shrunken wheat, as the rust had made sad havoc with it. Mr. Geo. Chisholm had a storehouse on the north side of the bay a short distance from the beach, where wheat was stored till navigation opened. The price received for our first two crops, which were very good, was $2.00 per bushel; oats 15 cents in store pay. I may here mention that Waterdown had a very small school but was not behind Hamilton in that respect, there being only one in the latter place, that situated a little east of the Methodist church, corner of King and Wellington streets. One church and one school was all that Hamilton could boast of in the educational line in those days. Services were held in the Court House by Episcopalians. It was ten years after we had settled in East Flamboro before we had a school in our neighborhood. It was built by gratis labor in the year 1842, and yet that was destined to be the first free school in the county of Wentworth. After considerable exertion, Mr. Abraham Binkley and myself accomplished the conversion of the people to the free school system; the Act giving the ratepayers that power having been passed by the Legislature. It was the custom in 1832, and for years afterwards, to appoint three commissioners to expend the small government grant given at that time for road improvement. Mr. Edward Evans, Mr. Alexander Brown and Mr. Easton were the gentlemen empowered to see to the expenditure. When the District Council was organized in the year 1842 two councillors were sent from each township as representatives. At [illegible] time the Gore district was composed of Halton, Wentworth, Brant, Haldimand and the township of Puslinch, in the county of Wellington. In 1850, Township Councils were formed, when the reeves and deputy reeves comprised the County Council, over which the warden, elected from their own number, presided. Previous to the formation of the Township and County Councils, the province had been united in the year 1841, Charles Baron Sydenham being the first Governor-General.

Long before this time, the secularization of the clergy reserves became a burning question, out of which, to a great extent, sprang the rebellion of 1837. The whole country was excited and angry, the people arguing the matter pro and con according to their several religious beliefs or political proclivities; matters came to a crisis with open rebellion in Lower Canada, and shortly after, in the fall of 1837, William Lyon McKenzie led off in battle at Gallows Hill, Toronto, in which he and his few followers were defeated. Your humble servant reached Toronto by the little steamer Burlington in the afternoon, a little too late to take part in the fray. McKenzie and his followers taking possession of Navy Island caused us once more to take up old "Brown Bess" in behalf of our country. But as this is a matter of history, I will not digress by a lengthy discussion of those unfortunate events, the clergy reserves, as is well known, being secularized in 1854.

It may be interesting to the young people of to-day to get a little insight into the postal arrangements of the good old times, ere railways were even thought of in this the sunny west. I need scarcely tell you that our winters then were as severe as they now are, and at that inclement season the mails had to be carried overland on horseback and sometimes on foot. In conversation, thirty years ago, with an old pioneer named Birch, who had long lived in the neighborhood, he informed me that he carried the mails once a month, on horseback, from Toronto to the Talbot settlement on Lake Erie. Nature, by her law of compensation, had formed the man to successfully perform and carry out the arduous and dangerous work appertaining to that of mail carrier in the days of the first settlers. He was an old man when I first saw him, small, wiry, and withy as a whip, even in his old age. He said that for a long time Brown and Grierson were the only settlers on the Flamboro Mountain and there were very few between his locality and Toronto. It appears that the Government had surveyed what is now called Dundas street, having run the line westward to where London now is and also to the Talbot settlement, the surveying party cutting the underbrush out so as to make a trail. This must have been about 1812, or shortly after that time, from the description he gave of Waterdown Creek and its surroundings, with the two inhabitants, and I had every reason to believe in his veracity. He said the greatest difficulty that he had to overcome was in getting over the streams on his wild and weary trail, there being scarcely a bridge over which he could safely pass. In our own day, 1832, the arrival of the mails were very uncertain, and the postage just as alarming. A letter from Scotland cost one shilling currency (and was eighteen pence). When the postage was reduced to ninepence we thought that we were doing well. On one occasion we heard that there was a letter for us in the Hamilton post office, there being no post office at Waterdown for many years after that time. I went to the former place to secure the letter and on enquiry, found that I had to pay postage to the amount of three and ninepence before I could get it out of the office. It had gone past the little place called Hamilton, and once off the track it had wandered westward, and through no fault of ours we had to pay for all the extra mileage, receiving it eight months after date.

I may here be permitted to say a few words about the apparel of the people in those days, who generally were dressed in home-made garments. The women wore to the meeting houses in their checked flannel dresses (spun and made up by themselves), and with a handkerchief for a bonnet, they jauntily stepped over the threshold, quite unconscious of the future artistic attire of the Canadian lady yet to be. The men dressed in full cloth, grey or butternut in color. Frequently in warm weather they would attend the meeting house without their coats, and as a matter of course thought they appeared quite respectable in their shirt sleeves. Broadcloth was entirely out of the question, being found only in the possession of those who had brought it with them from the old land. We had no merchant tailors at the time, only some poor son of the shears travelling from house to house, doing the work as occasion would require. The shoemaker kept scarcely any stock; when a pair of boots was required, the customer would go to the tanner, get the leather and hand it over to be made up into anything but that which might now be called an elegant pair of foot gear.

Improvements were rapidly developed all over the land, the forest giving way in every direction to man's industry and perseverance. Side lines and concessions were opened and improved, leading roads, such as that from Hamilton to Galt, having been macadamized as early as 1842-43. Railways were introduced and completed, the Great Western being fit for traffic as early as 1853. The Northwestern was finished to Georgetown in 1876, and to Barrie in 1878. Post offices were established in every convenient location and Her Majesty's mails received fast as well as satisfactory transportation. This gave a wonderful impetus to trade all over the country from the east to the far west.

Hamilton, the Birmingham of Canada, leaped with gigantic strides from a small population of eight hundred in 1832 to the pre-

sent population of well on to fifty thousand, and containing workshops and warehouses of every description. What a change in fifty-seven years! An improvement has transpired of which the settlers of to-day have no conception.

The first court house and jail was erected under a statute passed in 1816, chap. 19, of 56 Geo. III, whereby it was enacted "That a gaol and court house for the District of Gore shall be erected on lot number fourteen, in the third concession of the Township of Barton, to be called the Town of Hamilton." This must have been the old log jail and court house; the old stone court house was erected in 1828. I find no statute defining the boundaries of the town earlier than 1833, when chap. 16, of 3rd William IV, was passed, defining the boundaries of the City and dividing the same into four wards. This statute also made provisions for police government etc., and gave directions for holding the first election on 1st March, 1833. If the boundary was not defined until 1833, although called the Town of Hamilton in 1816, it is evident that until 1833 the population was included with that of the Township of Barton. I can find no record of the number of inhabitants until 1834. The first court was held in 1829.

If we take a retrospective view of this progressive and lovely city we will perceive that even in the disastrous year 1834, when the second attack of cholera had thinned the ranks of the people, there was a population of about 2,367; in 1836, 2,846; and, in 1837, 3,567. The rebellion breaking out in 1837 brought everything to a standstill, there being no work in the building line and the best tradesmen were anxious to obtain laboring work at 75 cents per day. In the towns the poor mechanic suffered fearfully. The country people however not feeling the effects of the stagnation to the same extent in consequence of having raised their own supplies. A decrease in the population had taken place for we find that in 1841 it was 3,446, less by 121 than that of 1837. Troops were constantly [illegible] Kingston, Hamilton and many other places, until 1843 in case of another outbreak, and I had the honor of wearing Her Majesty's [illegible] for two years, but immediately after 1840, the political [illegible]n began to lose its dark and leaden hue, and the change for the better became rapid and encouraging. Hamilton had the honor of being made a city in 1847 and in 1851 we find that the population had risen to 14,112, the County of Wentworth in the same year showing 28,507. A better class of buildings were now being erected in every part of the city, the little foundry owned by Fisher & McQuesten, built in 1835 on the corner of James and Merrick streets, being succeeded by one on Wellington street much larger, while Gurney's foundry, established in 1843, and James Stewart & Co.'s, in 1845, with many other industries at a later period, gave employment to a great number of persons. The people, at that time, ceased to look to Ancaster as their base of supplies. Many fine and capacious churches were built by the various denominations, while a number of schoolhouses which grace the sections of the Ambitious City would do credit to the wealthiest city in Europe.

What a mighty change in fifty-seven years! If I, after my arrival, had turned my back on Canada, and in my absence had heard nothing of the wonderful changes which have taken place all over the country, and if you, Mr. President, with a becoming pride in the wealth and greatness of your native Canada, had invited me to see it to-day, I would at once say "This is not the country that I saw fifty-seven years ago—it cannot be." I would naturally ask, "Where is the forest? Where are the mighty monarchs of the woods?" You point out to me fertile fields, smiling orchards, substantial houses and outbuildings instead of the crowned kings who fell away long ages. You might, in joyfulness, lead me to the mountain top and say, "Behold the City of Hamilton!" But could I believe it to be the Hamilton that I knew of old, with its four brick buildings and few frame shanties which dotted the muddy streets of the future city? It cannot be, and yet it is, and we love it because it is our own handiwork, the work of the pioneer. We love it because it is our home, and we love it because its soil has been made sacred by the ashes of our fathers.

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS UPON THE ANNUAL REPORT 1889-90.

The Secretary presented the Annual Report. The President in moving its adoption made the following address :—

The report appears to me so complete, and embraces so accurately the leading features of our proceedings during the past year that it seems needless to enlarge upon it. I would consequently recommend its adoption. I may however remark that the operations of the association have been materially retarded and its influence lessened because, as yet, no suitable quarters have been secured wherein its property, such as relics, books, papers and manuscripts may be safely deposited. I therefore trust that the incoming council will view this matter of sufficient importance to induce activity on their part towards providing this necessary adjunct to the prosperity of the society.

I may perhaps further venture to suggest that a large field of usefulness seems to me open in the direction of introducing popular histories of this vast Dominion more largely into our common schools. To such an extent has this been neglected or overlooked in the past, that I am convinced the younger generations of our Canadian people are far behind the youth of the neighboring republic, in knowledge of the history of their country, and this disparaging comparison between ourselves and our American cousins may without doubt be chiefly traced to the popular character of the histories in their common schools. Hence their advantage in this respect is in my judgment a fit subject for emulation. We should, I think, move promptly, but in union and harmony with other associations of kindred pursuit to ours, to urge by petition and otherwise upon the Ontario government, and the public school department of that government especially, the great need of improving the existing system, which in many other respects is admirable. And, while referring to this part of the subject I should not fail to notice several interesting discussions during the year, touching the expediency of prizes issuing from the association, for essays upon the constitution and history of our country, to be competed for by pupils in the public schools; and, although no complete or definite action has as yet been taken in that direction, I sincerely trust that the time may not be far distant when the society may feel financially strong enough to carry out in fact what so far has only been under discussion. To most of you it is doubtless a familiar fact that the county of Wentworth, after which our society was named, once forming part of the old Gore district, would in itself present prolific food for the pens of young men who may be ambitious of becoming future historians of their country, and such laudable ambition should be fostered and strengthened by all the power of this association.

One word as to the united action of the several historical and pioneer societies throughout the country—and there are many. Without unity all are weakened in their efforts to spread more widely patriotic sentiments. With unity their joint influence could, with little exertion, accomplish wonderful results in that direction. It was the confederation of scattered provinces that produced our Dominion, and it will be through that sacred union that national dignity may yet be attained. So should there be a confederation of all the historical societies of the country. Their aims and objects are identical, their operations to attain these should be in harmony, and not weakened by sectional aspirations for prominence or perishable fame. I trust in this direction, too, some practical measures to effect a larger union may be set on foot during the current year. We should, I think, always remember that however puny and insignificant our first efforts have as yet been, we possess the germs within our organization which, with steady perseverance on our part, will in the end—as our members and influence increase—confer immeasurable advantages upon those who come after us, and we will not have failed altogether in our duty if we succeed in even imperfectly laying portions of the edifice with which an affectionate regard for this grand country will be reared and perpetuated.

Whether our society had or had not anything to do with stimulating a national sentiment, the fact remains that this year $2,000 were voted by the parliament at Ottawa towards the erection of monuments at Lundy's Lane and Chateauguay, and I am assured

that Burlington Heights and Stony Creek will in due time be treated with like consideration, along with other memorable battlefields, until significant memorials shall mark the spots which have furnished the most brilliant chapters of our country's history and left her sons an inheritance of imperishable loyalty to their possessions and their Queen.

NOTES OF AUTOBIOGRAPHY

A paper read before the Wentworth Historical Society.

BY THE VERY REV. J. G. GEDDES, D. D.

Dean of Niagara.

I was the second son of James Geddes, Assistant Staff Surgeon and Sarah Hannah Bowen Gamble, born in Kingston on the 19th of March 1811. I was one of a family of sixteen, of whom nine daughters and five sons survived and married, all with one exception had families. Through my maternal grandmother, Mrs. Gamble, I was descended from the U. E. Loyalists. Her father, Dr. Clarke, removed with his family from New York to New Brunswick at the peace of 1783. Here my grandmother married Dr. Gamble, Surgeon of the Queen's Rangers, and after fourteen years' residence there she removed to Canada to join her husband then quartered at Niagara. She ascended the river St. John with her five daughters (of whom my mother was one) in a bark canoe, traversing on foot the portages of the Temiscouata Route, sheltered only by the heavens and the primeval forest. She lived to the age of 92, when her immediate descendants had reached the large number of 204. My mother's family, as already mentioned, numbered sixteen, and of the ten surviving members at the present day the aggregate of ages amounts to the large sum of 750 years.

The remarkable longevity of a large number of the American U. E. Loyalists, who came to the British Provinces after the American Revolution, has been noticed by the Lord Bishop of New Brunswick as a striking instance of the fulfilment of the promise contained in the Fifth Commandment, embracing, as that Commandment unquestionably does, the duty of obedience to civil rulers. The Gambles and Geddeses may well be counted among the number.

I was educated at the Grammar School, Kingston, till I was seventeen years of age. I was then appointed to a scholarship in Divinity under the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and studied at the Theological College at Chambly till 1834

I was ordained Deacon on the 10th day of August of that year, my father having died of Asiatic cholera on the preceding day. Having served three months as Curate to Arch-Deacon Stuart, in St. George's Church, Kingston, I was sent as Curate to Three Rivers in Lower Canada. Not long after, in the month of March, 1835, I received the appointment of Rector of Hamilton and Barton and parts adjacent, and on the 10th of that month I entered on my charge in which I continued for the long period of forty-five years.

The following statistics will illustrate the marvellous changes that occured under my ministry: On my arrival I found there was no church in which to worship, and was glad to accept the offer of the Jail and Court House for that purpose. The population at that time was about 1500. The number of my first congregation 35, partly accounted for by the fact that many leading church families had pews in the Presbyterian Church and were regular attendants there. In December, 1879, when I retired and left the parish in the hands of a Rector-in-charge and accepted a living in England, I left behind me a population of some 40,000, five churches (including Christ Church Cathedral which had been rebuilt) and as many numerous and prosperous congregations. My ministerial acts were as follows: marriages solemnized, 1,250; baptisms, 5,186; burials, 3,000; and 1,000 young persons prepared for confirmation. My ministry was exercised in times of varied public calamity, viz.: two visitations of Asiatic cholera; one of ship fever among the emigrants; one of rebellion and one of foreign invasion; and the appalling railway disaster at the Desjardines Canal Bridge. Out of the 70 heads of families who were enrolled as members of the Church of England at the organization of the parish in 1835 only two remain in this year of 1889, and out of the first list of communicants in 1836 five only yet present are to be found.

Among the public offices which I was called to fill were Chaplain to the Jail and Hospital; a Grammar School Trustee associated with Dr. Craigie and Father Gordon; member of Trinity College Council, Toronto; Chaplain to the Incorporated Battalion of Militia, commanded by Col. [illegible]; also Chaplain to the 47th Regiment and the Rifle Brigade and other Regiments when quartered in Hamilton. I was for many years Secretary to the Gore and Wellington Church Society; for many more Clerical Secretary to the Synod of

Toronto; Examining Chaplain to Bishop Bethune, of Toronto; Rural Dean; Prolocutor to the Provincial Synod; Dean of Niagara; Rector of Tatsfield, Surrey, England; member of the Council of the Diocese of Rochester; and, after my return to Canada, Rector in charge of Chippawa.

Between 1884 and 1886, I held missions in the following parishes in England: Leigh, Surrey; Upchurch, Kent; Weedon and Rushton, Northamptonshire; Stanton St. John, Oxford; Berchanger, Hertford; Ashley, Cambridge; Gloucester; and Primrose Hill, Regent's Park, London.

In 1848 I graduated at Kings' College, Toronto; having availed myself of a statute of the University, enabling clergymen, engaged in Parish work to attend examinations without residence or attendance on lectures. I subsequently took an ad eundem B. A. at Trinity College and proceeded to my M. A. Subsequently I received from the same University the Honorary Degree of D. C. L.

I twice served on deputations for the Society for Propagating the Gospel—once in 1876 when I visited the following counties: Middlesex, Surrey, Kent, Gloucester, Somerset, Leicester, Oxford, Buckingham, Essex, Wiltshire and Suffolk—In 1880 I spent a fortnight for the same purpose, (advocating the cause of missions) in Cornwall in the following parishes: Saltash, Menheniot, St. Dominick, St. Mellion, Callington, St. [illegible], Truro, Bodmin, Redruth, Kea-Truro, St. Tudy, St. [illegible], Davidstowe, Camelford, Pillaton, Broadoak, [illegible], St. Mewan, St. Austell.

In 1854, September 23rd, I was married to Susan Davidson, second daughter of the Hon. John Stewart (of Marchmont) in the Cathedral at Quebec by Bishop Mountain, assisted by his Chaplain the Rev. George Mackie. Our children are two sons John Gamble and George W. Allen, and three daughters, who were married as follows: Hannah Stewart to Constantine Brough; Susan Stewart to Major Phipps; and Mary Allen to Dr. John Walters. My son John married Josephine Magill, and George, Clara Gurnet.

In 1855 we visited England, Scotland, Ireland and France, Prussia and Belgium. In 1866 we again visited England and Scotland and I was present at the Church Congress at York. In 1876 we again crossed the Atlantic. During this visit I had the honor of an invitation from the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury (Dr. Tait) to attend the annual dinner given at Lambeth to the Bishops of

England. In 188[illegible] I was the guest of the present Archbishop of Canterbury (when Bishop of Truro) and had the great privilege of attending (on invitation) his enthronization in Canterbury Cathedral, forming one of a procession of five hundred clergymen in surplices.

Our last visit to England was in January 1880, when I went to accept the Living of Tatsfield, to which I had been presented by Mr Leveson Gower of Titsey. This I resigned in 1884, and after two years additional in England, and two years' charge at Chippawa, I have returned to end my days in Hamilton, where I have my seat as Dean in the Cathedral.

CHAMPLAIN THE FATHER AND FOUNDER OF CANADA

Historical Sketch read before the Wentworth Historical Society, Hamilton Ont., December 2nd, 1890.

BY MRS. JOHN ROSE HOLDEN

BEFORE entering upon the subject of the paper which I have the honor to lay before you this evening, I feel I must say how difficult a matter it is, in presenting to such a Society as this, of what is but a simple historical sketch, to do much that may be considered as original work. The dry facts, causes, conditions and results are all recorded in our Archives by eye-witnesses, contemporary and historical writers both French and English, with such minuteness, that a student of this fascinating pursuit finds that he or she can only follow into already well developed paths clearly and graphically described by a host of authorities. The mass of writings on early Canadian History is so great that it seems impossible to do much more than grasp a general idea of certain epochs or movements, and form as correct a consensus as possible of the varied lights and shadows thrown upon the pages of our past by interested, and yet opposing recorders of the same event. I have attached a list of the authorities from whose pages I have drawn my information, and whose writings and revelations have deepened and strengthened within me such a firm faith in the grand and certain future of our native land.

No study is so fascinating and impressive as that of History. As the historian sways his magician's wand, the student is carried back to ages gone by; graves are opened and the dead come forth without disturbing their long repose, and present to us heroes living, talking and performing wondrous actions, whose bodies have slept in the silence and oblivion of ages. We are made familiar with the intrigues of politicians and the stratagems of warriors, and there is nothing public or private in courts or councils to which an historian is a stranger—we see through a vista of ages past the illustrious and immortal personages who have "strutted and fretted" on the troubled stage of life.

Canadian History is a subject which has been too long considered so trivial and unimportant as to be unworthy the attention of scholars. It seemed impossible that much of interest or of value could be found in the account of a country peopled by savages, and that a region only known for about two hundred and fifty years could possibly have anything to teach the Motherland, appeared absurd. At one time a vague impression of perpetual snow and ice, Christopher Columbus wrestling over the "egg" problem, feathered Indians, bark wigwams and canoes, blanketted squaws, tomahawks,—mixed with uncertain ideas as to the means of transit, whether horses, reindeer, buffaloes or dogs were most in use—these and similar notions prevailed. Yet how different the truth! Canada has a past of which we have every reason to be proud. A roll of brave men and women who persevered and struggled for an existence facing fearful odds—heroes who never lost faith in the possibilities and potentialities of their adopted country, encouraged and inspired by women, worthy to be helpmates to such men; very often women delicately nurtured in their maidenhood, in refined British and French homes, here in this New World, with all its unprecedented environments, ministered with their own hands, like the Apostle Paul, to the daily necessities of their own households, taught the heathen, fed the hungry, clothed the naked, nursed the sick and dying, and shrank not from the post of duty in the hour of danger; delicate women and brave children, breathing the same heroic atmosphere, could handle a musket or fire a gun in defence of their homes in the wilderness. "For God, King and Country," was the watch word in those early days. The farmer as he cleared the forests, ploughed, planted, sowed and reaped, carried his firearms by his side, unconscious of the old prophecy which he fulfilled of "turning the sword into a pruning hook."

The early history of the Maritime Provinces and that of Upper and Lower Canada, presents a perfect historical antithesis. French colonization in Lower Canada represented the Phoenix of Feudalism and Mediaevalism—Church and State were wedded together, embodied the dominant idea of despotism through the arbitrary prerogative of the French Crown, exercised directly upon all matters temporal and spiritual concerning the colony and individually by the rights and privileges of seigneurial tenure. French colonization limited and crippled by edict and enactment of the Home Government among her own loyal subjects, failed, as in Acadia, first of French settlements, settled by Huguenot thrift and industry and in full promise of self-supporting independence from home help and assistance, was destroyed and crushed by Jesuitical influences. In pursuance of the fatal Home policy in extending her dominions, France lost the supremacy she once held in the New World. The unequal partnership of French trade and commerce with religion, missionary zeal and military glory, merged into the pillage, peculation, rascality, and above all the treason to the Mother Land, of the administration of the Bigot coterie of 1748 to 1760, the effects of which paved the way for the comparatively quiet submission on the part of the French Canadian habitant to British rule and supremacy.

Upper Canada (Ontario) and the Maritime Provinces were permanently settled by British patriots, 45,000, United Empire Loyalists who came over from the United States of America after the war of Independence, and settled in what now is known as Canada—heroes in the great battle of faith, freedom and liberty, which had been upheaving the social and religious elements of Europe, the echoes of which strengthened and encouraged our noble pioneers to suffer and be strong. No promised land overflowing with wine, milk and honey tempted these heroes to emigrate in those early days of our history in such numbers to found new homes for their wives and families in Canada—Canada as reported to them was a land of snow, intense cold, ice-bound waters, dense wilderness and dank swamps full of venomous reptiles, the home of savage beasts and still more savage and vindictive Indians. The hardships, exposures and privations endured by the Loyalists in making their way from their confiscated homes to Canada were longer and more severe than any Everett has been able to tell us of the New England Pilgrim Fathers, and the persecutions which sent these Fathers of New England voyaging to Plymouth Rock was but a morning shower when compared to the mobbings and imprisonments, confiscations and death that fell in savage fury upon the faithful of old England, in the days of the American revolution and drove the remnant that was left into the wilderness of Canada. The Pilgrim Fathers could keep Harvest Home festival of a week's duration at the end of the first year from their landing. But the Loyalists were in most instances forced to seek a home in Canada without food or shelter, and at a season too late for any clearing of the forest and seed sowing. While the New England Fathers were keeping Harvest Home the Loyalists of Canada were passing through all the rigours of famine."

Though homeless and almost perishing they carried with them the "Ark of the Covenant" of God with man, counting as their most precious heritage the tables of the law, holy vessels and arms of old England—which they had saved from the burning ruins of their churches and homes in the U. S. of America—thus laying the foundations of our national existence in that "righteousness which exalteth a nation," and a freedom and liberty which has not degenerated into the license and lawlessness of a Proletariate, but that which is subject to the command: "Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's and unto God the things which are God's." It is this loyalty to "God and King" which has saved to Britain the greater half of the continent of America. And now what is the reality of our position as Canadians? Clothed by the lavish hand of nature, as befits the daughter of Imperial England, Canada stretches from the Atlantic to the Pacific, two hundred miles beyond the U. S. of America, which gives her an area greater than one-half of the continent of North America—seas, lakes, rivers, canals, channels, traversed by a merchant marine ranking now fourth among nations. If the United States shipping employed in the river and lake trade were included, Canada would rank second in the world, the total tonnage amounting to 4,684,759 tons. Railway communication connecting ocean with ocean and a steamship service which links the hoary Eastern World with her young life. These two great arteries of commerce and civilization, with innumerable loop-lines, vein the country in every direction—telegraph, postal and telephone systems, banks, public schools, colleges and universities, where women can enjoy the same educational privileges as men—private and technical schools in arts and sciences, steam and electricity hand maidens of travel and the press daily bring knowledge to the humblest—public libraries, churches, in number outvying any other institution all testify to the brain, energy, integrity and pluck of the Anglo-Saxon race when aided by public and private enterprise. The immense wealth of our mineral and natural productions lies far beyond the limits of this sketch.

Having had this passing sketch of Canada of to-day, let us now go back to the 17th century. A new phase in the evolution of the world's history was then unfolding, viz.: The second great emigration of the populations of the old world dating from the dawn of christianity. The first great convulsion was the overthrow, destruction and dismembering of Imperial Rome, by the Goths, Vandals and Huns, when ancient civilization, corrupted by effeminacy and profligacy, gave way before the brute force and rapacity of the barbarian, enthralling Europe for many centuries in a pall of ignorance and superstition, which was only dispelled by the penetrating light of the great Renaissance. The spirit of commerce, guided by the mysterious mariner's compass, had led navigators and bold adventurers beyond all known limits. Love of conquest and the power of the sword alone led to new discoveries in the old world. The spirit of commerce and missionary zeal has in modern times opened up the continent of America and that of Africa in our own days. Canada in particular fell under these new influences. Francis I., king of France, fired by the fabulous tales of the riches and wealth found in the New World by the Spaniard and Portuguese, determined to dispute the assumed right the sovereigns of Spain and Portugal laid to the entire new country rediscovered by Columbus, and commissioned Jacques Cartier to start on a voyage of discovery and claim all he could in the name of the French king. La Nouvelle France was the name then given to the vast and rich maritime domain which we now know as the Maritime Provinces. Cartier was a discoverer; he left the land very much as he found it. Not until 1603 came Samuel de Champlain, the man of destiny to Canada, a man who has been described as "a soldier, sailor, engineer, naturalist and statesman, with the heart and soul of a hero, the pure faith of a child, the courage of a warrior and zeal of a crusader," came the Father and Founder of Canada. Champlain came of a family of fishermen, and upon the bosom of the restless ocean he early imbibed the love of adventures, and the fearless spirit which so distinguished him. He was born of Huguenot parents at Brouage, a small seaport on the Bay of Biscay. There is no record of his baptism, but his birth may be dated at 1567. Samuel was at that time a name never given to Roman Catholics, and was confined to the

Huguenots. The strict observance of the "Registres Civiles," is known to be part of French national life, that the name of every Roman Catholic child should be enrolled on its pages. Again, in 1610, he entered into a contract of marriage with Helene Boule, who was a Protestant at the time of her betrothment, no record of the marriage in the "Registres" is to be found, so that when the ceremony took place a Protestant minister must have officiated. He was not only a naval captain but had also served as a soldier, fighting during the wars of the League, under that soldier of soldiers Henry of Navarre. The reign of Henry 4th dates all that is great in modern France; at that period there were three great factions or parties in France. The party of the League, determined on the supremacy of the Pope, extermination of all heretics and religious unity. Second, the zealous Huguenots, or Protestants, a quarter of the population of France, who having received no toleration gave none. The middle or third party, composed of moderate Catholics and Protestants, who before everything else were Frenchmen, whose strongest feelings were those for the welfare of their country. Each of these parties in its turn has left its impress on our country, and we find the national progress of the Province of Quebec to-day dwarfed and hindered by the followers of the same parties striving against one another in civil and political issues. First, the ultramontane or Jesuits; second, Protestants; third, the Gallican or native [illegible], who from love of their country would gladly allow the Protestant equal rights and freedom to worship God according to dictates of conscience. It should be noted *en passant* that the temperance cause which now wields such an influence in church and state also in the days of Champlain, during the period of the one hundred associates, rent the feeble colony almost to disruption. Champlain, previous to his first voyage to Canada, had visited the West Indies, at that time a region of mystery from which Spanish jealousy excluded all foreigners. His adventures here occupied him more than three years. Champlain kept a diary and on his return to France drew up a manuscript which was circulated, and attracted the attention of King Henry, who bestowed upon him the title of "Geographer of the King," and granted him a small pension in recognition of his services as a naturalist. It is only within the last thirty years that this manuscript was discovered; it was published in 1870, brought out under the auspices of Laval University and is contained in the Laval University edition of his work. While at Panama his bold and acute mind conceived the plan of a ship canal across the Isthmus, an idea, which 250 years later the great modern engineer of the world, Lesseps, has yet hopes of accomplishing. Upon his return to France from the West Indies, Champlain was induced by De Chastes, a pronounced Huguenot, who was then organizing an expedition to New France, to accept a position in the new company, and he joined Pont-gravé (also a Huguenot) in extending among savage tribes the Christian faith, "*Foy Christienne*," not "*Catholique and Romaine*," as given by Jesuit interpolators. Champlain is his own historian, and by his life and writings posterity judges him. At that time no test of religious orthodoxy was necessary to join the expedition, and there is little doubt of the evil consequences of the departure from this rule, when at a later period it was determined to exclude from the country all but professing Roman Catholics.

1603. Two small vessels were equipped, of twelve and *fifteen* tons burden, and like little sparks on the broad Atlantic, they crossed the stormy deep and sailed up the lovely St. Lawrence, around whose lofty scenery much of the romance and legend of Indian races is associated, passed Tadousac, Orleans, the glittering cataract of Montmorenci and the giant rock of Stadacona into Lake St. Peter with its lovely archipelago, on to the Island of Montreal. All was solitude, not a vestige of Stadacona or Hochelaga and their friendly populations described by Cartier, remained. Champlain ascended Mount Royal and beheld the transcending beauty of the scene around him. Looking towards the west, the majestic St. Lawrence rolled on its eastward course to the sea, as it issued from Lake St. Peter careering in mad frolic over the rapids of the "Sault"; to the northwest the Ottawa glided and gleamed through the wooded plains and seemed to beckon the gazer with all the magnetic force of fresh discovery. Directly south, the future "Eastern Townships," with their many mountains stood like guardian sentinels, protecting the treasures of the land till the coming of their rightful heritors. With the prescience of the founder of a nation, Champlain realized the immense possibilities of the new world, and with prophetic vision pierced the veil of the future, like Moses of old, from afar off he was granted a vision of the new "Promised Land," as it seemed to him for the persecuted Protestant children of France. A fortified post might be built here, where as from a secure basis, the waters of the vast interior might be traced back to their source and a western route discovered to China and Japan, another of Champlain's grand prophetic glimpses, which the Canadian Pacific Railway of to-day has fulfilled. The very spot chosen by him, Lachine and Caughnawaga, opposite sides of the river, now support terminal arches of the steel bridge spanning the St. Lawrence, connecting the south-eastern traffic with the west and north-west. This bridge must not be confused with the Grand Trunk tubular bridge which spans the river at St. Lamberts on the south, and Point St. Charles (Montreal Island) on the north. It was in 1603 that Champlain's much criticized yet famous alliance was made at Tadousac with the Algonquin races against the Iroquois or powerful confederation of Six Nations. It must be recollected that hostility between these nations existed long before Champlain entered the country, a long exterminating war between the native tribes had been raging. He recognized the necessity of attaching himself and his cause to one side of the struggle in order to gain assistance in future discoveries. The settlements of Stadacona and Hochelaga no doubt were destroyed by hostile tribes.

Kingsford writes: "It was not Champlain's policy which was at fault; the Mother Country was to blame. The fashionable influences of the French Court enabled the Jesuits to dictate the policy with respect to Canada. Their attempt was to establish the undisputed supremacy of the Church. Champlain wanted soldiers, and by gaining over the friendly Indians by alliance and organizing them win them over to Christianity and then civilize them. If this had been done we would not read of the annihilation of the Huron race, the ruin of the Jesuit missions and the murder of the five missionaries; the latter events took place fifteen years after Champlain's death. Returning (in 1603) to France he found that his patron De Chastes was dead. The King had appointed as his successor De Monts, also a Huguenot. A new expedition sailed in 1604, its aim being to establish colonists, cultivate the soil, search for mines, build forts and towns, and confer grants of land. A large number of the company were Protestants, and by the terms of their charter they were allowed free exercise of their own faith but were bound to protect the Roman Catholic religion, and provision was made to convert the savages to that faith. Only one of the two vessels passed Tadousac. De Monts and Champlain passed a disastrous winter in Acadia. In 1605 they returned to France, sailing again for Canada in 1608, when upon his arrival at Quebec Champlain writes, "I searched for a proper place for habitation." In the following year 1609, he was solicited by his allies the Algonquins, Hurons and Montagnais Indians to assist them in a war against their enemies, the Iroquois. Champlain thought this was the moment to reconcile these savage tribes, or alienate them forever. With two or three Frenchmen, guided and accompanied by his savage friends, they ascended the Richelieu River in canoes and reached Lake Champlain, the first white man who saw its waters, the shores of which river and lake proved to be for one hundred and fifty years the battle ground and scene of contest between Indians and white men, French and English, the New England colonies and our Mother Country. In 1609 the scene of so many future warlike expeditions was a vast wilderness, possessed only by the deer and beaver which Champlain tells us abounded. On the 29th of July, about ten o'clock, they met the enemy. The Iroquois disembarked from their canoes, two hundred in number, headed by three powerful chiefs, tall men covered with a kind of armour made of hardened wood. They greatly outnumbered [illegible] with proud assurance, like Goliath to meet David. When they came within shooting distance, Champlain armed cap-a-pie in glittering steel, advanced close to within thirty paces of the chiefs, who stared in mute astonishment at the wonderful apparition confronting them. Champlain suddenly discharging his arquebus killed two of the chiefs and dangerously wounded a third. Immediately one of the Frenchmen discharged his weapon, which so astonished the savages that they fled in confusion, broke their ranks and scattered in every direction, leaving behind them their camp, canoes and provisions. Champlain quaintly says, "They did not run to save their lives," but because they believed that they were contending with supernatural beings. In the fall of the year Champlain returned to France and in March 1610 again set sail for Quebec with a number of artisans. He went to Three Rivers, and with his Indian allies joined in another battle with the Iroquois. This time he was severely wounded in the neck by an arrow, but the enemy were defeated, all killed or made prisoners. Having again returned to France, he brought out with him Madam de Champlain, a gentle lovely woman, who was much beloved by all the colony and the trading Indians during her sojourn of four years in Canada, when at the end of that time she was obliged through ill health to return to France. St. Helen's Island opposite to Montreal was named after this lady. In 1611 Champlain made a settlement at the foot of Mount Royal, a trading post on the spot where the Montreal Custom House now stands. He describes the spot unmistakeably in his account of voyage 1611. When thirty years later Maisonneuve took possession of the Island of Montreal in the name of "Les Associés de Montreal," he but carried out Champlain's idea. Thus our hero may be considered the founder of Montreal as well as of Quebec.

The assassination of Henry the fourth by Ravillac a Jesuit priest (1610), exercised grave influences on the fortunes of Canada. France was unsettled, the Jesuits were begining to be all powerful at Court and aimed only at the establishment of their authority, and by following out this policy in La Nouvelle France, brought the colony to the verge of destruction. The sad story of the settlement of Acadia proves the fatality of Jesuit interference and rule. In 1613 we read of New England and New France colonists in North America disputing about the boundary line and the "Fishery Question." Even in our own young country we find history deigns to repeat herself. It is during this year (1613) Champlain worked his way up the Ottawa River from Montreal about 200 miles to the isle of Fort Coulange, the gathering place at that time of the Ottawa Indians. Here he heard of the Nipissing and Huron Indians and entered into trading relations with them. In 1615 Champlain left France, bringing with him four Recollet priests. This Order is now represented in the Province of Quebec by what is known as the Gallican Church. Arriving at Quebec a church was built, the first mass being celebrated in the presence of Champlain and the friendly Indians. The Fathers Denis and Joseph (Recollets) after having set up their portable altar on the river shore near Montreal chanted mass. The savages were lost in admiration of the ceremonies, vestments of the officiating priests and ornaments of the service. The same year the great explorer set out in the direction of the Huron Indians, passing the limits of his former expedition he reached the mouth of Mattawan River 300 miles above Montreal and turning up that stream, using the Huron trail he st length reached Lake Nipissing where now stands the important railroad town of North Bay and proceeded on to Georgian Bay and Lake Huron, where he again joined the Hurons against the Iroquois, when he was wounded and obliged to retreat and winter with the Indians. Up to 1619 little progress was made in the colony; concord did not exist, strife between the Huguenots and Roman Catholics continued, old religious beliefs were fought out on new soil, the conversion of the Indians much retarded if not altogether arrested by the unseemly quarrels of the two parties each of which claimed to be the true followers of the "Prince of Peace." It is about this time that we read of the first "habitant," Louis Hebert. Those who had previously visited Canada had been traders and adventurers; the white men who had remained with the Indians affected their mode of life so much so, that a class sprung up called "Coureurs des Bois," and "Voyageurs." The population at this time in Quebec was between fifty and sixty French, all connected with the traffic of the day, "the Pelleterie" or fur trade. Champlain had endeavored to open up timber traffic and had taken samples to France, but in this effort he failed. In 1627 we first read of a plough being drawn by oxen, all cultivation of land heretofore having been accomplished by human labor. This primitive method is still much in vogue in what is known as the "French counties," parts of the Province of Quebec both north and south of the St. Lawrence, where all the population is French and French only, and where we find the old fashions, habits and opinions of their forefathers still in full vogue.

In 1628 the Kirke brothers were commissioned by the King of England to destroy the French establishments in Canada. On the eighteenth of July David Kirke sailed up the St. Lawrence to Quebec and summoned Champlain to surrender. The little colony had been almost forgotten by the Home authorities and were starving, each reduced to a ration of seven ounces of pease flour per day and not fifty pounds of ammunition in the magazine. Champlain made such a defiant answer that Kirke, thinking him better provisioned and garrisoned retired after burning the barracks at Tadousac. The new Company of One hundred Associates were sending out supplies of every description and new colonists but their vessels were captured by the Kirke brothers. The following year David Kirke a second time appeared before Quebec, when Champlain, no longer able to hold out against the neglect of the Home authorities, was forced to surrender. On the 22nd of July, 1629, the lilies of France gave way to the red cross of England, and for the first time the banner of old England floated over the bastions of Quebec, amid volleys of guns from the anchored English vessels. Quebec was restored to France in 1632 by the Treaty of St. Germain en Laye. While in France during the interval, Champlain published a complete history of what had transpired in Canada from the foundation of the colony. In 1633 Cardinal Richelieu invested him again as Governor of Canada and the father of this country joyfully returned to the land of his adoption, bringing with him two hundred persons, seamen and colonists, and two Recollets. July fourth, the town of Three Rivers (Trois Rivieres) was founded. August thirteenth, Fort Richelieu (Sorel) founded. It was in pursuance of a vow Champlain erected a chapel called "Notre Dame de la Recouvrance," in memory of the recovery of the country and deliverance from shipwreck.

Christmas day 1635 marked a day of grief and sorrow in the annals of New France. In a chamber of the old Fort of St. Louis, breathless and cold, lay the hardy frame, which war, the wilderness and the sea had buffeted so long in vain. At the age of sixty-eight the Father and Founder of the Country lay dead.

"All the morn, the wan white mist is creeping,
Round the lone far Habitations;
And the snow falls unceasing!
  Heaven's sign of sympathy!
Pain is in the air—the year is dying,
Pain is on the faces of the crowd;
One—the Country's well beloved, is lying
  In his shroud.

He is lying in a lighted chamber
The true heart and brave
To all noble things devoted solely—
So he sleeps in fields of asphodel
Underneath the smile of God most holy
  Fearing not.

Oh! be sure the dear Lord came to greet him
This true knight who did his [illegible]
Bending down with glad sweet words to greet him
  To His home.

There is much to be learned from the review of such a life. A young man when he landed first on Laurentian shores, about the same age as Wolfe when he gained immortal fame on the plains of Abraham, his heroic perseverance and calm endeavour of purpose, in spite of the weakness of his resources, neglect of Home authorities, sickness, hunger, rigorous climate and death of followers, combined with his deep religious life, rank him as "Chevalier sans peur et sans reproche." Thirty years of such continuous efforts to establish the Colony of Canada, testify to the perseverance and strength of his character. He added immense possessions to the crown of France, not by the power of the sword, so much as by the power of his daily Christian life. He may be ranked as the first missionary to the Indians, living among them and daily teaching them the truths of Christianity; he labored unceasingly with the help of the Recollets brothers to convert the Indians. His death was a sad blow to the Hurons, over whom he exercised unbounded influence. Suspicious of the influence of the Jesuits, he encouraged the less ambitious Orders in the Church to carry on missionary work. His manuscripts, illustrated by maps and drawings, bear testimony of his fidelity as an author and ability as a writer. The hero of modern times to whom we can compare Champlain, is General Gordon. "True soldier and true statesman, whose object was ever the welfare of the country over which he governed, who in war sought not the glory of victory but the riches of peace—soldier without shame or reproach, statesman of unsullied honor and integrity." A man who conquered savages and founded our Canada by vanquishing so few.

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CANADIAN HISTORY

Read before the Wentworth Historical Society.

BY THE HON. DONALD MACINNES.

PART I

FEELING convinced that no subject can be more instructive and interesting, or a knowledge of it of greater importance than the history of one's country, I have consented, at the request of your President and other members of the Wentworth Historical Society, to write a paper on the History of Canada. I have not undertaken this duty without reluctance and misgiving, because my own reading and study of the subject have not been such as to warrant a belief that I am able to convey much instruction to others. I have therefore at the outset to crave your indulgence. All that I shall attempt is to take a rapid glance at some of the most important events in the history of our country from its discovery and early settlement down to the conquest and the treaty of Paris, 1763.

I shall draw your attention to the various histories which have been written and to the various sources of information within my knowledge, and should I succeed in so interesting others as to induce a perusal of them I shall feel that my paper has been of some use. My comments are intended to be purely of a narrative, historical and non-partisan character.

Although the physical geography of our country must already be familiar to you, I think it well to commence by taking a glance at its enormous area, its fertile plains, its great lakes, rivers and mountains. The area is 3,740,253 square miles, [illegible] greater than that of the United States excluding Alaska, and within 329,747 square miles of being as large as the whole of Europe. I venture the statement that the fact of the area of Canada being larger than that of the United States proper, and being very nearly as large as the whole of Europe, is not generally realized even in Canada. It most certainly is not outside of Canada, either in the United States or in England, and this too after losing a considerable slice of a most valuable territory down by the sea. The Ashburton Treaty did that. American diplomacy is certainly more successful than English diplomacy, at all events as regards this continent, and more recently we lost the Island of San Juan on the Pacific Coast, that was left to the arbitration of a great king, the Emperor of Germany, and his decision was in favor of American contentions and their diplomacy was again triumphant.

The fertile belt of our North West was described in the deed of surrender by the Hudson Bay Company at the time that country was transferred to Canada, as bounded on the south by the International Boundry, on the west by the Rocky Mountains, and on the north by the North Saskatchewan and on the east by Lake Winnipeg, Lake of the Woods, and waters connecting them; but it is now established beyond a doubt that the fertile belt extends an average of one hundred miles north of the North Saskatchewan along its whole length, and that as we proceed westward along the River the fertile agricultural area extends much further in a northerly direction, reaching the Peace River and the Athabasca valley as the mountains are approached, an area sufficient to support a farming and pastoral population vastly greater than the whole of the present population of Canada. It contains within it no less than two hundred and seventy million acres of land susceptible of cultivation and with a prosperous climate.

There is nothing in the known world to equal the marvelous chain of great lakes which are either wholly within our own territory or lying along its borders. They are: Lakes Ontario, Erie, Huron, Superior, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Great Slave, Great Bear and Mistassini, besides numerous smaller ones. The four first named lie along our borders, and of these Lake Superior is the greatest, its area is 32,000 square miles, and Lake Ontario is the most beautiful. (Ontario is its Indian name and means "beautiful water") its area is 7,300 square miles or about the same area as that of the Island of Jamaica. The other lakes, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Great Slave, Great Bear, are within our Northwest Territory and Lake Mistassini in our Northeast Territory. This latter lake may be said to be of recent discovery; public attention was first drawn to it when the members of the British Association visited Canada in 1888. The Chairman of the Geographical Section, Sir Henry Lefroy alluded to it in his address. It is worthy of mention that the water of these lakes are singularly pure and clear.

The rivers are: The St. Lawrence, the St. John, the Restigouche and Miramichi in the East; the two Saskatchewans, Assiniboine and Red River in the West; the Mackenzie, the Peace and the

Churchill in the North; the Kootenay, the Columbia and the Fraser in British Columbia. The Mountain Ranges, extending 3000 miles from north to south, are the Rockies, the Selkirks and the Cascades. The grandeur and scenery of these mountains are unsurpassed in any part of the world, the Canadian Pacific Railway crossing them on its way from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. These mountains besides the regions at the head of Lake Superior are known to abound in rich mines of silver, copper, nickel, iron and gold.

British Columbia, on the Pacific coast, possesses a considerable area of agricultural lands and valuable forests of timber, and its climate delightfully mild.

The Island of Vancouver contains rich mines of coal of a superior quality. San Francisco and other cities in California on the Pacific coast get their supplies of coal mainly from these mines.

To make the sketch of the physical features of our country more complete, I should also take a rapid glance at old Canada. At Ontario with its temperate climate, its fertile soil producing wheat and every kind of cereals as well as fruits, peaches, apples, grapes, etc., growing in the open fields in great abundance. At Quebec with its great manufacturing possibilities, as well as its agricultural and mining resources. At the Maritime Provinces with their rich mines of coal, iron and gold. And lastly at Newfoundland with its great fishery interests. It is the oldest of British colonies, and its importance can hardly be overrated as the nursery of colonists and British seamen from its discovery down to the present time. These vast possessions are the inheritance of Canadian British freemen, under the aegis of one of the most powerful and greatest of nations, with the most perfect freedom to mould their own destinies. Surely no people could be blessed with greater opportunities, and if true to their own past history and achievements, it requires no prophet to foresee that they must make of this vast domain a great and powerful Canadian British nation, and that within the lives of men now living.

It should be remembered that in 1800 Canada and the Australias were only geographical expressions with a population of about half a million; they now contain ten millions. The people of the United States then numbered less than ten millions and are now over sixty millions.

This magnificent country which I have endeavored to describe was a *terra incognita* to the nations of Europe until the discovery of Labrador and the Island of Newfoundland by John Cabot in 1497, and the beginnings of its colonization and settlement under French rule were laid in the 16th and 17th centuries. Columbus, who steered a southerly course, touched at San Salvador in the Bahamas in 1492, five years prior to Cabot's discoveries in the north.

A brief reference to the condition of European nations at the period under review, the various courses pursued by them regarding new discoveries and acquisitions on this continent, the motives which actuated them and the trend of the events which followed will be more clearly understood and appreciated. Indeed, the history of Canada is so interwoven with that of European nations that in order to make the narrative properly understood and clear a continual reference to the explorations, discoveries and conquests by the Spanish, Portuguese and French in South America, as well as the explorations, discoveries and settlements by the English in that portion of North America which has since become United States territory is necessary.

With the revival of learning and the invention of the compass there was a general awakening of the western nations. About the 15th century Spain, Portugal and Holland, envious of the enormous wealth of the Italian republics, strove to take away their monopoly. This could only be done by finding a new way to the east by the open sea; they could not compete with the Italian merchants in the close waters of the Mediterranean. Christopher Columbus, a citizen of Genoa, who was doubtless well versed in all that was then known in science and geography, and as his own countrymen naturally did not wish him to engage in adventures which would open the western ocean to the Indies to the destruction of their own trade monopoly, offered his services to Ferdinand and Isabella. He was entrusted with a vessel and crew mostly convicts and criminals. They set sail from the harbor of Palos in Portugal, their friends shunning and farewell of them never expecting to see them again. When he touched first at San Salvador, October 12th, 1492, he thought that he had reached India, the Japanese and Malayan archipelagoes of the far east. In thus thinking he altogether miscalculated the earth's size. The great Pacific Ocean and the enormous continent of America were never known to Columbus. On this voyage he visited Cuba and some of the neighboring islands and sailed back to Europe

To the Spaniards the returning discoverer seemed as one risen from the dead, and a most enthusiastic reception was given to him by the Queen and the nation. The spell was now broken and mariner after mariner followed Columbus' tracks and course westward.

Newfoundland, as has been already observed, is the oldest of British colonies. The events which have recently transpired and the misunderstandings which are taking place between the Government of the Island, the Mother Country and France, are of the greatest importance and are especially interesting to us. These misunderstandings appear to be reaching a crisis at the present time, but Great Britain, who may rightly be termed *Pax Britannica*, will doubtless arrive at a peaceful settlement and understanding with the Islanders themselves and with the French nation. The bait required by the fishermen in the Newfoundland fisheries enters largely into these disputes. I take the liberty, as it is germane to the subject of my paper, to quote the following extract from a most interesting article on Newfoundland by Lady Blake—published in one of the periodicals of the day—after describing how stringent laws had been passed to prevent permanent settlement being made on the Island with a view to prevent the formation of family ties in a land which England then sought to keep merely as a fishery station, and a nursery for her seamen, Lady Blake writes:

'Fishing is the staff of life in Newfoundland, and cod is the king of the denizens of the deep, acknowledged to be the fish to be found. In a conversation with a fisherman one day we enquired as to his luck so far that year. 'I have taken a sight o' salmon,' was his answer, 'but no fish yet this season.' When the capelin (a small fish used for bait) strikes the coast, it is a gay and picturesque sight to see the shores of the various bays thronged with an eager crowd ladling the glittering mass of little silver fish about the size of sprats into carts and baskets. The sea is alive with capelin, swarming in headlong haste and heedless of the destruction which awaits them on land; whence they come and whither they go is unknown; possibly they resolve on committing suicide on the first land they encounter rather than fall into the jaws of the relentless whales that follow in their wake. They are a very delicate fish to eat and a bait irresistible to cod. When the capelin have disappeared their place as bait is supplied by herrings, and after these try in the squid. The latter are in great shoals and they individually measure about six inches when the shoals are first seen, and attain almost a foot and a half in length when like the caplin they disappear and are no more seen."

John Cabot, to whom allusion has been already made as the discoverer of Newfoundland, 1497, emulated by the example of Columbus obtained a charter from Henry VII conferring privileges on himself and his three sons, Lewis, Sebastian and Sancius. I think it worth while to quote what was written by an Italian named Soncius to the Duke of Milan concerning Cabot's intentions and objects. He writes: "The Englishmen, Cabot's partners, say that they can bring so many fish that this kingdom will have no more business with Iceland, and that from this country there will be a great trade in fish, but John Cabot has his thoughts directed to a greater undertaking, for he thinks of going after the place is occupied along the coast further to the East, till he is opposite the Island called Cipango (Japan) situate in the equinoctial region, where he believes all the spices grow and where there are also gems; and in the spring he says His Majesty will arm some ships and will give him all the convicts so that he may go to that country and plant a colony there, and in this way he hopes to make London a greater place for spices than Alexandria, and the principals of this business are citizens of Bristol, great mariners who now know where to go. They say that the voyage will not take more than fifteen days if fortune favors them after leaving Hibernia (Ireland) and I have some poor Italian friars will go on this voyage who have the promise of being made bishops, and I being a friend of the Admiral if I wished to go could have an archbishopric."

Cabot evidently designed to reach the far East; the land of Cipango (Japan) had a marvelous fascination on the minds of all geographers and explorers, for here was the El Dorado, the treasure house of the world, but in the absence of maps or exact knowledge of geography they all miscalculated the distance. John Cabot was not destined to discover the golden region of Cipango, but coasting along the shores of Labrador he came to Newfoundland, where fisheries were discovered infinitely richer than those of Iceland and here was opened up a new world of enterprise to the sailors of Great Britain, which has lasted from the date of Cabot's discovery to the present time—a gold or a diamond mine may be exhausted but the harvest of the sea goes on forever—such was the substantial El

Dorado which Cabot and the British adventurers chanced upon; with them also rests the honor of first seeing the American continent. He returned to England, got a second charter from Henry VII in 1498, giving him authority to trade and colonize, and on his voyage he went in his search for the Northwest passage as far as Hudson's Straits, where he was turned back by the ice. In Henry the Eighth's reign his son Sebastian procured a royal charter, and, with Sir Thomas Pert again attempted the Northwest passage to India by Hudson Straits. It remained for the Canadian Pacific Railway to solve this problem. That company by its steamers on the Pacific Ocean and its railway across the American Continent, through Canada is enabled to transport mails and passengers in twenty one days from China to London.

Cabot, after his return to England became the governor of a company of merchant adventurers, secured a pension from the Crown, and died at a ripe old age. Purchas, a writer of works of travel, and himself a noted traveler of that era, says that America should not be so called from Americus Vespucius, but rather Cabotiana or Sebastiana, after John and Sebastian Cabot.

MacGregor the historian of British America, has written thus concerning Newfoundland:—"For two centuries and a half after its discovery by Cabot, Newfoundland was of more mighty importance to Great Britain than any other colony, and it is doubtful if the British Empire could have risen to its great and superior rank among the nations of the earth if any other power held Newfoundland. It undoubtedly occupies a strategic point as the outpost of America, and the key to the St. Lawrence, and the nursery of the colonial marine.

Cabot by his discovery of Newfoundland in 1497 had given England a prior claim by right of discovery to the continent of North America. In 1540 Francis de la Roque, Lord of Roberval, obtained from the French king a commission as Lord and Viceroy with full authority over the immense territories and islands which were in the Gulf and along the River St. Lawrence. This clashed with the charter of the Cabots, given them by Henry VII and VIII assigning to them all lands that might be discovered, with sole right to trade.

In June 1578 a royal charter was given to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, with license to discover such remote lands as were not actually possessed by any christian king or people, and to hold and occupy the same for himself and his heirs. But it was not till 1583 that he unfolded the flag of England in the Island of Newfoundland and exacted homage from the fishing fleet. In 1655 New France meant according to French claims, Newfoundland, Labrador, Acadia, Canada and the country to the west. A continual rivalry was thus kept up between the English and the French for the possession and control of Newfoundland and its fisheries.

The first attempt at organized settlement was made in 1624 when Lord Baltimore (Sir George Calvert) obtained a special patent for the southern promontory of the Island, to which it is said he gave the name of "Avalon" after the hallowed spot in the west of England, where, according to legend, Joseph of Arimathea took refuge, carrying with him the holy grail.

Sir David Kirk (of whom we shall hear more) became grantee of the Newfoundland settlement, and lived and died there. During the civil war he offered King Charles an asylum in Newfoundland, of which he might have availed himself, and, like King Arthur in the Island valley of Avalon, healed himself of his grievous wounds if Cromwell had spared his head. Prince Rupert, upon Kirke's invitation, set sail for Avalon to recruit his fleet there from amongst the hardy fisherman, but he was compelled to abandon his intention as a fleet of the commonwealth was sent to intercept him.

The first appointment of a regular Governor was made in 1728; prior to that there was no regular Government. Power was vested in a class of sea captains styled Admirals, and who, according to the order of the arrival of their ships in any harbor, were admiral, vice admiral and rear admiral of the port. They were servants of the merchants who sent them out, and were coarse and illiterate. In 1725 a representation to the Home Government was made asking for the appointment of a regular Governor, which was done as stated in 1728.

By the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697 various places on the south coast, of which Placentia was the French capital, were kept in possession of the French and in 1701 they held nearly the whole of the Island in their possession. The Treaty of Utrecht, 1713, secured the complete sovereignty of England, but [illegible] conceded certain fishery rights which have been a continual source of trouble ever since, down to the present day.

If the great English minister Pitt had been in office at the period of the Treaty of Paris, in 1763, these treaties about Newfoundland and the fisheries, and the troubles and disputes arising therefrom, in place of being living issues, would have been then set at rest and would in all probability only be past history to the present generation.

In 1761, during the negotiations for peace between England and France, the French minister while negotiating with Pitt who was then in power had made a secret treaty with Spain, known as the family compact, having for its object the union of the various members of the House of Bourbon in common resistance to the then growing power of England. Pitt divined the secret treaty and soon found evidence of it. He resolved at once to demand a full explanation from Spain and, failing to receive a satisfactory reply attack her at home and abroad before she was prepared. He laid his plans before a Cabinet council, there being present: Earl Bute, Duke of Newcastle, Earl Greenville, Earl Temple and others of the ministry. Pitt urged his views with great warmth. "This," he exclaimed, "was the time for humbling the whole House of Bourbon." His recommendations did not prevail and he resigned.

Power fell to Bute, and great was the fall! The mass of the nation were with the defeated minister. The financial condition of France was desperate, her people were crushed with taxation. The French minister, Choiseul, felt the need of immediate peace, and George III and Bute were hardly less eager for it to avert the danger of Pitt's return to power and give free scope to their schemes for strengthening the prerogative of the crown concerning which they were more anxious than for the welfare and prosperity of the nation.

In September 1762 negotiations for peace were resumed. In November the plenipotentiaries of England, France and Spain agreed on the preliminaries of peace. The points interesting to us are that France ceded to Great Britain all her possessions on the North American continent east of the River Mississippi except the city of New Orleans and a small adjacent district. She renounced her claims to Acadia, the Island of Cape Breton and all other islands in the Gulf and River St. Lawrence subject to certain restrictions. France was left free to fish in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and off a part of Newfoundland, and two little islands, St. Pierre and Miquelon were given her as fishing stations on condition that she should not fortify or garrison them. The effect of their concession has been to furnish a bone of contention and to perpetuate the troubles and disputes about Newfoundland and its fisheries down to this day and generation. In December, when the question of approving the preliminaries came up before both Houses of Parliament, Pitt, confined by gout was not present till late in the day, when the House was startled by repeated cheers from outside. The doors opened and the fallen minister entered carried in the arms of his servants and followed by an applauding crowd. He spoke for about three hours, sometimes with a burst of power, sometimes with the accents of pain and exhaustion. He highly commended the retention of Canada, but denounced the leaving to France a share of the fisheries. Had Britain's greatest statesman been at the helm at that period, it is safe to say that all cause for future trouble and disputes concerning them would then have been swept away.

I think it will be interesting, and clear the ground as it were, if we take a rapid glance at the explorations and easy conquests in South America by the Spanish and Portuguese before recounting the story of the struggles, difficulties and hardships encountered by the English and French to found colonial empires in the North.

We are apt to forget that England as a European power in the 15th and 16th centuries held a secondary place as compared with other European powers, notably Spain and Portugal and even Holland. Spain and Portugal were the most powerful, and their American possessions were vastly greater than those of any other nation.

In the early history of America charters and concessions were granted to favored individuals and companies with a lavish hand.

In May 1493, the year succeeding Columbus' discovery of the Bahamas, Pope Alexander issued a *Bull* in which with a grand simplicity he drew an imaginary line from the north to the south pole one hundred leagues west of the Azores assigning to Spain all that lay west of the boundary while all to the east of it was confined to Portugal. This imaginary geographical definition was not accepted by other nations. Frances I of France exclaimed, "*What*, shall the Kings of Spain and Portugal divide all America between them without suffering me to take a share as their brother? I would fain see the article in Adam's will that bequeathed this vast inheritance to them."

Sir Edward Creasy, in his fifteen decisive battles, has pointed out that prior to the dispersion of the Great Armada it was hard to realize the weakness of England as compared with Spain. England then had no Indian or Colonial empire, save the feeble germs of North American settlement which Raleigh and others had planted recently, concerning which we shall learn later on.

Scotland was then a separate kingdom and Ireland in rebellion. Queen Elizabeth had found an encumbered revenue, a divided people, and an unsuccessful foreign war; she had also a pretender to her throne favored by all Roman Catholic powers. France and Spain were about this time planting colonies on the American continent. In 1564 Coligny planted a French Protestant colony in Florida. Coligny had long wished to establish a Protestant French Empire in America and obtained an ample concession from Charles IX. It proved a disastrous failure.

This attempt of French Protestants to found colonies in America, occurring as it does 56 years before the exodus of the Pilgrim Fathers and the beginning of New England, has sometimes been contrasted with it, but Coligny's expedition differed widely from the Puritan exodus. Coligny's object was to encourage French emigration to the new world assisted by the State, while the Puritan exodus was expatriation caused by religious persecutions. It aroused the hostility of the Spaniards, and an expedition under the cruel Pedro Menendez was sent out and the French colony was ruthlessly destroyed and Philip II of Spain proclaimed monarch of all North America. The Spanish power was firmly established around Hispaniola. Porto Rico was the centre and the Gulf of Mexico her "mare clausum," from the furthest cape of the Caribbean along the shores of the Cape of Florida she was undisputed mistress by sea and land.

The progress of Spain to the south as can be learned from their annals was one of rapid conquest. The prizes of victory were prodigiously great, the wealth of despoiled Mexico and Peru was almost fabulous; broken adventurers and bankrupt noblemen went to South America to recruit their broken fortunes. Ferdinand Cortes, 1518, marched into Mexico, pillaged the rich capital of the Aztecs and treacherously laid hands on the aged monarch Montezuma. Further south, Pizarro, 1527-30, conquered the rich empire of the Incas. The American continent from Mexico to the Straits of Magellan was at their feet, and Pope Alexander's Bull which gave all the world west of the Azores to Spain was about to be fulfilled.

When Balboa, a Spaniard, crossed the Isthmus of Panama and saw the waters of the Pacific Ocean he rushed forward and plunging into the waters took possession of the ocean in the king's name. Spain and Portugal, after gaining an American colonial empire, lost it by their corruption and ignorance in the art of governing. But there remains a splendid series of free states from Chili to Mexico and from the Argentine Republic to Brazil. South American republics have sprung from Spain and Portugal, Brazil from Portugal; their populations are to a large extent of Indian blood. Together with the first conquests of Spain came the triumphs of geographical discovery. Juan Ponce de Leon, an adventurous Spaniard searching for the fabled fountain of youth, discovered Florida on Easter Day 1513. Francisco Fernandez, of Cordova, sailing from Havana, discovered the peninsula of Yucatan and the Bay of Campeachy 1517 and next year his pilot explored the whole coast of Yucatan towards Panuco, bringing back much gold and rumors of the empire of Montezuma. In 1519 Francisco de Garay, a companion of Columbus on his second voyage and Governor of Jamaica, explored the west of Florida and discovered the Mississippi, called at first Espiritu Santo. From the Bahamas northward to Carolina and to the Bay of Delaware, called in Spanish geography St. Christopher's, the Spaniards pushed their explorations and in January 1525 Stephen Gomez, a Portuguese explorer, sailed as far north as the Hudson in an attempt to find the northern passage to Cathay. But the Spaniards were content to leave the frozen regions of the north to the French and British whilst they carried on their exploration for the treasures of the kingdoms of the warm south.

One of their most intrepid pioneers was Cabeza de Vacca who, like the great Frenchman Champlain, whose deeds and travels we shall find recorded in the story of Canadian explorations, lived amongst the natives, learned their ways, and became a skilful pathfinder. He reached Texas, travelled as far north as lat. 36, long. 104 west, and wandered on westward till he drew near to the Pacific Ocean in May 1536. The narrative of Ferdinand de Soto, of Xeres, Pizarro's favorite comrade, who after terrible sufferings in his explorations in the valley of the Mississippi died and was buried in the waters of the mighty river itself, bequeathing the honor of discovery to the Spaniards.

In the north the story of exploration, conquest, and colonization reads differently. The native tribes, such as the Iroquois or the Five Nations were made of sterner stuff than the Mexicans in the south. The annals of northern explorations are full of never ceasing conflict with the natives, unlike those of the ravaging bands of Pizarro who had only to put out their hands and keep.

In both instances the course of conquest had its moral effects. In the north every energy of body and mind were called into requisition to subdue the natives and to till the soil; its history is a record of fierce struggles and great hardships. The moral effects are apparent down to the present time. In the one case instability and uncertainty prevail, governments are overturned, revolution after revolution follow each other; while in the north there is stability of government, law and order prevail, civil and religious liberty, as well as security to life and property—blessings inestimable, worthy to be guarded at all hazards.

JACQUES CARTIER AND THE FRENCH EXPLORERS

It was during Henry VIII's reign in 1534-5, while Francis I was reigning in France, that North American exploration was boldly carried on by Jacques Cartier. The French king, thinking that his country should have some share in the world's riches, sent out his noted navigator on voyages of discovery. He sailed three times from France, making new explorations on each occasion. He first visited Newfoundland, sailing through the Straits of Belle Isle, entered Bay Chaleur and landed in Gaspe. While at Gaspe he heard from the Indians a wonderful account of the St. Lawrence. The next year he fitted out a second expedition and sailing up the river discovered Stadacona, an Indian village, on the site where Quebec now stands. Donnacona, the chief who ruled over the Algonquins, welcomed him and treated him very kindly. Further up the river he found the Indian town of Hochelaga belonging to the Hurons; here also he was kindly treated by the natives who had never seen Europeans before and believed them to possess supernatural gifts. Cartier spent the winter at Stadacona, and in the spring he sailed to Europe taking Donnacona and many Indian warriors with him. 1536. Cartier did not revisit the St. Lawrence for five years, when he returned for the third time. He was associated with Sieur de Roberval, who was nominated Vice Regent of Canada and of the colonies to be established there, but Cartier and Roberval were unable to agree. The natives were less friendly than they had been before. Cartier and the little band of colonists led a miserable existence at Cape Rouge and they returned to France. It was nearly fifty years before the French again made any serious attempt to colonize.

We will leave the narrative of French explorations with this preliminary sketch and take it up and follow them continuously later and in the meantime it will be both interesting and instructive to follow the course of English adventures which finally led to the founding of an American Colonial Empire—a Greater Britain. England, during the greater part of the 16th century, made no attempt to colonize the great valley of the St. Lawrence, although the French may be said to have abandoned it for about half a century after Jacques Cartier's third and last return to France from the small settlement which he had established at Cape Rogue.

The apathy of the English may be traced to various causes. English sailors were too much engrossed with the fisheries of Newfoundland and Cape Breton to undertake the settlement of the country inland, and the climate of the portion of the Gulf of St. Lawrence then known to them they considered unfavorable for the beginning of an infant colony, and moreover during the 16th century English mariners were also specially interested in the search for the northwest and northeast passages. Robert Thorne, of Bristol, who accompanied the Cabots on their first voyage, expressed the general feeling. He said, "If I had the faculty to my will the first thing I would undertake even to attempt would be to ascertain if our seas northward be navigable to the Pole or not." Sir Frances Drake, the first Englishman to pass the Straits of Magellan, sailed up the west coast of the American continent as far as latitude 43 north, proposing to return east by the way of the northeast and northwest passage but was stopped at what appeared to him after the tropics, the intolerable cold of the Californian climate. Sir Martin Frobisher one of the boldest of the Elizabethan captains regarded the northwest passage as the only great thing left undone and made three voyages in search of it.

Geographers then took for granted the strait connecting the

North Atlantic and North Pacific, and in old maps it is delineated and made to correspond with the Straits of Magellan, and on the far side lay Cathay separated only by the narrow "Straits of Anian," and there was a mythical rumour that the Greek sailor San Juan de Fuca, after whom the straits of that name on the Pacific Coast are named, thirteen years after Drake's voyage, wished to go there to fortify it against the possible inroads of the English.

In 1587 Davis, under the patronage of secretary Walsingham, made three voyages in search of the Northwest passage and reached the high latitude called after his name. The idea was a life project with Henry Hudson—after whom Hudson Straits were named. This passion for Northwest passages helped to withdraw the eyes of the English from the St. Lawrence and set them in the direction of Hudson Bay.

English colonization in North America began first of all with private enterprise; individuals set out on voyages of discovery at their own cost.

Raleigh devoted his life to schemes of North American colonization, and sacrificed to his faith in them his property and then his life. He was the brightest star of that galaxy of great men who lived in the stormy times of Queen Elizabeth. In addition to commanding courage, he possessed in a more than ordinary degree light, knowledge and enthusiasm. Had he turned his attention to the great St. Lawrence valley and to the great inland lakes of North America [illegible] Virginia and Carolina, English colonists would probably have cultivated the fertile lands bordering them, explored the Mississippi and opened up the Northwest regions long before the French who for so many years seemed to halt at the gateway of the continent.

The reign of Charles II stands out in the history of Great Britain as a period of remarkable progress. It was then especially that the American colonies took the character which they had when they attracted so much attention in the next century of an uninterrupted series of settlements extending from south to north along the Atlantic coast; for it was then that the Carolinas and Pennsylvania were founded and the Dutch were expelled from New York and Delaware. Considered as a whole and judged by the standard of the time, this American settlement began now to be imposing. Its distinction is that it has a population which is at once large and almost purely European. The row of English colonies on the Atlantic was perhaps already the most solid achievement in the way of colonisation that any European state could boast, though it would seem insignificant enough if judged by a modern standard.

The population of the twelve oldest colonies,—the two Carolinas and Georgia, Virginia and Maryland, Pennsylvania and Delaware, New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Providence, and Massachusetts,—is calculated at about 207,000.

We learn from the history of the New England colonies that from their commencement in 1620, for twenty years there was, until the meeting of the long Parliament, a steady exodus from England, but for a special reason, viz. because the Anglican Church was then harsh and New England offered a refuge for Puritanism, Brownism or Independence. Parliament met, the exodus ceased, and afterwards for a hundred years there was so little emigration into New England from old England that it was believed to balance the counter movement of colonists quitting the country. The steady stream of emigration to the New World did not begin till the peace of 1815.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

MR. GEORGE H. MILLS.

Read at the opening meeting for the season of 1890-91, Tuesday evening, November 18th, 1890.

It has become an established precedent that the President of every organization or Association shall some time during his incumbency deliver some sort of an address. Whether such an address shall be edifying or an infliction upon his audience, is rarely or never considered. It is in compliance with this immemorable rule that I purpose speaking to you very briefly this evening.

I may say at the outset, that the inception of all Associations with objects and aspirations similar to ours, has been the legitimate offspring of what may be properly designated as patriotic sentiment. That where these Associations have proved successful the spread of this sentiment has been the chief cause of success, and where they have ended in failure, a decline of that sentiment has been apparent. Assuming this to be substantially true it may be asked what then is patriotism? Our language thus defines it: Love of one's country; the passion which aims to serve one's country, either by defending it from invasion or protecting its rights and maintaining its laws and institutions in vigor and purity. Patriotism is the characteristic of a good citizen, the noblest passion that animates a man in the character of a citizen. Historical societies formed and fighting under such a banner can be no discredit to any country. They know no party, they simply love their country. They are free [illegible] and as much their subordination to the authority of government is no more than a compliance with laws which they themselves have helped to enact, and while the national honor is firmly maintained and while justice is impartially administered, their obedience will be voluntary and cheerful, possibly unlimited.

The influence of such Associations ought to promote manhood, furnish strength to the arm raised in defense of right, and paralyze the designs of traitors. It should nurture power to protect the weak, guard the innocent and punish the guilty. Nations draw their stability from the patriotism of their subjects. It is, indeed, the keystone to the arch of national construction, and in a free country the greatest safeguard to liberty, independence and progress, its decline a prelude to national degeneracy, its spread an indication of national vigor. Without patriotism, Canada, with all her wealth of resource, and her almost boundless territory, may never hope to take a prominent place among nations; with it, that destiny would seem inevitable.

The Roman Empire fell because patriotism declined and cupidity flourished. So it was with other nationalities whose histories tell of perished grandeur and decaying patriotism. If what I have stated be true or even fairly approaching the truth, why should popular patriotic histories of this grand Dominion not be encouraged? Why should our common schools and our universities be comparatively destitute of them? Why should full knowledge of this priceless inheritance manfully acquired and heroically defended by our forefathers, be withheld from their children? Why, in a word, should Canadian history take any but a foremost place in all our educational institutions?

There can be no rational answer to negative the demand. It is, indeed, gratifying to have observed, during the past two years, the increasing interest taken in the demand for a larger representation of Canadian literature in our schools, as indicated by letters and leading articles in our newspapers, and I may not be speaking beyond the fact to say that the Historical and Pioneer Societies throughout the Dominion—becoming daily more influential—have had something to do with the existing popularity of the subject. The good work in this direction already accomplished by the Pioneer and Historical Society in Toronto, so ably presided over by the venerable Dr. Scadding, and the Lundy's Lane Association with its energetic president, Canon Bull, entitles these organizations to the highest regards of thoughtful and cultivated men. But while they as united bodies are attracting public attention, individual interest and energy are not wanting. Only a few days since I noticed in the papers that a patriotic gentleman in Ontario had offered $1000 as a reward for the production of a Canadian history suitable for our schools. Whoever the gentleman may be, I think you will endorse the opinion that the country at large will appreciate his laudable proposal. His money could scarcely be better applied, while the subject for which he has so generously offered this prize is sufficiently interesting to attract the attention of the most capable writers in the Dominion.

If I have rightly understood their motives, the many historical societies throughout the Dominion have a common object, and that is to assist with all the power of their influence, in laying broad and deep the foundations upon which the future of this larger part of the continent of North America may assuredly and safely rest, and this they believe may be attained by encouraging patriotic sentiment. United, their efforts will certainly be crowned with success; separated, the result may be doubtful. I am, therefore, impressed that no time should be lost in calling a convention of delegates from all of these associations, and that such convention shall arrange for a united membership, and adopt rules to direct and govern the entire combination. Such a confederation would attract to itself enlarged membership and enhanced resources, sufficient to enable it to propagate its principles and extend its influence to the utmost borders of the Dominion.

The rugged manhood of this Canada of ours has *so far* overcome every obstacle in the way of progress, from the first French colonies planted in Quebec, only to be decimated by starvation and the rigor of the climate, to the war of 1812-14, when the total population of the two provinces barely reaching 275,000 successfully resisted the invasion of a nation at the time possessing a population of 8,000,000. In no boastful spirit should all this be remembered, but still it should be remembered.

To-day we are in the full enjoyment of peace, plenty and prosperity, governed and protected by laws and institutions unsurpassed for their purity, equity and intelligence. Let us do our best to transmit these blessings to those who come after us, and we will have accomplished a work that we shall never be ashamed of. But patriotism must be guided by freedom of thought to promote progress, to be effective in the accomplishment of grand designs and lasting results.

Freedom of thought is healthful to the mind as exercise to the body, yet the clashing of thoughts, unlike the forcible collision of material bodies, is followed not by disaster and destruction, but by increased vigor, clearer conceptions and a nearer approach to truth

The brilliant achievements of the latter half of this century are clearly the outcome of unhampered thought. The new era now spread before us, indicating still grander developments, is a product of the same agency and far more astounding results will hereafter be reached at lessened intervals.

If absolute truth be desirable, there can be no possible argument in favor of throwing obstacles in the way of its attainment. Yet, until very recently, he who ventured an opinion at variance with preconceived dogmas, at once became the object of scorn and derision. Not so now; liberty of thought, after centuries of bondage, has struggled on, and is to-day a recognised prerogative. Its gems of beauty and truth are treasured up, its dross and tinsel repudiated. The incubus of restraint is passing away, while mental activity is encouraged. The world grows in wisdom and morality, as the knowledge of right is dispensed, and wrong disproved, by that marvellous agency, unhampered thought. It is the strong grasp of unrestrained intelligence, that draws from the darkest recesses of nature proofs of an over-ruling providence. It is the same force that accelerates the progress and assures the amelioration of mankind.

Wonderful events have happened in this busy, ever-changing world, within or nearly within my memory. In 1819 the first steamship, the "Savannah," crossed the Atlantic. The "Savannah" was an American vessel fitted as well with sailing as with steam appliances. It is now however stated—with what degree of accuracy I do not know—that she did not steam across the ocean at all, that her paddles were safely stowed away in her hold until she entered the British channel. She was twenty-six days going from New York to Liverpool. Previous to that date efforts had been made in England and Scotland to propel boats by steam, but partial success only had attended their efforts; canals and rivers had been navigated by steam, but the rate of speed had only reached from five to eight miles an hour, and the discovery had attracted little public attention.

It has been generally claimed in the United States that Robert Fulton, an American engineer, was the first to propel vessels by steam, but this, as in the case of the Atlantic cable, is an error. Fulton obtained his idea of boat propulsion by steam from William Symington, a Scotch engineer, who in [illegible] had constructed a steam boat, the "Charlotte Dundas," for Lord Dundas, and who ran it on the Clyde and Forth Canal.

Fulton examined this boat with great care, took copious notes of its construction and applied his knowledge thus obtained in constructing the "Clermont," which in 1807 commenced running for accommodation of passengers between Albany and New York. Symington's boat ran at a speed of six miles an hour, Fulton's at less than five. Even after the trial trip of the "Savannah," scientific men declared that the ocean could never be successfully navigated by steam, but these predictions were disproved seventeen years after. For on the 4th day of April, 1838, the "Sirius," an English vessel with a tonnage of about seven hundred tons and three hundred and twenty horse power, started from London with 94 passengers and arrived at New York on the 22nd, having been seventeen days clear on the passage. She was followed by the "Great Western" from Bristol where the latter was built; she left on the 7th April, and arrived at New York on the 23rd, having been out 15 days. The average speed of the "Great Western" was 9 knots; she was 212 feet long, twenty-five feet six inch beam, and twenty-three feet six inches in depth, drawing from sixteen to eighteen feet of water, her engines 440 horse power. The success of these two boats established the practicability of transatlantic steam navigation. Now, from twenty to twenty-four miles an hour are made by ocean steamers, and three are being constructed averaging over six hundred feet in length, each with engines of 30,000 horse power. These mammoth vessels will probably cross the Atlantic Ocean in less than five days, with perfect security and comfort to those who embark in them.

The first passenger railway served by steam was opened for traffic, 27th September, 1825. George Stephenson was the constructing engineer. Edward Pease, a quaker, was the chief promoter. It ran from Darlington to Stockton. The second railway served by steam, to carry passengers ran from Liverpool and Manchester. It was opened in 1829. George Stephenson designed the engine. Its rate of speed was from fourteen to seventeen miles an hour. Now the world is covered with a network of railways, some of their trains running at a rate of a mile in less than a minute. By these we may travel in days where before their introduction months were required for the journey. Our most gracious sovereign Queen Victoria was crowned in 1838. The American nation has grown from less than ten to sixty-three millions in my time, but fifty-one years before, this mighty republic was a colony of Great Britain with a population less than half that of Canada to-day. Since my recollection nearly every kind of industry required for the support and luxury of mankind, was performed by the hand of man. Now machinery and steam and electricity do all this, and each succeeding year adds to their power and efficiency. The electric telegraph came into existence less than fifty years ago. The year 1858 was rendered memorable in the annals of the world by the successful laying of the Atlantic cable. This magnificent design to unite the continents of Europe and America was conceived by Frederick Newton Gisborne, an Englishman and for a time a resident of Canada, who was ably seconded by Cyrus W. Field, an American. The latter with unparalleled energy and perseverance, secured sufficient capital for the enterprise, and patiently watched its progress to completion. These two names will pervade all future history. I quote from a writer who thus describes the event: "On the 17th of July 1858, the 'Niagara' and 'Agamemnon' with the 'Valorous' and 'Gorgon' as tenders, bearing the Atlantic cable, put to sea and on the 29th met in mid ocean, joined the ends of the cable between the two ships bearing it, and commenced laying it in 240 fathoms (14,400 feet) water. The Niagara continuing westward and the Agamemnon returning to the east. On the 5th of August the two ships cut the cable, and left the ends on shore on the two sides of the Atlantic; the telegraph was thus established between Valencia and Trinity Bay. But the magnificent work was doomed to failure. For a time messages were read, one was sent by Queen Victoria to the President of the United States and an answer from him received. But the days of the first Atlantic cable were numbered. On the 1st of September it conveyed two military messages; on the following day it conveyed one congratulatory message for a public meeting in New York addressed to Cyrus W. Field, but on the same day it failed to convey a similar message. From that time till its death struggle on the 20th October it was silent, but human enterprise was not to be baffled by the failure, the principle was established." The revolution of the mind had commenced, yet the first connecting link uniting the old and the new world was lying useless at the bottom of the ocean, and has never been recovered. Another cable with additional scientific appliances was laid, and this has never been silent. The telephone, a child of the telegraph, is of still more recent date; you have witnessed its coming. Every day new developments are appearing from the application of this marvellous electrical power. We have scarcely time to stop and wonder before our attention is attracted to some new achievement through this agency, far surpassing all marvels of the past. While we think the telegraph has been carried to the possible limit of its application, we are astonished with the intelligence that messages can readily be exchanged from moving railway trains. While we are arguing that the telephone can be a success only in a limited way, we hear that people are conversing with each other who are separated a thousand miles. What will the end of all this be? Who can tell? Will communication by electrical signals yet be possible with other planets? Will the space above be yet controlled as the waters below have already been? Fanciful as the idea seems, as much opposed to existing scientific knowledge, as it certainly is, these achievements would be scarcely more astounding to the coming generation than the first introduction of the electric telegraph was to us. The knowledge and control of electricity is as yet but feeble. If forty years have produced such wonders, what may not be expected within the coming twenty, when the lever is already in the hand of genius? Still improvement and amelioration in the condition of mankind have kept pace with the onward progress of steam and telegraphy. Education and culture have spread over the world; science has removed doubtful and speculative theories and established immutable principles. Human life has been sensibly prolonged by sanitary provisions, a result of the profounder knowledge of nature's laws. Telegraphs, tunnels and canals have joined continents, spanned oceans, and pierced mountains; new planets and new worlds have been discovered; superstitious fears and imaginings have been allayed by a more comprehensive understanding of the universe. The bible has been carried to every land and printed in every language. All these things and far more have I witnessed. What wonders are in store for those who are now in the spring-time of youth. Old England and her enterprising offspring, the United States, aided by German mental activity, have been the prime movers in these intellectual conquests. Still without the religion of the Reformation the generation would not have been dazzled with their brilliancy, as thrift and progress have ever followed the standard of protestantism. Skepticism and doubt, social and labor theories, are now apparently making great advances, and claiming many adherents in the world, but learned and thoughtful attention are directed towards, and master minds are investigating these with the view of understanding the difficulties that surround them, exposing their fallacies and removing their grievances. The development of a wider intelligence and a closer study of the designs of Providence will, as surely as a Providence exists, find ample remedy for every evil and ultimately remove the cause. Copernicus and Newton, Columbus and Darwin, Savonarola and Bruno and many others have done magnificent work towards disenthralling a cramped and darkened intelligence. Those who shall come after them will still further extend the good work until *hope* not *despair* shall dominate the human mind. May this, with kindred societies, do something to strengthen the forces now combining to reach that end.

I know there are no errors
In the great eternal plan,
And all things work together
For the final good of man.
And I know when my soul speeds onward
In the grand eternal quest,
I shall say as I look back earthward,
Whatever is—is best.

THE UNITED EMPIRE LOYALISTS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY AS IMPERIAL FEDERATIONISTS.

BY THE REV. E. J. FESSENDEN, RECTOR OF CHIPPAWA.

THE American Revolutionary struggle had a *twofold* result—the birth of Canada, as well as the independence of the Thirteen Colonies; and the last word of history will never say that the cause which created Canada failed in the centuries, to be triumphant.

A fair and intelligent statement of the origin and progress of the American Revolution, so far from pointing, as is sometimes held, to the eventual independence of all the colonies, as the natural goal of their growth and development, reveals the fact that nothing but a sinister combination of adverse circumstances, such as can never occur again in the Empire, made the separation that then took place possible.

A true analysis of that conflict, which has in the past and must in the future so dominate our Canadian destiny, gives the most incontestable evidence that the principle and sentiment of loyalty and devotion to the Mother Country and the United Empire, are all-powerful in Colonial national life, and best conserve that life's highest interests. Let us make that analysis.

Like our present, the Peace of Paris in 1763 marks a turning point in English history, brought on then by the growth and position of the American Colonies.

Three classes in the Empire had taken part in the creation of her Colonies. The Home Government sought by colonizing to extend England's power. English merchants and manufacturers promoted colonization for the enrichment of their trade, while the Colonists left the Home Land to improve their own condition and that of their posterity.

The problem given English statesmanship to solve was, by her Colonial legislation to harmonize this threefold interest of the public weal, to bring all three into cordial co-operation in advancing the one Imperial object of growing greatness and well being. In the past this had been fairly well done, without any perilous conflicts of rights and interests.

But the Colonial legislation following upon the Peace of Paris was conceived in the impolitic design of strengthening the parent state in the Empire by weakening the Colonies. Each act of this ill-starred policy robbed the Englishmen on the western shores of the Atlantic of some birth-right or privilege sacred to them under the constitution.

The Colonists, with an irrefragable unity of public conviction and purpose, steadily resisted these measures, and the whole Empire was plunged into the throes of a great constitutional struggle, in which an appeal to arms was made.*

But such a struggle was no new thing in English history. It had more than one parallel in the past.

It has ever been through such struggles that England's constitution has broadened its freedom and deepened its rights.

While the issues that inspired the victors in the past, however great they had been, could not touch the heart and move the judgment with such brilliancy of sentiment and force of conviction as those then at stake; the Colonists, like the Barons of Runnymede, were contending not for their Magna Charta, but the Magna Charta of the Greater Britain. They would be unworthy of their ancestry and unfaithful to their cause, not only to the Colonies but to the whole commonwealth, if, by renouncing their citizenship in the Empire, they gave up as hopeless their maintenance of the constitutional rights and liberties of Englishmen on the American shore. And however much the conflict had deepened their cause was anything but hopeless to English force of will, when Franklin and his fellow leaders created the Independence party and out of the "blue" of those secret sessions of the Continental Congress confounded the friends of the Colonies' rights, throughout the Empire, by the rebel bolt of American Independence.*

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* The Congress of 1774 declared the Colonies to be a unity in their determination to defend their rights, and John Adams stated at the same time, "All America is united in sentiment, every colony, county, city, town and hundred upon the whole continent. One understanding governs, one heart animates the whole." Quoted by Bancroft, History of the United States, vol. VII., chapter XXV., p. 224.

Sabine, an American historian, gives, in his "Loyalists of the American Revolution," repeated instances of leading Loyalists defending the constitutional rights of the Colonies and taking the lead in their defence till the declaration of Independence made such defence an [illegible]. Evidence of this is given in Ryerson's "Loyalists and their Times," vol. I., p. 474; Frothingham's "Rise of the Republic of the United States," pp. 488-9.

The first opposition in 1765 to the abridgement of Colonial rights proceeded from the General Assembly of New York. The majority of which Assembly were afterwards of the Loyalists.

Bancroft (Museum Edition), vol. III., p. 368. The same edition, vol. IV., p. 692. We are told that Dickinson, the Loyalist, in the second petition of congress to the King, drawn up by him, did not ask merely for relief from Parliamentary taxation; he required security against the encroachment of Parliament on charters and laws, etc., and he was included in the King's proclamation, issued upon the receipt of this petition, among "the dangerous and designing men," whom, together with every member of Congress, as rebels and traitors, the civil and military officers were ordered to bring to justice.—Bancroft.

Up to that fateful moment the Thirteen Colonies were as one man in the defence of their rights. Only a few Imperial office holders and their retainers had dreamed of an instant of yielding to Lord North's Ministry, and they were too insignificant to breathe even the semblance of a dissentient public voice.†

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*John Adams in nominating Washington Commander in Chief, before the question of Independence had been broached in Congress, said:—"Millions in England think it unrighteous to make war upon us. The City of London has bound her members under their hands to resist. Bristol has chosen two known friends of America. Many of the most virtuous of the nobility and gentry are with us, among them a St. Asaph, a Camden, and a Chatham; the best bishop, as great a judge as the nation can boast, and the greatest statesman it ever saw." Bancroft, Vol. II, p. 236. Bancroft, in the IV vol. of his history (The British Museum Edition) says of the debate in the House of Lords of January, 1775, that it went forth to the Colonies as an assurance that the inevitable war "would be a war with a Ministry and not with the British people.—It took from the contest the character of international hatred; showed that the true spirit of England, which had grown great by freedom, was on the side of America."

Congress and Washington called the army they were fighting, before the declaration of Independence, not the Royal or English, but the Ministerial army. Life and Correspondence of President Reed by his grandson, vol. I, pp. 186 and 175. Lord Mahon's History, vol. VI, p. 82.

Washington to Reed, March 9th, 1776.

Dear Sir:— Cambridge.

We have at length got the ministerial troops in this quarter on shipboard, etc.

†President Dwight of Yale College says, (in his Travels, vol. I, p. 159): "In July 1775, I urged in conversation with several gentlemen of great respectability and my intimate friends, the importance and even necessity of a declaration of Independence on the part of the Colonies, but found them disposed to give me and my arguments a hostile and contemptuous, instead of a cordial reception; and these gentlemen may be considered as the representatives of the great body of thinking men of this country."

Jefferson says, in his Memoirs, vol. I, p. 8: "I took the ground that our emigration from England gave her no more rights over us than the emigration of the Saxons gave to the present authorities of the mother country over England. In this doctrine I have never been able to get anyone to agree with me but Mr. Wythe. All other patriots stopped at the half-way house of John Dickinson."

The party in opposition in the Imperial Parliament had made Colonial rights the burning question of the hour. Chatham, and Camden, and Richmond, and Burke, and Fox, and Cavendish, with their splendid following, were chivalrously and brilliantly vindicating the cause of the Colonies.

And these great statesmen found their supporters in and out of Parliament daily increasing. The merchants of London and of all the large towns of England, were sending up petitions asking for the repeal of the trade regulations and duties rejected as illegal by the Colonies.

The party in power at home began to feel themselves caught in the fateful draw of their impending overthrow.

They had staked their existence as a Ministry upon the accomplishment of their Colonial measures and upon the truth of the statement that there was a party in the Colonies in their favor.

Their statements had been falsified and their measures had utterly miscarried, and they were discredited accordingly.

Though they put forth every effort to divide it, the solid phalanx of Colonial indignation remained unbroken; and picked English troops, with no heart to fight against Englishmen defending their liberties, were everywhere repulsed by half-armed Colonial volunteers.*

Tottering to their fall, they made their last venture. They charged the Colonies with the political crime of hiding under their contention for constitutional rights, a sinister purpose of separation from the Empire.

And this last accusation would have been proved false had the Congress of 1776 adhered to its own declaration of principles and avowal of purposes—principles and purposes for the furtherance of which, alone, it had been created and convened. But for its surrepntious declaration of Independence, 1777 would have seen the friends of Colonial rights triumph in England—would have seen the unity of her Empire and the vindication of her constitution firmly secured beyond reasonable chance of future miscarriage. There is strong evidence that Lord North felt this—had ceased to believe in his own declarations and policy—had decided to yield, and was opening up negotiations through which he hoped to carry out his purpose.*

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*In the debate in Parliament upon the motion to enforce the Stamp Act, I shudder at the motion, cried General Harmond, while the crowded House listened as if awed into silence. I hope it will not succeed, lest I should be ordered to execute it. Before I would imbrue my hands in the blood of my countrymen I would, if ordered, draw my sword, but would sooner sheathe it in my own body. Bancroft, vol. III, pp. 596-9.

Bancroft tells us, vol. IV, p. 26,

Many of the best officers in the English army would not willingly bear arms against their kindred in America.

He has also recorded, vol. V, p. 24,

That in July, 1776, the merchants of Dublin applauded the Earl of Effingham for refusing to draw his sword against the laws and liberties of his fellow subjects in America.

With such a victory within measurable distance, the declaration of Independence was sprung upon the Loyalists. That declaration brought to them not only the pain of their own confusion, but the bitter shame of the betrayal of their friends in England, who had fought their battle there, confiding in their good faith repeatedly pledged.†

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*Bancroft, vol. V., p. 244.

Letters patent were issued on the 6th May, 1776, conferring power on Lord Howe to offer terms of reconciliation to the Colonies in arms. Lord Howe was one of the leaders of the party of constitutional rights of the Colonies. He was at the time on the most friendly relations with Lord Chatham, and he caused it to be stated, on his authority, that he would not go on this mission to America unless he had power to offer the Colonies their constitutional rights and liberties, and proclaim pardon to those who had taken up arms. (Dr. Reed's correspondence, vol. I., pp. 195-6.)

On the very day that the declaration of Independence was read in the camp of Washington at New York, the English fleet bearing Lord Howe stood off the harbor. (Bancroft, vol. V., pp. [illegible])

Upon landing, Lord Howe wrote to Dr. Franklin, with whom he had been on terms of closest intimacy in England, telling him that "he had ample powers to negotiate with the Colonies as friends on terms of lasting peace," and Franklin would know that this from Lord Howe meant the Colonies would be assured their liberties. Franklin's harsh answer, given in the name of Congress, was, "No peace except America be independent." When Howe read this, "his countenance grew more sombre, tears glistened in his eyes. He looked within himself and was conscious of aiming at a reconciliation on terms of honor and advantage to both parties." (Dr. Reed's correspondence, vol. I.)

†Bancroft, vol. II. (Museum Edition) p. 287, admits that "the question was looked upon in England not as a narrow Colonial one, but as involving the reality of representative government, the cause of the people—everywhere the same." He tells us "that under the leadership of Yorkshire societies were formed in England and public meetings held to defend the liberties of England and America alike from being trampled upon by a venal parliament."

Again, vol. III., p. 576: "After the repeal of the Stamp Act the crowd pressed on Grenville with hisses and reverently pulled off their hats to Pitt and applauded. During the debate the lobbies were crammed with men trembling and anxious."

Bancroft says, vol. III., pp. 443-4-5, Grenville was in favor of an American representation and was resolved on proposing it, and Jackson joined him in this.

The Earl of Chatham, before he delivered his famous speech which electrified all England, sought a personal interview with Dr. Franklin, as a distinguished representative of the Colonies, and ascertained from him distinctly, that there was neither "tendency nor danger of the Colonies separating from the Mother country, but that they were universally loyal to her" and with this assurance the noble Earl warmly eulogized the American Congress, not only for its loyalty, but for its generous recognition of England's rights under strong provocation to deny them.

But while his words were still on everyone's lips in England, the news came that the Congress so warmly eulogized, had renounced all connection with England, had repudiated her authority and the principles of her government.

And it was not known that the Congress had done this, proclaimed to the world as its unanimous action, by a catch majority, and with no commission from the Colonies to do anything of the kind.

The practical effect was to gibbet the friends of Colonial rights in England, at the cross-roads of public opinion, as either deceivers or dupes, and to turn the impending defeat of the Ministerial policy in Parliament into triumphant victory.

From the Loyalist point of view, not only was the declaration of Independence an ignoble surrender in sight of victory, and a most unwarranted desertion and misleading of friends who were generously risking much for their sake, but it was a *coup d'etat* more violently unconstitutional than the Revenue Acts of Lord North's Ministry the Colonies were resisting.[2]

The Congress that passed this declaration had been elected, as stated in the credentials given to its members as delegates from the several Colonies, to obtain redress of their grievances, and to restore harmony between them and the Mother Country which it was said all good men desired. And it was hoped this could be secured through a Bill of Rights, in which the powers of the Mother Country and the Colonies might be defined.

Bancroft, vol. IV, p. 487.

The Congress that passed the declaration of Independence formed no confederacy. They were not an executive government, they were not even a legislative body. They were committees from twelve Colonies, deputed to consult on measures of conciliation, and held by explicit and implicit instructions.

And when the second petition of Congress had been rejected, and the King's proclamation, declaring all to be rebels who resisted the acts of the Imperial Parliament, had been received, and the delegates of Pennsylvania were asking for further instructions, the Legislature of that Colony being then in session, Dr. Dickinson, the immortal farmer, whose masterly letters had done so much to enlighten the public mind in England and America on the rights of the Colonies, reported and carried in the Pennsylvania Legislature, the following instructions to its delegation:—

"We direct that you exert your utmost endeavors to agree upon and recommend such measures as you shall judge to afford the best prospect of obtaining redress of American grievances, and restoring that union and harmony between England and her Colonies so essential to the well-fare and happiness of both. Though the oppressive measures of the English Parliament and Administration have compelled us to resist their violence by force of arms, yet we strongly enjoin you that you, in behalf of this Colony, dissent from, and utterly reject any propositions, should such be made, that may cause or lead to a separation from our Mother Country, or a change of the form of this Government."[*]

Upon the meeting of their several Legislatures, Pennsylvania's example was followed by, among others, Delaware, Maryland, New Jersey and New York.

The Congress created and empowered under this mutual understanding and good faith between the Colonies, passed its declaration of Independence in utter contravention of the purpose for which it was created, and in opposition to the repeated instructions sent up from many of the Colonies.[†]

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[*] Of the nine delegates Pennsylvania had elected to Congress in November 1775, Franklin stood alone as an advocate of Independence.—Bancroft, vol. V., p. 88.

The Pennsylvania Legislature gave these instructions to her representatives when all the resentment awakened by the odious measures of Parliament, and the King's answer to their petition, and all the actions now inflamed by the recent victories of Bunker's Hill and Lexington, were at their highest pitch, and at the same time that it called upon the people to take up arms, and voted £80,000 to the war expenditures.

[†] The Independence resolution of the Virginia Legislature was not presented to Congress till June 8th.—Life and Correspondence of President Reed, vol. I., [illegible]. Reed says: "That this action was taken in Congress without a single instruction from any Colony." He is speaking of the introduction of Lee's Independence resolutions in May, and of Adams' two others advising the Colonies to remodel their governmental organizations.

Thus Congress revolted from England in the face also of its own proclamation, issued when it appointed Washington commander-in-chief and organized the higher departments of the army, and issued bills of credit for £3,000,000 to defray the expenses of war, and after the battles of Lexington and Bunker's Hill, and when the English army was shut up in Boston by the Provincial Volunteers—a proclamation in which they say: "We are reduced to the alternative of choosing an unconditional submission to an irritated Imperial Ministry or resistance by force of arms. This last is our choice. Honor, justice and humanity, forbid us tamely to surrender that freedom we received from our gallant ancestors, and which our innocent posterity had a right to receive from us."

And they go on to say: "Lest this declaration should unquiet the minds of our friends and fellow subjects in any part of the Empire, we assure them that we mean not to dissever that union which has so happily subsisted between us and our Mother Country, and which we sincerely wish to see restored. We have not raised arms with ambitious designs of separation from England."

The sessions of Congress were held with closed doors, and their proceedings, except such parts as the majority chose to reveal, were kept inviolably secret. Three members—Jefferson in his Memoirs, and Mr. Reed in his Correspondence, edited by his grandson, and Joseph Galloway—have given us most conflicting statements of what took place. As to the majority in Congress in favor of Independence, Jefferson says in his Memoirs, note B, appendix vol. 1: "It appeared in the course of the debates that took place in May, 1776, upon Lee's resolution of Independence, that the Colonies of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland and South Carolina were not yet matured for falling from the parent stem"; that means that the Legislatures and Representatives in Congress of these Colonies were Loyalists. Only twelve Colonies were at that time represented in Congress. Jefferson says that, finding the vote would be a tie, the Independence party did not divide the House, but adjourned the debate.

It is clear the debate was adjourned that the gerrymandering measures the Independence party were taking to change the character of the recognized institutions of government in the Colonies might have time to take effect in their favor.

"The Life and Correspondence of President Reed," vol. I, pp.

1845) tells us that John Adams, immediately upon the adjournment of the debate, May 10th, 1776, introduced his resolution recommending the Colonies to re-model their governments. Lee introduced a preamble, which, after *earnest debate* says Dr [illegible], was passed, which denied the necessity or reasonableness, while the King's present proclamation was not withdrawn, of allegiance to any Government under the Crown, and that the exercise of all authority under the Crown should be discontinued.

Strengthened by this action of Congress, the Independence party changed the character and *personnel* of the Colonial Legislatures so as to obtain control of the Loyalist Colonies.

The institutions of government then existing under the Colonial charters, in the Loyalist Colonies, such as the Pennsylvania Legislature, of which Mr. Dickenson and his fellow Loyalists were members, contended that all that Congress professed to desire by its resolution could be effected by the existing representation of the people, that there was a Government in every Colony sufficient to the exigencies of affairs, and the Loyalists refused to sit in any Legislature where no oath to the King was taken of its members. But the new Legislatures, when organized, and the new delegates chosen by them, were the only ones of their Colonies recognized by Congress.

If we accept Jefferson's statement, followed in the main by Bancroft, without the gloss of others, it was the Independence resolutions and delegates, sent up to Congress from the new Legislatures sprung upon the country as a "Home Rule Policy" in a time of greatest confusion and perplexity that enabled the separatist party to force their declaration of Independence upon the Colonies. "The true inwardness" of the Independence movement is very much the same whether we unravel its history as follows a Jefferson, a Galloway or a Reed.*

By a master stroke of policy, on the part of the Independence party, it had been agreed upon beforehand to take the vote by Colonies, and that the decision on the question, whatever might be the state of the vote, should appear to the world as the unanimous vote of the Congress. By this means the signatures of those who

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Mr Sabin, vol. I, introduction, shows that the large majority of the patriot press of the country, up to 1776, was in favor of maintaining at all costs the connection with England.

opposed, as well as those who voted for it, were affixed to the declaration.

By such devices, after such a struggle, did the Independence party carry its resolutions in Congress.

But when they had carried them there, they never ventured to submit them to the people. A popular vote upon the American Independence was never taken. The statement that the Loyalists took the side of England *against America* is utterly misleading. America was never given her plebiscite, never was permitted to choose her own destiny, never was allowed to tell us whether she looked upon the Loyalists or the Independents as her children, and the defenders of her cause. On the contrary, the Independence party, having obtained control of Congress in the manner above described, and, by this control, possession of all the resources of political and military power in the Colonies, denied to their fellow subjects all liberty of Loyalist speech and opinion. They outlawed as traitors and followed with confiscation, imprisonment, and death, all who refused to renounce their allegiance to England and make their oath to the Congress.*

The result was that by the most vigorous pressure they could bring to bear upon popular opinion, enforced by the infliction of the most extreme Legislative and mob violence upon the citizens, the party was only able to secure the adherence, passive and active, of possibly something more than half the population.

The unauthorized and tyrannous action of the Independence party in Congress changed all the issues of the conflict with those in power at home, and compelled the Loyalists to choose one of two alternatives, not at all of their making or to their liking. If they fought for the unity of the Empire in its great peril, they must take up arms against their fellow Colonists, who, up to that moment, had been their trusted companions. They must put off for a more convenient season their defence of Colonial Rights, and they must join hands for the time, with the odious faction of office holders, the hated minions of Lord North's Ministry.

But if they accepted the declaration of Independence, they must turn their hand against the Mother Country, dearer to them than life, and bid adieu to all their cherished hopes of the ever burdening England of their Colonial homes; they must seek an unnatural alliance against England with France, the hated ogre of their Colonial life, the France who for a century had mercilessly sought their utter extermination by fire and sword, had filled the encircling forests of their frontiers, for those hundred years, with the spectre and horror of the Indian's tomahawk and scalping knife, and France would form the alliance that she might wreak her vengeance on England for delivering them out of her hands.*

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*As to the inhuman cruelties inflicted upon the Loyalists, see Introduction of Sabine's American Loyalists, vol. I.

Amid this wreck of friends and breaking up of old issues, hunted to the death by the Independence party, looked upon coldly and askance by Lord North, whose tyrannous Colonial policy they had effectively opposed, the cause of England in the war misdirected and suffering through the contempt of those in power for them and their counsels; amid all this the founders of Canada remained steadfast and unmovable in their loyalty.

> "Abdiel faithful found,
> Unshaken, unsubdued, unterrified
> His loyalty he kept."

The declaration of Independence has been portrayed for us as the spontaneous uprising of an oppressed people. As a matter of fact it was, if we may adopt a Lincolnian illustration, "a forced swapping of horses in mid-stream" that divided the Colonies, up to this time enthusiastically one, into two bitterly hostile and outraged camps.

The declaration of American Independence has been proclaimed the birth of a nation; for those who became the Canadian Loyalists it was the breaking up of the oneness of the Anglo-Saxon race in the unity of an Empire, which carried in the ark of her destinies all that is worthiest in the present and future of the world.

The declaration has been held up to a people's gaze as an heroic venture for liberty.

It was unquestionably an heroic venture, but it was risked for American Independence. It was anything but the free, constitutional action of the people in whose name it was made, and it was an abandonment of their "rational ordered English freedom that through centuries has advanced from stage to stage of progress, deliberate, calm, never breaking with her past, but making every fresh gain the basis of a new success, enlarging her people's liberty while losing nothing of the height and force of individual development."

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*Bancroft tells us, vol. IV, p. 100, that Samuel Adams from September 1768, struggled deliberately and unwillingly for Independence. And the same historian also tells us that Samuel Adams, long after this, prepared the instructions sent by Massachusetts to Dr. Franklin as her agent in England, commissioning him to assure the English Government that the people of Massachusetts wished for nothing more than a permanent union with England on a constitutional basis.

I shall speak very briefly of the part taken by the Loyalists in the war after it became one of Independence

The American historian Sabine is my authority for saying that probably the Loyalists in the King's army exceeded in number the army enlisted under the Continental Congress.*

But probably the Loyalists did not number more than half the population and if not then they were more ready to defend their principles with their lives than were the so-called Liberty men; and the fortunes and interests which the Loyalists sacrificed to take the side of the Empire were far greater than those of their opponents. We have evidence of the soldierly qualities and patriotism of the Loyalists in the changed fortunes of the war upon their leaving the Provincial forces after the declaration of Independence. The brilliant and all important victories gained in 1775 and the early part of 1776, by the United Colony army, unprepared and deficient in arms as it was, upon the Loyalists leaving, were turned into the disastrous defeats of 1777 and 1778. And even when France and Spain came to the rescue of the Independence Congress, nothing but the unparalleled skill and courage of Washington, opposed to the no less unparalleled incapacity of the English Generals, turned the fortunes of the war against the Loyalists.

As to the inhuman cruelties practiced in the war, it makes all the difference who began them as to the relative guilt of the contending parties, and the Independence men were the first offenders.

Upon the Loyalists refusing to be torn from their inheritance, with its memories of the past and hopes of the future, when they would not consent to have the ragged ends of their lives spliced by Congress surgery upon whatever might be left dangling for them in

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Sabine's American Loyalists, vol. I, p. 48.

* "In nearly every Loyalist letter or other paper that I have examined and in which the subject is referred to, it is either assumed or stated in terms that the Loyalists were the majority, and this opinion, I am satisfied, was very generally entertained by those who professed to have a knowledge of public sentiment." And p. 78 of above: "In an address of Loyalists in 1779, presented to the King, it is said that their countrymen in His Majesty's army exceeded in number those enlisted by Congress."

its new world of American Independence, Congress pursued them with its legislative violence, outlawed them as traitors, and sent the Indians upon the war path against them; voted £40,000 at once as bounty to the Indians, not indeed for scalps, but for every King's man who might have fled to them for protection, or might have his home on their frontiers.

The Massachusetts Legislature in one of its acts designated by name and occupation and residence 310 of her people, and denounced against them death without benefit of clergy, and without judge, jury or opportunity of defence, simply because they were reported to be Loyalists, and similar measures were passed in other Colonies.

In political brutality the little finger of the Independence party was thicker than the loins of Lord North's Ministry. Instigated by this legislative violence, the party blackened its cause still further by their "mob violence," their brutal tarring and feathering of their Loyalist neighbors, beating and hooting them, burning down their houses and maiming their flocks. These things they did to such families as the Robinson's and Sewall's and Dunne's, and many another.

Against this cruelty and tyranny the Loyalists aimed their revenge, and let him who thinks that under such provocation he would have been without sin cast the first stone at them.

Then the tales that have come down to us of what the Loyalists did were published by the Independence party for political effect, and were of the most exaggerated and inflammatory character, full of the grossest misrepresentations, and doing them the greatest injustice.

It is now known that Dr. Franklin went so far in political enterprise of this kind as to write a purely fictitious story of Indian and Loyalist massacre, and let it be published as true, that it might stimulate recruits for the army and appropriations from the people. And this story in many quarters was long supposed to be authentic, and passed into American history as such.

When Franklin did not think connivance in this sort of thing beneath his position and character, it can easily be imagined what a sorry trade may have been done by others.*

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*Ryerson's United Empire Loyalists. Chapter on the Wyoming Massacre and the authority he quotes:—

Ramsay's United States, vol. II, p. 331. Wyoming.

In this remote settlement, whose government was feeble, the Tories

The Wyoming massacre is a striking instance of this picturing of Loyalists as inhuman monsters. Instead of Wyoming being the peaceful and innocent settlement described by the historians of Congress, and immortalized in Campbell's song, it was a virulent hot bed of the revolution.

It had sent several hundred volunteers to the Congress army, and the Royalists who planned its capture were its own people, who had been driven from the valley, whose property had been confiscated and whose families had been mobbed by the very settlers whom they attacked.

The settlement was not surprised. The first fort attacked had surrendered and the American commander, Colonel Butler, sought by a quick movement of attack to surprise the Loyalists on their march against the remaining forts, but was discovered by an Indian scout, and found the Loyalists prepared to receive him; was defeated and fled into Fort Wyoming, and, with the American regulars, escaped. The local garrison then surrendered on condition that the settlers in the valley should not be molested, they stipulating that the Loyalists should be restored their property and allowed to return to their homes.

The Colonel Butler who commanded the English force,[*] did all in his power to fulfil these terms, but the Indians broke away from his control and entered upon a scene of plunder. The garrison, however, escaped down the river and the people had already fled into the mountains. On this basis of fact, painful no doubt but not anything like a massacre, was built up the revolutionary myth of Wyoming, with its burning houses filled with women and children, and its army decoyed by a flag of truce into a deadly ambuscade of Indians. The employment of the Indians on either side makes one of the darkest pages in this cruel war. But we must remember in defence of the Loyalists, that driven from their homes, their property seized, their lives made a prey, there was no place for the soles of their feet but among the Indians,—and Congress followed them there. One of its first acts after the Declaration of Independence

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were under less control. Nevertheless twenty seven of them were taken and sent to Hartford, in Connecticut, but were afterwards released. These and others of the same description, instigated by revenge against the Americans, from whom some of them had suffered banishment and loss of property, made a common cause with the Indians, and attacked the settlement.

offered large prize money for every Loyalist the Indians should betray to them. The Massachusetts Legislature wrote a secret letter to a missionary of great power among the Indians of Western New York, entreating him to send the Indians on the war path against the Loyalists, though this same legislature publicly expressed the greatest indignation against the English use of the Indians at a later period.*

The employment of the Indians by the English was brought about in this way. When the Indians who had given them refuge were attacked the Loyalists joined in the defence; and they accepted the alliance of these Indians when, in turn, they sought to regain their homes. And what else, as men, were they likely to do?

The Indians themselves suffered at the hands of the Congress Army far greater cruelties than they inflicted. The stain of their tragic fate is on American history as indelible as the blood of murdered Duncan on the hand of Macbeth.

When at length negotiations looking to a recognition of American Independence were begun at Paris, what should be the fate of the Loyalists proved to be one of the most difficult questions of the treaty.

England, after the custom of the civilized nations, asked that the Loyalists should be restored to their property and civil rights.

But Franklin arrogantly and bitterly opposed this with all the resources of his ingenious and fertile diplomacy, and England yielded and left the Loyalists to the tender mercies, or, as it proved, the cruelties of their implacable foes. In these negotiations one knows not at which most to marvel—the boldness and skill of the American Commissioners or the subserviency and ignorance of the English. They were very unequally matched—Franklin, a man of remarkable parts and great public spirit; Mr. Oswald, an ordinary merchant en gaged in the American trade and knowing nothing of the matter in hand except as it affected his private interests. The one was a palpable tool in the hands of the other. Franklin's plea that Congress had no power in granting amnesty to the Loyalists because it had no power over the action of the Colonial Legislatures, was manifestly a mere pretence.

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*Congress on June 3rd, 1776, passed a resolution to raise an army of 2,000 Indians for the Canada Expedition. Washington advised Congress to engage the Indians on their side in his letter of April 19th, 1776. Doctor Andrews' History of the American War, vol. II., pp. 801-2 and the Ludlows' History of the War of Independence, p. 126.

Lord Mahon in his history, vol. VIII., pp. 430-1, gives the letter of the Massachusetts Legislature to the Indian Missionary, and gives as his authority the letter of Lafayette to Washington June the 12th, 1779 and also Life of President Reed, etc., vol. II., p. 8.

The Americans have never had the self respect to erase from the forefront of their Constitution the misleading charge against England embodied in the Declaration of Independence—of endeavoring to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless savage.

If true, how could Congress agree as it did, under the treaty, that those Legislatures should make no more confiscations and conscriptions; and, if the plea had been good, Congress had ample resources at hand for compensating the Loyalists in that vast territory comprising the present States of Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, and the States west of them to the Rockies, a domain ceded to Congress by England in the treaty, and in which not one of the thirteen Colonies held any separate rights. Besides, there was no necessity, as Mr. Oswald urged in defence of his surrender, that England should continue the active prosecution of the war if she insisted upon Congress acknowledging the rights of the Loyalists. She was mistress of the seas; she had only to continue to hold the American forts on the Atlantic—New York, Charleston, Long Island—until Congress granted what England was in all honor bound to claim. And it made all the difference whether the rights of the Loyalists were secured to them under treaty from the American Government, or whether they were to come before an English Board of Commissioners *in forma pauperis* asking for help out of the pockets of English ratepayers, a thing which some who suffered most did not bring themselves to do. There were some 30,000 Loyalists who settled in what is now Canada, leaving out those who went to England, the West Indies and elsewhere, while only between 3000 and 4000 ever sent in their claims for compensation.

When the treaty was signed England hastened to make all the amends possible by most generous treatment of her faithful subjects beyond seas, who had suffered the loss of all things in her cause. But do what she might, it was then impossible to prevent the untold sufferings and hardships the Loyalists had still to pass through in that noblest epic of migration of modern times, their settlement of Canada.

"Why did you come here," was asked of a distinguished Loyalist of New Brunswick, "when you were certain to endure all the sufferings and absolute want of food and shelter you have narrated?" "Why did we come here?" replied he, with emotion that could not keep back the tears, "For our Loyalty." That was the clay, baptized in their sufferings, which the hands of the coming years were to mould into Canada. It was with no light heart the Loyalists set their faces northward, that once more their feet might find English soil. Canada, as reported to them, was a land of intense cold, wilderness and swamp, full of venomous reptiles, prowled by savage beasts and still more by the dreaded Indians.

The hardships, exposures and privations endured by the Loyalists in making their way from their confiscated homes to Canada, were longer and more severe than any Everett has been able to tell us of the New England Pilgrim Fathers; and the persecutions which sent these Fathers of New England voyaging to Plymouth Rock was but a morning shower when compared to the mobbings and imprisonments, confiscations and death, that fell in savage fury upon the faithful of Old England in the days of the American Revolution, and drove the remnant that was left into the wilderness of Canada. The Pilgrim Fathers could keep harvest home festival of a week's continuance, at the end of the first year from their landing. But the Loyalists were in most instances forced to seek a home in Canada, without food or shelter, and at a season too late for any clearing of the forest and seed sowing; and the supply of food and other necessaries the English Government was endeavoring to send them, by some mismanagement, were frozen up in the River St. Lawrence.

While the New England Fathers were keeping harvest home, the Loyalists of Canada were passing through all the rigors of famine. In some instances the cattle that were browsing upon felled trees in the forest were from time to time bled, that the blood might be had for food, so fierce and close was the struggle for life.

On the Bay of Quinte and in the Niagara District ladies brought up in luxury and comfort might be seen in the early spring woods gathering in their aprons and baskets the swelling buds of the basswood for food for themselves and their children, and later on, plucking the rye and barley heads as soon as the kernel began to form. No wonder that even to their brave hearts the sorrowful song in those days,

Hard times in Canada.

The early Loyalist life that came to the Canadian forest is full of romantic interest, tragic and epic.

In it our poets may find more than one Miles Standish or an

Evangeline to enrich at once our literature and history. Such a theme some Canadian Wordsworth might find in the story of Robert Land, a Loyalist, whose home was in one of the loveliest vales of the Delaware, and whose knowledge of the country and known ability had enabled him to perform valuable services for the King's army and placed him in the way of being intrusted with important missions.

While engaged upon one of these, and having upon his person valuable despatches, he was discovered by the enemy and fired upon and wounded. But, by heroic exertion and fertility of resource, he hid himself away from the foe in a dense undergrowth of bushes. The rebels, finding traces of his wound, which bled profusely, reported him slain. But he finally made good his escape and delivered his despatches. When at length he was able to visit his home, to his horror he found it in ashes, and, believing his family massacred, he finally escaped to Canada, and came first to Drummondville at Niagara Falls, and afterwards acquired a farm of 300 acres, in what is now East Hamilton. Here he built a log cabin with one window having a wolf skin for glass, and became for several years its solitary occupant. Returning from the field and forest one day, to his great surprise, he found a wearied and travel worn woman had crossed his threshold, accompanied by two grown up young men. His wife and two sons had come to him. His home by the Delaware had been fired by the rebels, but his wife had escaped with her children, and hearing the report that her husband had been slain, broken hearted and in despair she fled with her family to New Brunswick. But, not at rest there, clinging to the fond hope that her husband was still alive, her widowed heart sent her, a Canadian Evangeline with a happier fate, searching through the Loyalist settlements to Niagara Falls. Here she learned that a man named Robert Land had at one time, dwelt in the neighborhood, and now lived a *solitary* under the shadow of the mountain beyond Stony Creek. Thither she at once set out, and, accompanied by her two sons, walked the whole distance, some fifty miles, through the then forest, to restore to the arms of her husband the long lost wife of his youth, to gild that lonesome cabin, between the mountain and the shore, with the glad halo of the joy and happiness of the united family.

Upon their settlement in Canada the Loyalists took an important and dominant part in shaping the history of the country. They included the cleverest and the most able of all classes, discharged

soldiers, lawyers, clergymen, merchants, farmers and mechanics, and all were in indigent circumstances, but willing to build their fortunes afresh and develop those of the country by honest toil.

They renewed at once, in the Canadian Colonies, their old endeavors after constitutional rights for Englishmen beyond seas; and this time there was no American Independence party to surprise and checkmate them. The Loyalists who settled in Nova Scotia asked for a larger representation of the people in the Colonial Government and then for a division of the Province; and both requests were finally granted. Those who settled in Old Canada objected to the Quebec Act of 1773, and obtained the Constitutional Act of 1791, and the creation of Upper Canada into a separate Province, more in accord with English institutions. This constitution of representative Government obtained for us by the Loyalists of the Maritime Provinces and of Old Canada, with enlarged application, after the manner of English constitutional history, is the basis of the British North American Act of the Canadian Dominion. The Dominion is the splendid monument of the Loyalists' constitutional victory won in the Greater Britain. The country steadily prospered from its settlement up to 1812. The government was satisfied; the Colonial parliaments held short sessions, devoted to making provision for the building of roads, the establishment of schools, the making, in short, such necessary improvements as the public need required; and when this was done the Loyalist members of Parliament gave very little time or heed to what occupies so largely the party politics of to-day. They gave their time and energies to the enlargement of their farms and mills, and of this action of theirs we, to-day, reap large advantage. They kept themselves from that besetting temptation of English colonies, the running heavily into debt, handicapping their future with the necessity of an exorbitant public revenue. No civilized country was less burdened with taxes than was Canada West during that period of its history; £3,500 met its annual expenditure.

During the closing years of the last century and the first of the present, France, now with her anarchy and now with her despotism, threatened the overthrow of civilization with all its rights and liberties, and England stood between her and victory. In 1812 the United States strengthened the hand of the French despot by declaring war against England, and Canada became at once involved in the struggle. The spirit of the Loyalists shone out again in all its

ancient splendor; they gave the strongest example in this century of the attachment of a people to their Mother Country, and of their determination at whatever sacrifice, and against whatever disparity, to maintain their connection with her. The Loyalists were the larger part of the population, and gave to the public spirit of the country its tone and sentiment. That sentiment found fitting expression in the address of the House of Assembly to the people of Upper Canada, made in response to the noble appeal of General Brock. Its tone may be seen in the following extracts:

"That the Government of the United States, while professing to be the friend of man and the supporter of his liberties, should be led by the tyrant of France to light the torch of war against England, the last pillar of true liberty and last refuge of oppressed humanity, is a madness altogether incomprehensible. * * * Our enemies in this war are they who once drove us from our homes and possessions, to this province. Their lands are manured with the blood of our friends and kinsmen. They drove our wives and children into the woods, or threw them into dungeons. Remember, when you go forth to combat, that you fight not for yourselves alone, but for the parent State contending for the oppressed of the nations."

There were Canadian boys of ten years in Brock's army which captured Detroit, and they volunteered out of families like the Ryersons. The Loyalists formed the greater part of the English forces, while their wives and daughters ennobled Canada with the heroism and daring of her Secords.

A race
Of manly hero heart
In all high venture."

The Canadian Loyalists were ready at every crisis in their history to imperil life and fortune, personal and national, that they might secure for themselves and their children their home in the United Empire under its constitution. Their history gives abundant proof that England has the power to make us all, everywhere in her world-wide home, Abdiels of her cause—that she can take us Canadians, Australians, or whatever we may be, and make us all one in our common fealty.

The Loyalist devotion of Canadian life for the United Empire, as shown in the American Revolution, the epic migration of Canada, and the war of 1812, gives its eloquent answer to the question—

Will not Imperial Federation prove a broken reed to lean upon for purposes of statesmanship in critical moments, when the more immediate and local interests and patriotisms may have such perilous tendency to become the *[illegible]* of all centrifugal organization and life in the constitution and cosmos of the Empire?

Though holding the geographical position Canada does to the American Republic, one with her to a large extent in race and speech, no part of the Greater Britain can ever have its loyalty to the Empire put to a severer test than is ours, and yet no colony is more loyal. Canada, in any "dark forest" of popular despair or passion, tempted by any annexation "Stanley's handkerchief," however brilliantly dyed in any "Commercial Union," bartering her Loyalist inheritance of a United Empire with all its possibilities of material greatness, its coming "days of King Solomon" within measurable distance—an Empire the crowning growth of time and nature, and that great impersonal artist, the English constitution—an Empire dowered by the ages with poetry and beauty, all that can charm the imagination and win the loving loyalty of the better feeling and higher intelligence of mankind, and hallowed in Canadian eyes by our Loyalist past—Canada parting with all this for American machine politics would be the most dismal performance ever enacted by man. Whatever surprises the future may have in store, it certainly cannot give us [illegible] consecrated by the Loyalist [illegible] and confessors a Nazarite of their cause. As the Silurian and Devonian rocks of England re-appear across the Atlantic, in Canada, so the Loyalists made Canada in all that creates a people's heart one with England. They gave to Canada her English nationality to be our Canadian sentiment and instinct, made up of memory and hope to be our national spirit, which swells every Canadian's heart—makes what else would be common earth, or the Indian's land, this Fatherland of loyal English life sacred and dear, sending up to him heaven messages from her loyal past, and bright prophecies of her future—a future ever revealing the lofty secret of its parentage and destiny—a future that, issuing forth from our Loyalists' heights and broadening our Canadian Dominion like our St. Lawrence, shall merge into the world-wide Imperial responsibilities, powers and glories of the United Empire enthroned amid her encircling seas and sceptered with the never setting sun

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

A paper read before the Wentworth Historical Society,
November 18, '89

BY MRS. S. A. CURZON

When your president, through Mr. Fearman, conveyed to me your kind invitation to read a paper before you, the honor came to me with all the force of novelty. I did not hope that anything I could say would be of sufficient value to arrest the attention of your honorable society, seeing that I am but a dabbler as it were in historic records, nor did I think that you had sufficiently understood that I was one of a sex that had never been recognized as in its right place when found upon a platform, even the very modest platform of the essayist. So that at first I felt compelled to decline your courteous invitation lest I might offend some whom I would be sorry to displease, or place my sex at a disadvantage to the eyes of others whose good word we shall always desire to deserve.

There was, however, two considerations which presented themselves as a set-off to the first objections, and by right of seniority naturally overruled them and imposed a due respect for themselves upon me. These were, that for many years I have been upholding the doctrine of the equal rights of woman as a human being, and again that your society had tacitly admitted, if it had not ever intentionally encouraged the doctrine, by throwing open your roll of membership to my sex from the first. Under these circumstances the aspect of matters changed. You had considered the question of sex, and in full knowledge of what you were doing had honored me by your invitation, and I had no option but to accept the honor. In the name of my sex I thank you to-night, rejoicing that a subject so full of rich and valuable material as that which the society has undertaken for its object has been placed in the hands of both sexes. Together men and women built up this noble country by whose name we call ourselves; together they must preserve and develop it, and together they will stand or fall by it.

It is a matter of history that three times, one of the thirteen

Colonies—I think it was Rhode Island—was settled by men only, and that there the settlement ignominiously failed. And why? Because a man alone cannot make a home, and without homes there can be no country. Home is the incentive, the anchor, the object of nation-building, and hard, rough and discouraging though the pioneer's task be, woman has never shrunk from her share in it.

Fitting indeed, then it is, that women should be members of societies like this, and that in their hands as well as in those of men shall be placed the holy task of rescuing from oblivion the deeds of our forefathers, whether they be deeds of peace or war. For, I ask you, who suffers the more, the husband and father, or the wife and mother, when the red hand of conflict lifts its fiery torch on high? And who contributes the most to the public welfare in the "piping times of peace," the man who develops the resources of nature or the woman who puts them to their proper uses?

Many of you present here to-night have personal recollections which will reply with vivacity and feeling to questions like these. But I must proceed more directly to my subject—"The value to the National Life of the Historical Society."

In considering a special subject, therefore, on which to speak, it occurred to me that the old but ever new sentiment of patriotism would serve our purpose best, and as you know, one of the great lights of literature has lately, according to a custom of his, been decrying the sentiment, at least for Canadians, it may be well to look at [illegible] his last public utterance.

In the Toronto *Empire* of November 10, Professor Goldwin Smith is reported to have said to the Young Liberal Club, whose members he was addressing, that he "agreed with the movement to erect a monument to the heroes of Lundy's Lane, but desired that it should be a monument of reconciliation rather than to perpetuate the animosity which had existed between the two nations taking part in that event." Mr. Smith concluded his address by stating that "annexation was the inevitable destiny of Canada."

Certainly, if Canada's people consisted of Goldwin Smiths, annexation to the United States would be inevitable. It might, however, even in that case be impossible, for no astute and patriotic Government would be anxious to admit into the national life a people that did not believe in itself, thus confessing that it knew not

even the very first element of progress. As Canada has not yet arrived at such an emasculated condition, we may safely leave Professor Goldwin Smith's opinion to work out its own destiny.

It is, however, the same bloodless, boneless condition of mind that would carry Canada into annexation that dictates Mr. Smith's objection to national monuments. He would have them international, like the statue of "Liberty Enlightening the World" at New York harbor—for which, however, no American would admit that any other proper site could be found than one furnished by American soil.

A statue of Jupiter or Venus would serve Professor Goldwin Smith's idea of the character that ought to mark our national monuments, just as well as a statue of Brant or Brock; nay, much better, since these heroes of our past have left traces upon our history which can never be dissociated from them. According to such a view, never ought a memorial to the patriotic and loyal Tecumseh to arise in our valley of the Thames; nor another to De Salaberry on the field of Chateauguay. Laura Secord ought still to lie unnoticed and unknown in Drummondville Cemetery, and our monument to the men who fell at Ridgeway ought no longer to remain to affront the sensibilities of any stray Fenian sympathizer who may find his way into the Queen's Park at Toronto.

But the ground on which Professor Goldwin Smith bases his approval of his nondescript monuments, requires our attention, and is found on examination to be wholly untenable. He speaks of "perpetuating the enmities that had existed between the two nations taking part in the event."

Here Mr. Smith joins Canada and England as one, to which we do not object, as Canada is part and parcel of England. But what does he mean by "the enmities which had existed between the two nations"? If he goes back to the period of the thirteen colonies—there were then no enmities—the nations was as one, and the revolution sprung out of a disagreement which, irritated and inflamed by the interference of meddlesome interlopers, became at the last a bitter quarrel, out of which indeed enmities sprang. But those enmities were limited entirely to the two sections of the disagreeing colonies. England had no part in them, as her forbearance, generosity and self-sacrifice plainly show, study subsequent events which way we will. Thus, therefore, it may [illegible] to charge enmity on the United Empire Loyalists who, with bitter feelings in their hearts, born of the persecutions, losses and evictions that had been inflicted on them by their fellow colonists, had sadly forsaken the land of their birth or adoption and had retired to the shelter of the flag they loved, though it waved over a virgin forest; where they whose hands had already built up a country—its governments, judiciary, commerce, universities, churches and homes in the land they had left—should have to begin again at the very A B C of life; take again the axe, the plough and the spinning wheel and once more lay the foundations of a new England, a new Britain, to be the boast, the pride of all time to come.

Enmity? yes, no doubt there was enmity in many a Loyalist breast as he contemplated the losses he had endured, as he looked at his wife driven to the roughest toil, at his children ill-clad and untaught. But, did it make the Loyalist a guerilla, a bandit? No; he was content to toil, to strive, to suffer, to hope. All he asked was to be let alone. All he expected was to be allowed to work out his future unmolested. Not his the hand that took the sword, not his the foot that invaded another's territory. The war of 1812 was no collision of angry neighbors burning to be at each other's throats. It was an assault of the weak by the strong. It was a deliberate invasion of peaceful territory by an inimical government. It was an expression of enmity to England by an attack upon her defenceless offspring.

God defend the right! British pluck and bull-dog tenacity won the day. Canada was saved. But she dyed her soil with her own blood. She gave her sons and her daughters as a sacrifice for her freedom. She fought for every foot of ground she holds. And when the invaders were driven ignominiously back to their own territory she set her house once more in order and turned again to her task of providing for her children and opening out a future for them.

But we are not to remember all this lest our neighbors be offended; lest our memorials of that heroic time remind them unpleasantly of their errors. Do we think they will respect us any the more for our subserviency?

Why, they themselves are erecting monuments to their heroes of 1812 and are we going to be offended? Why should they not if it pleases them? They often gave us foemen worthy of our steel and we give one of them to-day a quiet and not unhonored resting-place upon the field where his country was worsted—Capt. Abram Hull, United States Infantry, who was killed at the Battle of Lundy's Lane, and lies buried near to where he fell. His countrymen marked his grave by a low headstone and the Lundy's Lane Historical Society keeps the grave in order, and where we hope yet to place a monument commemorative of our victory in our own defence.

During the last summer a friend sent me a little newspaper called the *Creston Commonwealth*, for July 31, 1891, published in Creston, Iowa, and in it I find under the heading, "Some Historic Spots," an account of a local movement for the erection of national monuments at various points. The article opens thus: "The national movements to mark by appropriate monuments points of historical interest have suggested to the citizens of North-western Ohio and North-eastern Indiana the preservation of the sites of the battle-fields and forts along the Maumee River rendered conspicuous in the early history of the North-West Territory by the memorable campaign of General Wayne against the Indians, and the subsequent campaigns of the war of 1812."

Wayne's career is so sketched as to show the points about to be commemorated, all uncertain or unpleasant memories of broken treaties, a few whippings, etc., being conveniently dropped. The cost of sites, monuments, etc., is liberally named. That of the Battle of Fallen Timbers, where Wayne scattered a few Indians, is set at about $5,000, and others at similar rates.

"The two other points determined upon for commemoration," the article goes on to say, "Fort Meigs and the Put-in-Bay burial ground, belong to the period of the war of 1812, when the Maumee Valley became again the scene of military operations."

The writer of the article has a pretty sketchy style, and combines Fort Meigs, the battle of the Thames and Tecumseh with General Harrison in a most captivating way. The British arms and Colonel Procter have no place within his horizon. "The victory," he airily remarks, "was with General Harrison, and Tecumseh was killed during the war."

At Fort Meigs fifty five acres of land, embracing the fort and the burial ground, are to be purchased for $100 per acre. One large monument is to be erected at Fort Meigs, at a cost of $10,000, three others at $5,000, each to mark the burial places, make up a total of $25,000 at one spot.

At Put-in-Bay, the scene of poor Barclay's disaster, the burial ground upon the island where Perry is said to have buried his dead, a granite shaft, at a cost of $2,500, is to be erected to mark the graves, "the site being already enclosed and in the possession of of the corporation in trust for the public," having been given under a conveyance, by Mr. J. D. Rivera, which secured the spot against obliteration.

"The Maumee Valley Monumental Association," with headquarters at Toledo, Ohio, and with Rutherford B. Hayes as President, has introduced a Bill into the United States Senate by Senator Sherman, calling for an appropriation sufficient to preserve these old landmarks of the early history of the country as indicated above. The total cost would be $40,000."

I have quoted the above account, as constituting an all-sufficient answer to Professor Goldwin Smith. If Canadians want an incentive to keep the memory of their own history green beyond that warm love of country that distinguishes every patriot heart, they may find it in the action and example of the very people we are to be so careful lest we offend by the erection of monuments to our victories. Victories over them, to be sure, but that we cannot help!

Why, what a country would Canada be if she followed the lead of Professor Goldwin Smith! Loyalty dead, patriotism smothered, she would be a spectacle to the world.

But, that loyalty is not dead, nor patriotism smothered, witness this society. If the past were nothing to us, we should not be here. Nor could we cast our eyes on every side only to have them rest on other societies all bent on the same generous end as ourselves. Our hearts are strengthened, our hands cheered, when we know that every Province in this wide Dominion boasts an historical society that is gathering and has gathered from our past records of enduring value, and has laid them up in our archives for further service as guides, beacons, and land-marks,—records which are the food of loyalty and the drink of patriotism.

What a land would Canada be with no historic points to which we might direct the eyes of our children! Where would be the source of our honor? With what face should we look in the faces of other nations?

Is there a spot on this wide earth where patriotism does not find a home? No island in the warm Pacific but gives it room to patriots—men ignorant, rude, of strange habits, if you will—but they will fight for the land they love like the heroes of Lacedaemon—or shall we say—of Queenston. Not an icy peninsula within the Arctic or Antarctic circles but will furnish a patriot if it furnishes an inhabitant.

Patriotism is the soul of national life, and we are not to be told by any philosopher whose liberality is so exalted that he recognizes no nation as distinct from another, that we are not and never can be a nation. *We are a nation.* Of that nation that is at the head of the power, the civilization, the piety of the world. England is Canada, and Canada is England, and our youth may not forget that Canada will be whatever they like to make it.

Nor does there seem to me any means by which the high sentiment of patriotism may receive fuller exposition than these societies of ours, the Historical Societies of the Dominion of Canada. The last issue (Nov. 14) of our excellent periodical, the *Dominion Illustrated*, contains matter that is sufficiently demonstrative of the work that such societies can do, because it shows what has been done in one or two notable instances. The sketch of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, the president being Sir Adams Archibald, gives a list of papers of a most important character that have by its means been added to the historical literature of the country.

And another sketch in the same issue of one of whom we are all proud as a cultivated and patriotic young Canadian, the compiler of "Songs of the Great Dominion," and the author of "The Young Seigneur," William Douw Lighthall, who I am sure you will be glad to hear was born in this young rising commercial city of Hamilton, gives another list of equally valuable papers contributed to the Society for Historical Studies of Montreal. I believe Mr. Lighthall is sponsor to the Society, which however, was not the first of its kind in that literary centre. The Ormstown and Chateauguay Historical Society owes its inception very much to the same patriotic spirit. Nor must we overlook the Leeds and Grenville Historical Society in the eastern part of the Province, where a rich mine of historic memories has yet to be worked.

I need hardly cite to you the highly valuable lectures by Captain Ernest Cruikshank on the various battlefields of 1812 in the Niagara Peninsula, that were delivered before the Lundy's Lane Historical Society, and since published by them, together with some

other contributions made at various times to the anniversary occasions that that Society regularly celebrates. The transactions of the York Pioneer and Historical Society have long been known to you, identified as they are with the names of Dr. Scadding, D. B. Read, Q. C., and others. The Canadian Institute, the Toronto National Club, are further examples of much important national and historical work being called for and done, which would otherwise have remained unaccomplished.

I am sure that new as your society is, you have already received and put on record much historical information that you would not lightly give up, and your members will not willingly be outstripped in ardor of research, industry of collection and careful preservation of the rich treasures of past times which lie so thickly around this historic district. There is much of interest only waiting to be recorded. I learned while at Grimsby for a day or two during the summer that the part of your beautiful mountain range that shadows that delightful little village was the site during the war of 1812 of a beacon signal between Niagara and York. What anticipations cluster about that bit of news! How we long to have a record of the messages flashed between those two great points during the war.

And I was told that Sir Allan MacNab and a number of Hamilton gentlemen, members of a forgotten society, something like this, used to go to the mountain at Grimsby every 13th of October and commemorate the victory of Queenston Heights. Can nothing be done to put on record those events?

Then again from that small place I procured the loan of a treasure, a document faded and yellow, containing the names in their own handwriting of the first subscribers to the first English Church built here. The first of those names is that of Abraham Nelles, a name of note with us even to-day.

Thus I beg to indicate a guide to your younger members whence history may be gathered. Patriotism is the key that will unlock these treasures, and I am happy to stand to-night among so many who already have taken that key to Canada's greatness into their hands.

For the love of country is like the love of kindred: it is a word of honor, an incentive to duty, a tie of affection. It urges us to live nobly, to work faithfully, to give our best, to serve gladly, to forego luxury, to love simplicity, to be honest, independent and fearless in short to be our best and do our best for the sake of the beloved. And it carries its own reward.

Thanking you, Mr. President, and ladies and gentlemen, for the opportunity afforded me on this occasion, I beg also to be allowed to express my pleasure at being here to-night.

RECOLLECTIONS OF COL. TALBOT AND HIS TIMES.—SACRIFICE OF THE PUBLIC DOMAIN

By the Hon. Arch. McKellar

Thomas Talbot was born at the ancient Baronial Castle of Malahide, in the county of Dublin, Ireland, in the year 1771. In accordance with the custom of the time, among noblemen's sons in Great Britain, young Talbot was early provided with a commission in the 24th Regiment and in 1786, 1787 and 1788, was with Arthur Wellesly—afterwards Lord Wellington—aide-de-camp to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. In 1790 young Talbot came to Quebec with his regiment and in 1791 became attached to the staff of General John Graves Simcoe, the first Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, and remained in that capacity four years, when he was called home as Major of the 5th Regiment, then ordered to Flanders. While Col. Talbot was Governor Simcoe's aide-de-camp and private secretary he became acquainted with the fertile and picturesque belt of country along Lake Erie. After a few years service in the army Col. Talbot resigned and for reasons unknown other than what madam rumor reported that it was a disappointment in a love affair and his conduct would indicate that was the case for he was a woman-hater and would have none in his house. Whatever were the reasons, he decided to leave the comforts of civilization in the old world and plant a new civilization in Upper Canada which he did, and in a manner which shows the reckless way in which the public domain was managed, or rather mismanaged in those days.

Governor Simcoe left Canada before Talbot's return. Col. Talbot however applied to the British Government for a grant of land the nature of which can be best understood from ex-Governor Simcoe's letter which is as follows:

"Somerset Street, Portman Square,
11th February, 1803.

"My Lord,—Upon my arrival in Canada, to carry the constitution which had been granted to that colony into effect, Mr. Talbot

accompanied me as my private and confidential secretary into Upper Canada. He remained in my family four years, when he was called home as Major of the 5th Regiment, then ordered to Flanders. During that period he not only conducted many details and important duties incidental to the original establishment of a colony to my entire satisfaction, but was employed in the most confidential measures necessary to preserve that country in peace, without violating on the one hand the relations of amity with the United States, and on the other alienating the affections of the Indian nations, at that time in open war with them.

"I consider these circumstances, my Lord, as authorizing me in general terms to recommend Mr Talbot to your consideration and protection. Mr Talbot's specific application, which I beg leave to support to the utmost of my power, consists of two points: the first is the grant of 5,000 acres of land as a field-officer, actually and bona fide meaning to reside in the Province for the purpose of establishing himself therein. The king's bounty having been extended to the field-officers who had served during the American war in grants to a similar extent, it was judged expedient by myself, Mr Chief Justice Osgoode, and other confidential officers of the Crown in that colony to extend the provisions to any field officer of character, who, bona fide, should become a settler therein, it being obvious that it was for his Majesty's interest that a loyal set of European gentlemen should as speedily as possible be obtained to take the lead in the several districts. In consequence, my Lord, had Mr Talbot been totally unknown to me, except by his character and the high rank he has borne in the king's service, I should have thought him a most valuable acquisition to the Province, and on this public ground, without hesitation have granted him 5,000 acres on the same principles that had been laid down and acted upon. This is the first part of Mr Talbot's request.

The second request is, that these 5,000 acres may be granted in the township of Yarmouth on Lake Erie, and that the remainder of that township may be reserved for such a period as may appear advisable to government for the purpose of his settling it on the following specific plan, namely: That 200 acres shall be allotted to him for every family he shall establish thereon; 50 acres thereof to be granted to such family in perpetuity, and the remaining 150 acres of each lot to become his property for the expense and trouble in collecting and locating them. His plan is to introduce himself amongst a large body of Welch and Scotch families who arrived at New York in the summer of [illegible] and who have temporarily fixed themselves in the interior of the state, many of whom are already disgusted with the democratic principles of the people there and feel a strong inclination to return under the Government of England, but do not possess the means of purchasing land or paying the fees demanded by the Province on grants

"It remains for me only to add that Mr. Talbot, having been very successful in the cultivation of Hemp, is induced to prefer the distant township of Yarmouth, as the soil is well adapted to the growth of that valuable commodity. It is his object to extend this cultivation through the whole township, and by precept and example to enforce principles of loyalty, obedience and industry amongst those with whom he will be surrounded.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

To the Right Honorable
LORD HOBART.

J. GRAVES SIMCOE.

The grants were made in accordance with the request, and such additions were afterwards made to them that they covered in all about 28 townships with 518,000 acres of land.

The township of Yarmouth, in which Talbot wanted his 5,000 acres, is on the shore of Lake Erie in the County of Elgin, and on the south-west end of it stands the beautiful city of St. Thomas, so named in honor of Col. Thomas Talbot. Yarmouth, however, which the Colonel had thought so well adapted to the growth of hemp, was already beyond his reach, the south part of it having been sold at a nominal price to Colonel Baby, and the remaining portion of the township was sold to the Canada Company, a wealthy English company, who purchased from the British government two million two hundred thousand acres of the choicest lands in Upper Canada at 3s. 6d., or 70 cents per acre. For these same lands the hard-working settler, who made his living by the sweat of his brow, paid from $3, $4, $5 and $15 per acre. By this [illegible] evident sale of our public domain, millions of money which should have been used to beautify and enrich our own country were sent out of the country to fill to overflowing the coffers of the millionaires of the mother country.

Colonel Talbot having failed to obtain his 5,000 acres in Yarmouth, went westward to the township of Dunwich, which is on the shore of Lake Erie, and the second township south-west of Yarmouth. On the 21st May, 1803, he landed at the mouth of a winding creek in the said township of Dunwich, where he located the 5,000 acres on both sides of the creek and called it Port Talbot, a name it retains to the present day. At this time the Long Point, lying about 60 miles east, contained the nearest white settlement, chiefly made up of U. E. Loyalists, who settled there in 1783, and from whom the chief supply of the necessaries of life were obtained for

the settlers for a number of years. The progress of the settlement was slow, not more than twelve or fifteen families having settled in it during the first ten years, and these were in Dunwich. The township of Aldborough, which adjoins Dunwich, is bounded on the south by Lake Erie, and is the most westerly township in the county of Elgin, and its first settlers were named Ward, Fleming and Gibb, who located in 1812. In 1815 another settlement was located. In 1816 a number of Scotch families came from the States and became settlers.

In 1817 my father, mother and myself, then 15 months old, and two other families, came from Scotland, and with a number of Scotch families from the States settled in Aldborough. My father and the three men of his party selected their lands, and walked 17 miles through the woods on an Indian trail to Col. Talbot's, where they entered their names for 50 acres each, and for his trouble and expense in supplying them with pen and ink and a book in which to make the necessary entries, the Colonel received 600 acres. The Colonel transacted business in a room in his log house; he was curt, and at times uncivil to applicants for land. A stalwart Highlander named Duncan Patterson called upon him to enter his name for a 50 acre farm. The Colonel said something that offended Patterson, who by way of punishment put his arms around the Colonel's waist, carried him out and laid him on his back on the lawn, where he left him. Ever after this incident the Colonel transacted his business with applicants for land through an open window. All the townships were withdrawn from settlement by Talbot except the townships of Aldborough and Dunwich, the most westerly in the County of Elgin. In 1818 and 1819 both townships were being filled up by the most desirable class of emigrants from the British Isles, men and women of intelligence, courage, bone and sinew, fully prepared to encounter and overcome the trials and hardships of pioneer life. In a few more years every lot in both townships would have been taken up by the same class of people but, alas, at the close of 1819 when less than one fourth of the lands in both townships was occupied, Col. Talbot ceased to make grants, and instead of keeping 150 out of 200 acres for his trouble and expense, he kept the whole 200 acres without either trouble or expense. And as a result the unsettled portions of both townships remained a wilderness until Talbot's death some forty years later. Colonel

Airey, a British officer who distinguished himself for skill, bravery and courage in his country's service, was a nephew of Col. Talbot, and was to have been Talbot's heir. He came to Canada when a young man and spent some time at Port Talbot with his uncle, whose habits and surroundings he soon discovered were distasteful to him, and after a few months sojourn at Port Talbot he returned to Ireland. I have been told that the separation from his aged uncle was not of the most friendly nature, which accounts for the disposition Talbot made of his vast estate which cost him nothing. Instead of bequeathing his estate to Colonel Airey, his lawful heir, he bequeathed it to George McBeth, a son or grandson of one of the Highlanders that Lord Selkirk brought out to the Red River near Winnipeg in 1812, and who from boyhood was Col. Talbot's valet. Mr. McBeth was for some years M.P.P. for West Elgin. He died when a comparatively young man, but left a highly respected family who are managing his estate with prudence and care. In justice to Col. Talbot I beg to add that he was a member of the Provincial Executive Council from 1803 to 1840, when Responsible Government was established.

CANADIAN HISTORY.—(CONTINUED.)

BY THE HON. DONALD MACINNES

PART I

JACQUES CARTIER, after making three voyages from France did not succeed in establishing any permanent settlement in Canada, and after his third and last voyage there is no further record of him in Canadian history (1540). He was a bold and intrepid navigator and explorer. He made a name for himself earlier than Drake or Frobisher. It was nearly fifty years before the French again made any serious attempt to colonise the great valley of the St Lawrence. For the purposes of commerce, however, the connection between France and Canada never ceased. The trade in furs was a most lucrative one.

During the reign of Henry IV (1598), about fifty years after Cartier's last voyage, the Marquis de la Roche, a nobleman of Brittany, received a commission from the king as Viceroy of Canada, Acadia and the adjoining territories, to colonize, and with sole right to carry on the trade in furs with the Indians within the bounds of the domain granted to him. He made but one voyage, and his expedition was a most disastrous failure. In 1600 another expedition was organised by Chauvin, a naval officer of Rouen, and Pontgrave, a sailor merchant of St Malo. They obtained a monopoly of the fur trade from the king with the condition to establish a colony of 500 persons. They failed in establishing a colony, and on a third voyage Chauvin was taken ill and died. In 1603, De Chastes, the Governor of Dieppe succeeded to his enterprise and Champlain now appears on the scene. He received an offer from De Chastes to take part in it.

It does not come within the scope of these papers to write the biography of the early explorers, but Champlain, who may rightly be termed the Father of French colonization in Canada, and who is otherwise exceptional from the nobility and probity of his character merits a fuller record of his life and achievements. The best record of him is in his own books. The books mark the man, and they bear on every page the palpable impress of truth. A manuscript was discovered within the last thirty years; it is contained in the Laval University edition of his works, and gives an account of an expedition of which he was Pilot General for explorations to what was then Spanish America, and extends over a period of twenty-six months. Champlain kept a diary which was circulated in manuscript form, and attracted the notice of Henry IV. The king allowed him a pension. This manuscript is the one contained in the Laval University edition. The first Canadian record of him is in 1603, and his name embraces the next thirty-two years of Canadian history, years of quiet and repose, as compared with the next thirty years of struggle and discord which followed.

He was a true hero after the medieval chivalrous type. He always held to his purpose with undaunted tenacity; where Champlain was present there was no room for despair; his dauntless courage was matched by unwearied patience. He was less statesman than soldier,—he leant to the most direct and boldest policy. A soldier from his youth, in an age of unbridled license, his life had answered to his maxims. It is recorded of him that when a generation had passed, after his visit to the Hurons, their elders remembered with astonishment the continence of the great French war chief. I quote a few lines from a recent Canadian poem on Champlain:—

While dwelt a winter among the guileful tribes
Of Huron joining in their distant wars
[illegible]
[illegible]
Thy name still dwells unsullied, never spot
Of greed or cowardice or lust or hate
Stained thy white scutcheon. Worthy thou
To be a nation's founder; and may we
Be not unworthy of thee; may thy faith
In our Dominion's fortunes and thy truth
And love of duty guide us on our course,
So shall our country flourish three-score years,
So long, no longer

Such was the manner of man whom De Chastes had enlisted in the enterprise. We shall see how he became the head and front of it, was left with a free hand to act as he pleased in Canada, and when the office of Vice Royalty was abolished was made Governor.

De Chastes had influence with the Court. He had rendered signal service to King Henry IV at the desperate battle of "Arques," in which, with less than half the number he defeated the Duke of Mayence. De Chastes, who was Governor of Dieppe, undertook, without making any conditions, to admit King Henry and his army in case of necessity; the service was never forgotten, even after De Chastes' death a sum of money was given to the children. Champlain sailed with the expedition in 1603, ascended the St. Lawrence as far as the Sault St. Louis (Lachine), when he was stopped by the rapids. He thus followed in the wake of Cartier. He returned to France. De Chastes, the patron of the enterprise in the meantime had died, and the association was broken up. He was determined to pursue the enterprise, went to Paris and laid a chart of the country which he had traversed before the king. He was graciously received, and De Monts, a Calvinist gentleman of great wealth, who was in favor with the Court, joined him taking Chastes' place.

De Monts' patent included all the country between the 40th and 46th degree of latitude, that is the country between Philadelphia and Montreal, with supreme governing powers. De Monts set sail with a larger expedition than had ever yet gone to Canada (March 1604). After examining the coast of Acadia (Nova Scotia), the expedition landed at St. Croix and wintered there; in 1605 it was removed to Port Royal. The country to the south was explored as far as Cape Cod, but no French colony within the borders of what is now United States territory was founded until 16[illegible]5. De Monts' object was to develop the resources of Nova Scotia, but Champlain's preference was for the St. Lawrence. There was an idea prevalent in the minds of navigators and explorers in that age that Asia could be reached by a short route across the American continent, and "La Chine" rapids were so named from a belief that beyond them was the way to China. They were right, the shortest way to China is across the American continent but by land and not by water as they believed was possible. It was a problem which for centuries they labored to solve. We have very recently (July 1891) witnessed how China has been brought within twenty-one days of Europe across the North American continent *via* the Dominion of Canada.

With Champlain lies the honor of founding Quebec. On the 3rd of July, 1608, he fixed upon a promontory not far from the spot where sixty-seven years before Cartier had erected a fort and passed a winter there. I quote again from Mr. Dawson's poems :—

> That wondrous strait where close th' opposing hills
> To build the stately Portal of the West
> There at the foot of that tremendous rock
> Which towers above a basin sheltered round
> By mountains slowly sloping from their height
> In terraces of verdure to the deep
> And ever tranquil water. In that charmed spot
> Of solemn beauty was the cradle placed
> Of our Canadian Empire. Grand the site
> And great the founder. Mark his forehead calm
> His serious eyes but prone to gleam with mirth,
> As fit to gaze on danger—resolute mouth
> Adorned with grim moustache and courtly beard
> Showing a man as skilled and apt to tread
> The Gallant Bearnais' court as the slant deck
> Slippery with foam and ice when northern storm
> Swoops on the treacherous gulf and through the dark
> Aloft demons hurtle through the air
> With hiss and shriek.

In 1611 De Monts, on his appointment to the Governorship of Saintonge, abandoned the North American adventure. He committed everything to Champlain, and advised him to seek some powerful patron. He found such in the Count de Soissons, who obtained the title of Lieutenant-General of New France, and then delegated the functions of his high office to Champlain. The Count dying shortly afterwards, Champlain found a still more powerful patron in the Prince de Condé. Practically speaking Champlain had a free hand to do as he pleased in North America.

To the South he explored and discovered Lake Champlain (so-called after himself) and Lake George, and in 1613 he undertook explorations to the North. He was greatly assisted by the Algonkins, whose friendship he had gained. Champlain, in his intercourse with the native races, by his judicious and generous kindness, commanded their confidence and secured them as friendly allies. The feuds and enmities which existed between the various tribes or more properly speaking nations, notably between the Algonkins and Iroquois or Five Nations, made it impossible at times to prevent conflicts from taking place. The expedition to the North was prompted chiefly by the report of one Vignau who lived among the Indians, and had accompanied Champlain on his travels. Vignau represented that the Ottawa issued from a lake connected with the North Sea, and reported that on the shores of this sea he had seen the wreck of an English vessel, and that the crew, eighty in number, had been killed by the natives. He set out upon the expedition, and after great hardships was compelled to return with the conviction that he had been deceived by Vignau. The journey however was not without its results, and was the prelude to a far more fruitful and important one in 1615. In that year he followed the course of the Ottawa, taking advantage of numerous small lakes and portages reached Lake Nipissing, from whence he followed the course of the French River to the Georgian Bay and entered Lake Huron, coasted it for several leagues, and turning about near its extremity struck into the interior, and found his way up to Lake and River St. Clair near the site of the present city of Detroit, which was the farthest point of this exploration. The geographical results were important. He obtained the key to the far West, and after suffering great hardships and conflicts with the Indians, he was compelled to take part in the eternal feud between the Algonkins and Iroquois. He returned to Quebec in July of the following year, 1616. For ten years after this expedition he prosecuted his projects of Canadian exploration and colonization. He went every year to France, laboring with zeal and fortitude for the interests of the colony. The difficulties of his task were increased by the apathy or open opposition of his countrymen. There was no overflow of population from France, and towards the close of 1621 the European settlers of Canada were very few in number.

THE ROLE OF THE ONE HUNDRED ASSOCIATES.

In 1627 all former charters given by the kings of France were cancelled chiefly through the advice of Cardinal Richelieu and the fortunes of the French Empire in North America handed over to a company of a hundred associates, of which Champlain was the leading spirit. Among its members were not only Cardinal Richelieu and Champlain but many noblemen and rich merchants were included. New France, according to the charter of Louis XIII. meant the basin of the St. Lawrence and of such other rivers as flowed into the sea. It also included Florida by virtue of Coligny's attempt to found a Huguenot colony there, 1564 and which as we have seen had been so ruthlessly destroyed by the Spaniards. The Association undertook definitely to send out 300 tradesmen first of all and to find them with tools, food, and all the necessaries of life for three years.

The French did not emigrate willingly,—they did not follow in the wake of explorers. The Association was formed to inaugurate a guide to a national exodus. The office of Vice Royalty which had existed for 86 years, was abolished and Champlain was made Governor. Misfortunes overtook New France at the very beginning. In 1628 David Kirke, with an English squadron, captured the first ship laden with stores for the emigrants, and in 1629 the English took Quebec and held Canada until 1632, when by the Treaty of St. Germain *en laye* Canada—that is the valley of the St. Lawrence, Acadia and Cape Breton—were restored to France. This was a time of domestic embarrassment for England during the reign of Charles I, and France profited by it. The Commonwealth disposed of King Charles and set the Kings of England aside for a time. In New France Champlain was reinstated with full power as Governor of Canada, and it looked as if he was at last destined to carry out his life long projects and build up a French Colonial Empire in North America, and he began to address himself immediately to the work before him. In the following year he came to Quebec with stores and a number of settlers, but on Christmas day, 1635, he died. The Colony could ill spare him, for about thirty years he labored hard and ceaselessly for its welfare, sacrificing fortune, repose and domestic peace to a cause embraced with enthusiasm and pursued with unwearied persistency. With the life of the faithful soldier closes the opening period of New France, heroes of another stamp succeed, and it remains to tell the story of their lives, their faults, their follies and their virtues.

I think it will be interesting to pause in the narrative of the early pioneers in the basin of the St. Lawrence (then called Canada) and in Acadia (now Nova Scotia and New Brunswick) to contrast their positions at Champlain's death with that of the English further south. It may here be remarked that Quebec was founded under the guidance of Champlain about the time of the voyage of the Mayflower, 1608. The French population consisted of several small settlements extending from Tadusac to Lachine, the most important of which was Quebec and Three Rivers. In Acadia, which included Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, there were only a few ports along the mouths of rivers. This was the extent of New France in 1635, exactly one hundred years after Cartier's expedition, 1535, up the St. Lawrence.

The settlements of the English farther south were Virginia, first commenced by Sir Walter Raleigh off his own bat as it were, and notwithstanding many failures his faith never wavered. "I shall yet see it an English nation," were his prophetic words. Massachusetts, settled by the Pilgrim Fathers, 1620; New Hampshire, 1623; Maine, 1625; Rhode Island, settled from Massachusetts; Maryland, settled by Lord Baltimore, 1634; Connecticut, settled from Massachusetts, 1635; of the others New York was settled by the Dutch in 1609, and New Jersey and Delaware founded by the Dutch and Swedes in 1627. This group of plantations was inhabited by a race who did not subsist by the chase or trading with the Indians but by the labor of their hands in tilling the soil. They had, however, the advantage in point of climate which was more temperate than that of the colder north. On the other hand the settlements along the margin of the St. Lawrence was like a camp where an army lay at rest ready for the march or the battle and where war and adventure, not labor and tillage, seemed the chief aims of life. The owners of the soil were petty nobles for the most part soldiers, or the sons of soldiers, proud and ostentatious, thriftless and poor, fond of the chase, rightful heirs to French valor; they had an eager love of wandering and adventure. No sharper contrast could be found than that between the French and English colonists. The English colonist was strong in native vigor, grew yet more strong with conflict and with striving patient and laborious and seeking for the solid comforts rather than the ornaments of life, no lover of war yet if need were, fighting with a stubborn indomitable courage, then bending with stedfast energy to his farm or his merchandise.

By the zeal of the priests and daring enterprise of soldiers and explorers, Canada spread forts and missions through all the western wilderness. Feebly rooted in the soil she thrust out branches which overshadowed half America, a magnificent object to the eye, but one which the first whirlwind would prostrate in the dust. The enterprises pursued by the early French pioneers may properly be likened to those of a great trading company such as the Hudson Bay Company but unlike the French pioneers. The Governor and Factors of that company did not attempt to convert the heathen or establish missions but devoted themselves to the work for which they were incorporated. The trade in furs with the Indians gaining them confidence and making allies of them through the probity, the fairness and the integrity of their dealings, and we have the evidence of the moral effects produced on the Indian in the peaceful contentment, law and order which prevail among them to this day in the enormous territory over which they had rule.

NATIVE RACES.

The name "Indian" was given to the aborigines of North America by the early searchers after the kingdoms of the east by a northwest passage believing that along the valley of the St. Lawrence they were skirting the fringe of some Asiatic empire, and that the races whom they saw were those of the Indies, and the name has remained. The tribes with whom the European colonists were brought into contact include *first*, the Eskimo, always found near the coast; *second*, roving hunters and warriors from the shores of Hudson's Bay to the Gulf of Mexico, keeping the valley of the Mississippi as the western boundary, known as the Algonkins; *third*, the Iroquois and Mobilian groups. The Eskimo are exclusively a maritime and Arctic race and rarely found south of 65 north latitude. They are supposed to number about 18,500 all told.

The North American tribes, best known in Canadian history as the Algonkins, Hurons and Iroquois, there is hardly a page of early records or an incident of Jesuit trade or adventure but contains some reference to these natives. The history of Canada has been simply a narrative of continual warfare with these tribes, who guarded the gateway to the prairies. The Algonkins took the side of the French and the Iroquois that of the English speaking generally, but the real nature of the warfare underlying all partisanship was civilization against barbarism, European rule and law against the untutored regime of the wild nomads. Not till Pontiac's conspiracy 1763 was crushed did the conflict cease. A lucid and interesting account of Pontiac's conspiracy will be found in Parkman's works.

The North American aborigines were never very numerous. According to Bancroft's history of the United States two hundred years ago there were no more than 180,000 distributed over vast spaces of country reaching from the shores of Hudson Bay to the valley of the Mississippi. The Algonkins numbered about 90,000. It was an Algonkin that Cartier first met on the St. Lawrence. It was an Algonkin Chief whom he unceremoniously took back with him to

France on his first voyage. The Huron or Wyandot tribes spoke a kindred language with the Iroquois and inhabited the peninsula between Lakes Huron, Erie and Ontario; their numbers were about 20,000. They were conquered in 1649 by the Iroquois who invaded them in the depths of winter, and by attacks and surprises scattered their clans, some finding refuge with the French near Quebec where their descendants still live at Lorette. The Iroquois or Five Nations, viz. Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas, stretched from Lake Ontario to the Ohio, Susquehanna and the Delaware. We hear more of them now than any other native tribes in the conflicts between French and English. When the Tuscaroras, a tribe of North Carolina, became merged with them they were known as the Six Nations, 1714. An eternal feud raged between the Iroquois and the Algonkins. The Iroquois, according to Parkman, were foremost in eloquence and savage arts. They were the conquering tribes of North America. They owed their triumphs partly to their advanced organization and unity, to their indomitable courage and to their geographical position in their own country which was within the present limits of the State of New York, from whence there was easy access to any other parts by means of the lakes and rivers. Longfellow has woven in Hiawatha the life, the ideals and romance of the race, their stern courage and occasional tenderness. They were cultivators of the soil. In 1696 Frontenac, the Governor of Canada, found miles of cultivated fields extending from their villages. Notwithstanding their victories and renown, it is estimated that Iroquois warriors never exceeded 4,000. The regime of the Hundred Associates continued for twenty-five years after the death of Champlain. His immediate successor was M. de Montmagny (1637). He commanded the respect and confidence of the colonists, the Indians and the French court. He was esteemed a model for colonial Governors. The period of time assigned to the office was three years, and in the midst of his usefulness he was recalled.

M. de Ailleboust followed. He had some knowledge of Canada, having been military commandant at Three Rivers. He conceived the idea of forming an alliance with the English colonists of New England, but one of the conditions being a combination against the Iroquois or Five Nations it was not carried out. This attempt to crush them aroused the wrath of the Iroquois and increased their enmity against the French. M. de Lauson, M. de Ar genne and M. de Avaugour succeeded as Governors. M. de Avaugour was the last appointed under the regime of the Hundred Associates. As a trading and colonizing company, the Hundred Associates, in spite of good Governors and large concessions, was a failure. At the suggestion of Bishop Laval, the King of France cancelled the charter of the company. It had dwindled down to one-half its original members and the whole territory was brought under the direct rule of the Crown. Before their reign had expired, 1660, the English colonists proposed to the Governor of French Canada, that the colonists of France and England should take no part in the quarrels of the mother countries, but should live in amity, Protestants and Catholics; but it was then urged that it would be impossible to dissociate colonial from imperial policy, and yet such an arrangement was subsequently agreed to between the parent countries. A treaty of neutrality, in the event of war in Europe, was made between France and England in 1686, but it was destined that Canada was to become one of the battle fields of England and France. Missionary enterprise and the conversion of the natives were the main features of the regime of the Hundred Associates. Champlain availed himself of the services of the Franciscans, an order noted for their austere and simple habits; he regarded them as the most fitting missionaries to send as pioneers into a new country, as they were free from ambition; but afterwards the task was entrusted solely to the Jesuits as being better instruments.

In 1640, Montreal, the site of which had already been indicated by Champlain in 1611, was founded, that there might be a rendezvous nearer than Quebec. In August of the year 1640 a general meeting of French settlers and Indians took place there; the new crusading spirit took full possession of the enthusiastic French people. The niece of Cardinal Richelieu founded a hospital for the natives. The French missionaries, much as they might desire it, could not keep outside the intertribal strifes of the natives around them, but, according to Champlain's policy they continued to aid the Algonkin Hurons against their inveterate enemies the Iroquois, who retaliated by the most revengeful cruelties; there was no peace, and missionaries and colonists carried their lives in their hands. The method of colonization and settlement pursued by the English to the south on the Atlantic coast were, as we have seen, in marked contrast with that pursued by the French in Canada. The French were first in the field, but it was not until Champlain, who may be said to be the father of French colonization, appeared on the scene, that the colonization and settlement of French Canada may fairly be said to have commenced (1603.) Quebec, as we have seen, was founded by Champlain about the time of the voyage of the Mayflower—a brief reference to that famous voyage and the causes which led to it may here be interesting. The history of our own time records the stupendous consequences which flowed from it.

In April, 1614, John Smith, a noted explorer and leader of colonists, when President of Virginia, had sailed on a voyage of discovery to the northern shores, examined the coast from Penobscot to Cape Cod and called it New England. The title was confirmed by Prince Charles. To this land the Pilgrims in the "Mayflower" and the "Speedwell" turned in 1620, leaving their native land as victims of religious persecution; they held no charter or commission and were simply adventurers. On the 9th November they cast anchor in the harbor of Cape Cod. Before landing, the following document and compact was drawn up affirming their loyalty to the King of England, covenanting together reverently to obey the laws which they might make for themselves.

"In the name of God, amen. We, whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread King James, having undertaken for the glory of God and advancement of the Christian faith and honor of our King and Country a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia do by these presents solemnly and mutually in the presence of God and of one another covenant ourselves together into a civic body politic for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid, and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts constitutions and officers from time to time as shall be thought most convenient for the good of the colony unto which we promise all due submission and obedience."

This document was signed by forty-one men, representing one hundred and two souls comprising the whole colony. They landed at New Plymouth on a spot still marked by posterity. Here was the beginning of New England. The main idea of these colonists was to secure for themselves a place in the world where they could worship God in the way that seemed best to them. They were not rebellious or disloyal. They trusted to themselves for success and leaned neither upon privileges or chartered rights. They had gone to Holland, where they heard there was toleration for all, and conducted themselves with piety and honesty while there. But they desired to live under the British flag and believed they could secure that best by crossing the Atlantic. The Council of Plymouth, two months after the Mayflower had sailed, obtained a charter from King James which gave them absolute power over all the territory between the 40th and 48th degrees of north latitude, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

New England was reinforced from time to time by fresh arrivals from the old country, who were driven out for political or religious opinions. In May, 1638, the Privy Council interfered to stay a squadron of eight ships which were in the Thames preparing to sail for the New World; both Hampden and Cromwell were said to have been on board. After the execution of King Charles and the establishing of the Protectorate the colonies were left free to do as they pleased for nearly twenty years. In 1614 the government of Massachusetts was established in its liberty and laws. Harvard College had been founded in 1638, public education was provided for all classes. In 1642 the colony of New Hampshire was incorporated with the earlier settlements on equal terms. In 1643 there was a union effected between Massachusetts, Connecticut, Plymouth and New Haven. Within the first fifteen years there came over to Puritan New England 21,200 persons, or [illegible] families. Their descendants in 1834, about two hundred years afterwards, numbered about 4,000,000. The settlements from New Haven to Pemaquid were composed chiefly of agricultural communities planted along the sea. As early as 1675 it was an easy task for Massachusetts, Plymouth and Connecticut to raise a force of [illegible] troopers to deal with the Indians both to the north and south. From Virginia on the one hand and Massachusetts on the other British colonies were growing and prosperous. Along the coast from Maine to South Carolina a young nation was growing. To their force of character and indomitable pluck, their fierce spirit of liberty, Edmund Burke in his great speech on "Conciliation with America," gave ample testimony. Adam Smith, an honest estimate of the American character, lays stress on their sober virtues, and native hard head. "In what way, therefore, has the policy of Europe contributed either to the first establishment or to the present grandeur of the colonies of America? In one way and in one way only it has contributed much *magna virûm mater*, it bred and formed the men who were capable of achieving such great actions and of laying the foundation of so great an empire, and there is no quarter of the world of which the policy is capable of forming or has ever actually formed such men. The colonies owe to the policy of Europe the education and the great views of their active and enterprising founders, and some of the greatest and most important of them so far as concern their internal government owe to it scarcely anything else." Such was Adam Smith's estimate of the New England colonists. Can we not claim that estimate to be equally applicable to the present generation of Canadian British men? Are they not capable of performing achievements equally great? It has been asserted by a writer who is an acknowledged master of the English language and who aims at moulding public opinion at the present time, that the existence of a Canadian British nationality on this continent alongside of the Republic to the south engenders a spirit of hostility on the part of that great country, that therefore it behooves the people of this Dominion to change their allegiance. If they allowed themselves to be influenced to such a course by a menace they would be exhibiting a spirit the reverse of Adam Smith's estimate of the New England colonists; it might rightly be called a spirit of poltroonery, and the hostility, if such exists on the part of the people of the United States, would assuredly be changed to that of contempt; better a spirit of jingoism, whatever that may mean as applied to Canadians, than a spirit of pusillanimity or treasonable teaching. Canadians have always shown and may be trusted to show a proper spirit of self reliance and manliness, and while duly respecting their neighbours maintain their own self respect.

It may be asked why French colonisation to the north lagged so much behind that of the English to the south? A glance at the internal condition of France at this period will tend, partly at least, to reveal the cause. France in the 17th century was powerful and ambitious and aimed at keeping the supremacy amongst the nations of Europe, and at consolidating a transatlantic Empire, but the internecine religious wars and dissensions which prevailed between Roman Catholics and Protestants prevented the consummation of its policy.

Henry IV, a wise and pacific king, granted the Edict of Nantes, 1598, which ushered in the principle of religious toleration a great been to Catholics as well Protestants. The King was assassinated by Ravillac, 1608, and religious wars broke out again and much blood shed on both sides until the Edict of Nantes was confirmed, 1628. The evils of this internecine warfare were enormous. France became a nation divided against itself. It was estimated that the religious wars cost the country a million of lives, and in treasure 150,000,000 livres besides causing the destruction of nine cities, four hundred villages, two thousand churches and two thousand monasteries, a serious hindrance to colonization was one of the consequences.

Cardinal Richelieu, during the reign of Louis XIII, and Colbert, in that of Louis XIV, were fired with the ambition to extend the industries and commerce of France and to create a transatlantic empire, but the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 1685, was one of the chief causes of the ruin of their commercial and colonial policy. This relapse into religious intolerance rallied against them not only England but the powers of Europe and William III became not only a champion of English nationality but of the territorial freedom of Europe, which appeared to be menaced. In her defence of Protestantism England could count as we shall see later on, upon the co-operation and assistance of the New England colonists. Another result of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes was to drive skilled Huguenot artisans and mechanics into other countries; many sought an asylum in England and Holland, etc. In England the persecution for faith and principles did not make aliens of Englishmen. The Pilgrim Fathers were always loyal to the crown and staunch supporters of the national cause in America. The tremendous struggle which was closed for a time and only for a time as we shall see, by the Treaty of Utrecht, was a fight between England and France for commercial and colonial supremacy.

A brief review of English history at the period under review is necessary to a proper understanding and appreciation of the struggle and of the different wars which were waged between the two countries in all parts of the world during the 17th and 18th centuries, and which ended in the expansion and triumph of England—commencing with the revolution, 1688, and ending with the battle of Waterloo. England waged seven great wars the shortest of which was seven years and the longest about twelve. Out of 126 years 64, more than half were spent in war.

The great English navy first took definite shape in the wars of the Commonwealth, and the English army was founded on the mutiny bill, and dates from the reign of William III. England had of course been at war before this period, but at the commencement of it her debt was less than one million, but at the end of this period (1817), it was 840 *millions*. If we pass these wars in review, the first was the European war in which England was involved by the revolution of 1688; it lasted eight years, until the Treaty of Ryswick, 1697; there was then the war of Marlborough's great victories, called the Spanish succession; it lasted 11 years, 1702 till the Treaty of Utrecht, 1713. A truce of twenty-six years followed. The next war lasted nine years, 1739 to 1748, when the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle was made. Then comes the seven years war, and the notable and interesting incident in it for us was the battle of the heights of Abraham, the death of Wolfe and the conquest of Canada. That victory was one of a long *series*, which to contemporaries seemed fabulous, so that the English nation came out of the struggle intoxicated with glory, and England stood upon a pinnacle of greatness which she had never reached before. This is the fourth war and is in striking contrast to the *fifth*, the American war, which from the first outbreak of hostilities to the peace of Paris, lasted eight years, 1775 to 1783. This war, the American part of it, had been as inglorious and as [illegible] as the previous war had been splendid and triumphant, but its latter part became a great naval war in which England stood at bay against all the world, and through Rodney's victories ended creditably. The sixth was the war with revolutionary France lasting nine years, 1793, till the Treaty of Amiens, 1802, and the seventh the Napoleonic wars, the war with France under the empire of Napoleon which continued for twelve years, 1803, and ended with the peace of 1815 and abdication of Napoleon. Then followed the battle of Waterloo, when he fled to the sea coast, surrendered himself to a British naval commander, and he who had lorded it over the nations expired six years afterwards a captive on a rock of the Atlantic.

On examination, it will be found that all these wars or nearly all of them may be traced mainly to the struggle for commercial and colonial supremacy, although the ground of quarrel may seem quite accidental; hostilities may break out in the low countries or in the heart of Germany, but the war is waged everywhere and anywhere at Madras, or at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, or on the banks of the Ohio. Macaulay says, in speaking of Frederick's invasion of Silesia, "In order that he might rob a neighbor whom he had promised to defend, black men fought on the coast of Coromandel and red men scalped each other by the great lakes of North America.

A truce of twenty-seven years followed the peace of Utrecht, which was but the natural effect of the exhaustion of Europe. When this truce was over, all the wars which followed may be regarded as constituting one war with occasional pauses, at any rate the three wars between 1740 and 1783 these three wars make one grand and decisive struggle between England and France. Nominally the first of these three wars was ended by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, 1748 nominally there followed eight years of peace between England and France, but in reality it was not so at all whatever virtue that treaty may have had towards settling the quarrels of other European powers concerned in the war, it scarcely interrupted for a moment the conflict in America between England and France, for the question of the boundaries of the English and French settlements in Acadia and Canada was disputed with as much bitterness after the treaty as before it, and not in words only but by arms just the same as if a war was going on. This was equally true of another frontier along which the English and French met each other, notably in India, and some of the most [illegible] encounters which have ever taken place between English and French in the course of their long rivalry took place in those eight years when nominally England and France were at peace. We learn how the French built Fort Duquesne on the Ohio, how the English colony of Virginia sent a body of 400 men under command of General Washington, then a young man, to attack it, how he was surrounded and forced to capitulate, and also of the defeat and death of General Braddock, and the struggle between Dupleix and Clive in India, and the deeds which led to the founding of England's Indian empire. All these were parts of a desperate struggle between France and England for supremacy. The most of them took place after the treaty of Aix la Chapelle 1748, and before the commencement of the second war in 1756.

This great conflict lasted from 1744 to the peace of Paris 1763 for a period of twenty years. It ended in the most disastrous defeat that has ever, in modern times, been suffered by France, except in 1870; but fifteen years later England and France were again at war by land and by sea for five years. It was not for a moment dissembled that France now, in the hour of England's distress, avenged herself for what she had suffered from England. This was her revenge for the loss of Canada, namely to create the United States, in the words which on a latter occasion became so celebrated, "she called a new world into existence to redress the old."

During the American war France lost all her possessions in India, and as the result of that war England lost all her American possessions except Canada. The French were first in the field in India as they had been first in America. The great Colbert in 1664 had formed a French India Company; their principal settlements were at Pondicherry, on the coast of Coromandel. The Portuguese (1580 to 1595) made rapid conquests more than three-quarters of a century before; they possessed the Moluccas, the coast of Ceylon, the Isles of Sunda, and the trade of China and Japan, and were all powerful on the coast of India. The Dutch, 1595, had also formed a company; their first settlements were in Java, Banda, Amboyna, and Polerm. The English appeared in India a few years after the Dutch. These three powers, Portugal, France and Holland, were far more powerful at this period (1600) than the English. Sir Edwin Arnold, in an able and most interesting article recently published in the North American Review, which will reward perusal, has given an amusing account of the first beginnings of the English settlements in India. He says: "In point of fact our Indian empire was forced upon us by the irresistible logic of events. It began in the utmost simplicity with a merchant's charter and with a doctor's prescription. Some London traders got a monopoly of buying and selling goods at the mouth of the Ganges as well as at Bombay and Surat, and were doing a quiet wholesome and easy business when one of their doctors cured the great Mogul Ferozeshah of a boil on his back, and the princess, his daughter, of a fever. For a fee he received the land where Calcutta now stands and sold it cheap to the Company, who erected a factory there called Fort William. After this the merchants became princes in spite of their earnest effort to remain brokers."

A stupendous and fierce struggle, continuing for about a century, ensued until it ended by England's gaining the golden prize, the

sovereignty of India, from the aspirants who had disputed it, from the French, the Portuguese, the Dutch, the Mogul, the Mahratta, the Madras Islamites, and the Punjaub Sikhs—"thus fell to that band of respectable merchants who started an empire with a physician's prescription and established a commerce of one hundred million sterling with an original order to their agent at Calcutta for a dozen pounds of the best tay you can get."

And as between France and England this struggle was world wide, in the east and in the west, in America and in India, in the end victory declared itself for England. We thus see the relevancy of Macaulay's saying that in consequence of European disputes, black men fought in Coromandel and red men scalped each other by the great lakes of North America. The loss by England of her American colonies, now the United States, was at the time doubtless felt to be most grievous, but is it not in the interests of succeeding generations, in the interest of human progress and civilization? Is it not better for England herself that another great English speaking nation, composed of men of her own race, should have grown up and flourished in a manner to command the wonder and admiration of the world? Is it not a blessing to India to be brought under the benign rule of the Empress of India? Is not England vastly benefited in no other way by the duty imposed upon her by the noble task of governing and doing the right by these hundreds of millions? And is not the decree of Providence visible in the mighty events which I have thus briefly related?

We shall now resume the story of the French pioneers in Canada and perhaps this dip into English history may help to increase its interest for all of us. In 1665 the Hundred Associates abandoned their charter to the King and Canada became a part of the royal domain, an integral part of France. About the same time the history of Acadia (Nova Scotia) became intermingled with that of Canada. We have already seen that De Monts and Champlain in their second expedition from France landed at St. Croix and wintered here, from whence they afterwards moved to Port Royal (the Annapolis of to-day). De Monts' preference was for Acadia, but Champlain elected to explore and colonize the great basin of the St. Lawrence then designated as Canada. While Champlain was engaged in opening up and developing the basin of St. Lawrence and the country inland and founding Quebec, De Monts and his successors were developing Nova Scotia and the adjacent mainland, but they were not successful in carrying out any practical scheme of settlement; some Indians were converted and the fur trade pursued, but without much energy or success. Rivals at home who had the king's ear caused the recall of De Monts, and he was deprived of his office and charter.

In 1621, during the reign of James I, Englishmen succeeded to French attempts. Sir William Alexander, a Scottish knight, favorably known at court, obtained from the king a charter granting him the Peninsula of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and the Gaspe Peninsula. Four years after this charter was granted Charles I succeeded to James I, created an order of knights called "Knights Baronets of Nova Scotia," to the number of 150, each of them to receive a large grant of land on condition of bringing out emigrants and settling the country. The experiment was interrupted by European complication—under the Treaty of St. Germain en Laye, 1632, Canada, Nova Scotia and Cape Breton were ceded back to France. Much disappointment was created on the part of English. Under Sir David Kirke they had practically expelled the French from Nova Scotia, conquered Port Royal, and even destroyed the trading station of Tadousac and held Quebec. The French held possession for twenty-two years, 1632-1654, undisturbed. England was then in the throes of civil war and her distant settlements were entirely neglected. In 1654, Oliver Cromwell held the reins of government; under him England's foreign and colonial policy were administered with a firm hand. The Puritans of New England recognizing their danger from raids by the French in Acadia, backed as they were by the power of the French nation, protested against the surrender of Acadia, and urged the Protector to retake it. The Protector with his usual energy determined to retake the country and it was retaken accordingly and the English flag was hoisted on Port Royal. Sir Thomas Temple was appointed Governor and ruled the settlement for thirteen years, 1654-1667.

In 1667 Nova Scotia again changed hands under the Treaty of Breda; a long truce between France and England followed, but the French and English settlers from this date until the Treaty of Utrecht, 1713, and after the Treaty as we shall see, did not live together in amity; there were constant feuds and disputes about the fisheries, the fur trade, as well as intrigues with the Indians and continual petty strifes—at one time the colonists formally waged war with each other. A night raid in midwinter by French and Indians on the New England colonies made them rise as one man; two expeditions, one by sea against Port Royal and Quebec; the attack on Port Royal succeeded, that on Quebec and Montreal failed. A desultory warfare followed which was carried on by both sides in a barbarous manner and the most ghastly cruelties inflicted. Villebon, the French Governor of Port Royal, left his post as being too exposed, and intrenched himself in a forest at the mouth of the St. John River. He kept a large pack of bloodhounds with which he hunted down his enemies, and with him lived a pirate, Baptiste by name, who plundered all who came in his way.

The English were destined to win the day in North America, and they won it here in the island and peninsulas first of all. Subercase, the brave French commander, was compelled to surrender Port Royal, after a gallant resistance, in September, 1710, when the French flag was hauled down; one of the greatest and most important bulwarks of French power was destroyed, and in honor of Queen Anne its name was changed to Annapolis. Shortly after the Treaty of Utrecht the French built Louisburg, in Cape Breton, which was still left to them, and made it the centre of their power; many of the French colonists from Newfoundland and Nova Scotia removed thither. It occupied a commanding position with regard to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and was for many years a menace to the British colonists.

One of the most notable exploits of New England colonists was the capture of Louisburg in 1745. Colonel Pepperell took command of 4000 volunteers, and early in the spring reached Canso. Here he was joined by Commodore Warren and several British men-of-war. After an interval of three weeks the combined forces approached Louisburg. The landing was difficult; the Massachusetts men had to struggle through the surf on a precarious beach, the French disputing every inch of ground. The defenders had a great superiority in artillery. The garrison consisted of 600 Regulars and 1,000 Breton militia. The attacking colonists exhibited great daring and courage, though as a body they knew little of discipline. The Vigilant, a French ship of 64 guns, laden with supplies, was decoyed into the harbor and captured by the English fleet after some hours fighting, the hearts of the besieged failed them, and on the 17th June the city fort and batteries, constituting the strongest fortress in North America, capitulated to the New England levies, consisting chiefly of mechanics, farmers and fishermen. The French soldiers were sent home on condition that they would not bear arms against Great Britain for twelve months. The news of the fall of Louisburg, the Dunkirk of America, was received with the greatest joy in Boston and London, 1745. In 1746 the French determined to revenge the fall of Louisburg. D'Anville sailed from Rochelle with the greatest fleet that had ever sailed for the New World but its fate was like that of the Spanish Armada. D'Anville reached Chebucto harbor (now Halifax) with a miserable remnant of his fleet, and in a frenzy fell upon his sword.

A body of French soldiers under Ramezay was sent from Quebec to co-operate with D'Anville's squadron—they distinguished themselves by a murderous and treacherous attack upon a body of New England colonists under Colonel Noble. French and Indians advancing quickly over the snow burst unexpectedly on the Massachusetts men, who were quartered at Grand Pre, and killed eighty of them in their sleep. In 1748, Cape Breton, by the terms of the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle, was restored to the French in exchange for Madras.

Attention has already been directed to the world wide contest between France and England—we see here an exchange of territories taking place between them according to the fortunes of war in regions so far apart as Cape Breton and Madras, and this not only in America but in Asia also, France and England in that age advanced side by side, one having been laid open by the discoveries of Vasco da Gama and the other by those of Columbus and Cabot, followed by Cartier and Champlain. As a consequence of this exchange, Cape Breton for Madras, England was impelled to consolidate her power in America by two means, one of colonization and the other of expatriation. It was perceived that the possession of Louisburg, which the French at once made very formidable in strength and power, would constitute a source of great danger and anxiety to the English settlements, and it was determined as a precautionary measure to found another place equally strong by means of immigration, and Chedabucto (now Halifax) was selected.

In 1749 a British fleet lay at anchor where what remained of D'Anville's shattered vessels sought refuge three years before. It had on board more than 2,500 emigrants, who had been tempted with offers of free land grants, a year's provisions, farming implements and other tools. In addition to Halifax the town of Dartmouth was founded the following year. 1763 no fewer than 2,000 Germans came out and settled at Lunenburg. Expatriation, the other measure, was made necessary and forced upon the English government by the policy which may rightly be termed a policy of deceit and untruth, pursued by the French towards the French Acadians who had become English subjects under the Treaty of Utrecht. At this time their number was about 15,000. They were credulous and easily influenced, and under malign influences had been prevented from making the oath of allegiance required of them as subjects of the English crown and their loyalty was questionable although when left to themselves they were peaceable and law abiding. It must be borne in mind that the struggle between the French and English was of a desperate character, and that, as has already been observed, notwithstanding the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle, when peace was declared between the countries, forts were captured and recaptured many times over. Frontier disputes respecting the fur trade were continuous, and boundary difficulties, whether in the peninsula of Nova Scotia or in the valley of the Ohio, were never really settled, and it was felt that the English and French could not live together as neighbours under the same government.

Expatriation has been made pathetic by Longfellow's poem of "Evangeline," which is founded on poetical imagination rather than on the facts of history. It is an episode in the history of Acadia on which it is interesting to dwell.

But the true facts of history are as follows, chiefly gathered from Parkman's works: Acadia, the peninsula of Nova Scotia, with the addition of the present province of New Brunswick and some adjacent country, was conquered by General Nicholson in 1710 and transferred by France to England three years later under the Treaty of Utrecht. By that treaty it was expressly provided that such of the French inhabitants as were willing to remain were to be subject to Great Britain, and to enjoy the free exercise of their religion according to the usages of the Church of Rome as far as the laws of Great Britain allow the same, but that any who choose might remove with their effects if they did so within a year. Very few availed themselves of the right, and after the end of the year those who remained were to take the oath of allegiance. They would doubtless have soon complied if left to them, but the French authorities of Cape Breton did their utmost to prevent them and employed agents to keep them hostile to England. Of these the most efficient were the French priests, who, in spite of the treaty persuaded their flocks that they were still subjects of King Louis.

It was not till seventeen years after the treaty that the Acadians could be brought to take the oath without some qualification which made it useless. The English authorities seemed to have shown throughout unusual patience and forbearance; at length, about 1730, nearly all the inhabitants signed by crosses, as few of them could write, an oath recognizing George II as sovereign of Acadia. This restored comparative quiet till the war of 1745, when some of them remained neutral while some took up arms against England. The Fortress of Louisburg taken by the English (New England colonists) during the war had been restored by treaty.* The French at once prepared to make it a military and naval station more formidable than ever; upon this the British ministry resolved to establish another station as a counterpoise. The harbor of Chebucto on the south coast of Acadia, was chosen as the site for it. Thither in June 1749 came a fleet of transports with emigrants composed of mechanics, tradesmen, farmers, laborers, also sailors, soldiers and subaltern officers thrown out of employment by the peace. Edward Cornwallis, uncle of Lord Cornwallis of the revolutionary war, was made Governor and Commander-in-chief. Wolfe called him a man of approved courage and fidelity. Before summer was over the streets were laid out, and the building lots of each settler assigned to him; before winter closed the whole were under shelter. Succeeding years brought more emigrants, till 1752 the population was four thousand. Thus was founded the city of Halifax of our day. The French, who never reconciled themselves to the loss of Acadia, were resolved by diplomacy or force to win it back. The Acadians were therefore kept in a state of disaffection towards the English. It was not that they had been ill-used by the English, the reverse was the case. Constant efforts were made to stimulate Acadian emigration to French territory—Cape Breton and

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*The Society is now in possession of copies of this treaty.

Prince Edward Islands—and thus strengthen the French frontiers. Some 2,000 are reported to have left by the end of 175[illegible].

The English governor, Cornwallis, appears to have been a man of good judgment and temper. His attitude towards the Acadians remained patient and conciliatory. It is interesting to read what he said to a deputation of them asking a general permission to leave the Province: "My friends," he said, "I am not ignorant of the fact that every means has been used to alienate the hearts of the French subjects of his Britannic Majesty. Great advantages have been promised to you elsewhere, and you have been made to imagine that your religion is in danger. Threats even have been resorted to in order to induce you to remove to French territory. The savages are made use of to molest you; they are to cut the throats of all who remain in their native country attached to their own interests and faithful to the government. You know that certain officers and missionaries who came from Canada last autumn have been the cause of all our trouble during the winter. Their conduct has been terrible without honor or conscience, their aim is to embroil you with the government; I will not believe they are authorized to do so by the Court of France, that being contrary to good faith and the friendship established between the two crowns. When you declared your desire to submit yourselves to another government our determination was to hinder nobody from following what he imagined to be his interest. We know that a forced service is worth nothing and that a subject compelled to be so against his will is not far from being an enemy. We confess, however, that your determination to go gives us pain. We are aware of your industry and temperance and that you are not addicted to vice or debauchery. This province is your country; you and your fathers have cultivated it; naturally you ought yourselves to enjoy the fruits of your labor; such was the design of the king and master. You know that we have followed his orders; you know that we have done everything to secure to you not only the occupation of your lands but the ownership of them forever. We have given you also every possible assurance of the free public exercise of the Roman Catholic religion, but I declare to you frankly that according to our laws nobody can possess lands or houses in the province who shall refuse to take the oath of allegiance to the king when required to do so. You know very well there are ill disposed and mischievous persons among you who corrupt others. Your inexperience, your ignorance of the affairs of government, and your habit of following the counsels of those who have not your interests at heart, make it an easy matter to seduce you. In your petition you ask for a general leave to quit the province; the only manner in which you can do so is to follow the regulations already established and provide yourselves with our passports, and we declare that nothing shall prevent us from giving such passports to all who ask for them the moment peace and tranquility are established." He declares as his reason for not giving them at once, "that in crossing the frontier you will have to pass the French detachment and savages assembled there, and that they compel all inhabitants who go there to take up arms against the English."

The continued disaffection of the Acadians and their stubborn refusal to take the oath of allegiance required of them at last caused their removal from Acadia. It was resolved to distribute them among the various English colonies along the Atlantic coast, New England, Virginia, etc., and to hire vessels to carry out that purpose.

Our New England humanitarianism, melting into sentimentality at a tale of woe, has been unjust to its own. Whatever judgment may be passed on the cruel measure of wholesale expatriation, it was not put in execution till every resource of patience and persuasion had been tried in vain. The agents of the French Court, civil, military and ecclesiastical, had made some act of force a necessity. We have seen by what vile practices they produced on Acadia a state of things intolerable and impossible of continuance. They conjured up the tempest and when it burst on the heads of the unhappy people they gave no help. The government of Louis XV began by making the Acadians its tools and ended with making them its victims. At Grand Pre 418 unarmed Acadians were summoned to church to hear an official order—Winslow the New England commander stood in the centre and said:

"You are convened together to manifest to you His Majesty's final resolution to the French inhabitants of this Province. Your lands and tenements, cattle of all kinds and live stock of all sorts are forfeited to the Crown, and you yourselves are to be removed from this Province. I am, through His Majesty's goodness, directed to allow you liberty to carry off your money and household goods as many as you can without incommoding the vessels you go [illegible]" The men were then made prisoners and the stern order of expatriation carried out, 7000 in all being sent on board ship to be taken southward and scattered among the New England colonies from Hampshire to Georgia, where under different influences and surroundings some of their descendants live and flourish. It may not be generally known or remembered that Louis XIV, without any other provocation or pretence than the ambition of conquest, gave orders that the whole population of the colony of New York numbering about 18,000, should be seized, despoiled of their property, placed on board his ships and dispersed among the other British colonies in such a way that they could not reunite. Want of power alone prevented the execution of the order.

PATERNAL GOVERNMENT.

In 1665, as has already been observed, the Company of One Hundred Associates abandoned their charter rights and privileges to the king, Louis XIV, and Canada became henceforth a Crown colony. The government was formed mainly on the model of a French province. In France the government of provinces had long been held by great nobles; the power of these nobles in a former age, the age of feudalism, was co-equal with that of the Crown, and at times controlled it. They formed an aristocratic republic, and the king was one of their number whom they chose to be their chief, but in the course of many succeeding reigns the power of the king became greater and that of the nobles declined. The triumph of royalty culminated in Louis XIV. The feudal nobles were still governors of provinces but their power ceased to be dangerous, it was no longer co-equal with that of the Crown; titles, honors and ceremonials, they still had in abundance, but they were deprived of real power. Another officer, the Royal Intendant, was associated with them; he was the king's agent, of modest birth, springing from the legal class, learned in the law and trained to administration, and in the name of the king holding the reins of government. It was by such means that the centralization of the monarchy enforced itself throughout the kingdom and penetrating beneath the crust of old usages and privileges, supplanted without seeming to supplant them. The Governor looked down with the pride of rank on the busy man in black with a troop of officials at his back, controlled finance, the courts, public works and all the administrative business of the province.

It may here be of interest to make some reference to Canadian feudalism, known as the seignorial tenure which was an offshoot of the feudalism of France. The seignorial tenure continued to exist down to our own times and was finally abolished in 1854, the seigniors receiving compensation from the government of the Dominion. It was Richelieu who first planted feudalism in Canada. As the feudal tenure prevailed in old France it was natural it should prevail in the new. Canadian feudalism was meant to serve a double end, to produce a faint and harmless reflection of French aristocracy, and simply and practically to supply agencies for distributing land among the settlers. The seigniors were denied any voice whatever in the directing of government. The seignior usually received his land gratuitously from the Crown. In a few cases he made grants to other seigniors inferior in the feudal scale, and they in turn to the habitants or cultivators of the soil. Sometimes the habitants held directly from the Crown. The seignior held by the tenure of faith and homage, the habitant by the inferior tenure—*en censive*—one condition was imposed upon him which may be said to form the distinctive feature of Canadian feudalism, that of clearing his land within a limited time on pain of forfeiting it. The object was an excellent one of preventing the lands of the colony from laying waste, and he was forbidden to sell any part of it which he had not cleared. He must grant it without price on condition of a small perpetual rent. This brings us to the cultivator of the soil, the censitaire, the broad base of the feudal pyramid.

The tenure en *censive* by which the censitaire (habitant) held of his seignior consisted in the obligation to make annual payments in money or produce, or both. These payments known as *cens et rente* were exceedingly diverse in amount and kind, but in the early period of the colony were ridiculously small. The rents were commonly paid on St Martin's Day when there was a general muster of tenants at the seigniorial mansion, when the consumption of tobacco was prodigious with a corresponding retail of neighbourly gossip. The seigniors had judicial powers which however were carefully curbed and controlled. His jurisdiction when exercised at all extended in most cases to trivial cases. So long as the censitaire brought in on St Martin's Day his yearly capons and handful of copper his title against the seignior was perfect, and farms have thus passed from father to son for a period of 200 years.

The question of these seigniories or the seigniorial tenure, as they were properly called, furnished a topic for public discussion and controversy for many years in the history of Canada down to our own day, until it was finally settled in 1854 by an agreement for compensation between the seigniors and the government as already stated.

The organization appointed for the government of Canada in the main points resembled that of a French province. It consisted of a Governor General, Intendant, and a Supreme Council or Court, who were absolute masters of Canada under the pleasure of the King—legislative, judicial, and executive power all centered in them. In 1675 the number of councillors was increased to seven and again in 1703 to twelve. The councillors were rarely changed and they usually held office for life. It was a post of honor mainly, the salaries were very small and coupled with a prohibition to receive fees. The Governor General was a military noble; the Intendant, as in France, was usually drawn from the bar, the legal profession. The Governor General was superior in rank; he commanded the troops and conducted relations with foreign colonies and Indian tribes, unlike a Provincial Governor in France, he had great and substantial powers. The Intendant was required to make a report to the King on the Governor General's proceedings, and all that took place. The relations of the Governor and the Intendant to each other were so critical and perfect harmony so rare, that they might almost be described as natural enemies. There were as a matter of course Judicial Courts, with their judges and other officers for the administration of justice.

This brief summary will tend to convey a general idea of the organization adopted for the government of Canada from the date of its being made a Crown colony under Louis XIV down to the conquest in September 1759.

DELEGATES' REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

Of the Celebrations held to Commemorate the Centennial of Upper Canada, at Niagara Falls July 16th, 1892.

RESOLUTION of the Wentworth Historical Society relative to the Centennial Celebration

Resolved, That the Wentworth Historical Society hereby endorses the patriotic sentiment that has prompted the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the first Parliament of Upper Canada, the establishment of which by the wisdom of our Mother Country is, in the judgment of the Association the primary source whence we are this day in the full enjoyment of a constitution and laws conferring liberty and protection to the subject, unsurpassed by any nation or country in the world

Carried 17th Sept 1892 GEO. H MILLS, *President*

Taking action on the foregoing resolution and desiring to place on record in quota of contemporary and corroborative testimony of historic current events, the delegates sent as your representatives to take part in the various centennial and annual commemorative ceremonies which have taken place during the past summer beg leave to return the following report

Niagara-on-the-Lake may be well called the Alma Mater of all historic associations connected with the early establishment of the Province of Ontario. Traditions of the past cluster round the old town, St Mark's and St Andrew's churches old records and burial-places, and seem to breathe even from the rocky sides of the rapid river which here mingles with our own beautiful lake On this historic spot (1784) the United Empire Loyalists planted our Canadian constitution and sowed the seeds of a patriotism which has sprung up and developed into a nationality which stretches from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and claims as its heritage of loyalty the greater half of the continent of North America.

By Constitutional Act July 26th 1791 Upper Canada now the Province of Ontario was formed into a separate Province, and granted from the Mother Country certain powers of self-government Col. J Graves Simcoe was appointed first Governor of the new Province, established in the old town of Niagara his headquarters, and there met his first Parliament on the 17th Sept., 1792. The writs were issued in Kingston, the session lasting four weeks. The Upper House or Legislative Council consisted of seven members and a Lower House or Legislative Assembly consisting of sixteen members. Niagara-on-the-Lake can date historic memories farther back than one century of time. Nearly two centuries ago Champlain discovered Lake Ontario, but the marked hostility of the Iroquois, the most powerful confederation of native tribes in its opposition to French exploration, rendered navigation on Lake Ontario very dangerous, and not until 1675 do we read of the bold and intrepid Robert Cavelier de La Salle, Seigneur of the Seigniory of Cataraque, in his enthusiastic search after fame and fortune, constructing and launching from Fort Frontenac, now Kingston, the first decked and rigged vessels which floated on Lake Ontario. To extend French power another fort had to be constructed to shut off if possible the attempts of the New England colonists from western trade possessions. In 1678, in the month of November, La Salle, Tonti, and the celebrated Father Hennepin, started from Fort Frontenac in full sail for Niagara or the head of the lake. Here they were met by a large number of Indians, hastily gathered together to witness the marvellous white-winged wonder approaching the shore with all the [illegible] and dignity of a [illegible]; the French, upon their part, as profoundly astonished at the majestic spectacle of a river a mile in width, precipitating itself from a height of 160 feet into a fathomless abyss.

La Salle immediately set himself to constructing the fort despite the indignant protests of the Iroquois, and in midwinter began to build "Le Griffon" on a dock-yard which he had constructed at Cayuga Creek, a short distance above the Falls. This was the first vessel constructed on Lake Erie, and called "Le Griffon," as a compliment to Count Frontenac, who carried two Griffins on his coat of arms. "Le Griffon" was at last launched early in the month of August, 1679, amid volleys of artillery—the chanting of the Te Deum by the rejoicing Frenchmen, mingling with the symphonies of the rushing rapids and reverberating roar of the Falls, while the mist, jewelled by nature's crowns of rainbow, rose from the milky "chaudron" as incense on high.

During the reign of terror sustained by Denonville, which lasted until the beginning of the eighteenth century, Denonville, in spite of the remonstrances of Governor Dongan, of New York, built at Niagara a stone fort capable of garrisoning from 400 to 500 men, thus making Canada mistress of the lakes; but during the war of "Retaliation" carried on between Indian and French and French and English, which culminated in the terrible massacres of Lachine and Schenectady, the French garrison of Fort Niagara was cut to pieces, and the fort rased to the ground by the infuriated Senecas in 1687. In 1721 a block house, to which, in 1726, bastions were added, was built, and last of all, in 1749 a stone fort erected, garrisoned and maintained by the French in pursuance of the Home Government's determination to check the New England colonists in their efforts to secure the peltry trade of the North and North West, and to confine English colonization to the Atlantic sea-board. Thus passed the century of French possession of the Niagara peninsula, followed by forty years tenure of England. In 1796, by Jay's treaty, Fort Niagara passed to the United States. During the war of 1812-13, our forces regained the coveted heritage, which they only held for the space of one year, the treaty of Ghent restoring Fort Niagara to the United States.*

The severance of the New England colonies from the Mother Land by the Declaration of Independence, gave back to Britain a new nation—but a nation sown in the bitter yet sacred tears of the exile.

You will ask wherein lies the connection between the early discoveries, migrations and struggles of the seventeenth century and Canada of 1890? Strange as it may seem, the descendants of the contending French and British hereditary and rival powers on land and sea of the seventeenth century, through the cosmopolitanism of their heredity and eclectic force of unprecedented environments, by following after, selecting from, and finally uniting of the Best in each mother land, have evolved the true Canadian of the nineteenth century. It is no longer as French Canadian or British Canadian that we compete as a young nation in almost every avenue of development with the old emporiums of the world, but take rank by the more inclusive term—Canadian.

For a century and a half the fleur de lys of France floated

from [illegible] Fort Niagara, and claimed homage from the native tribes of our own Province. The "Common" at old Niagara served as a regular Indian encampment, upon which wigwams were set, the shores of the river being strewn with bark canoes, while councils were held, gifts distributed, and strings of wampum exchanged, the pipe of peace smoked and the "war dance" danced for the edification of the pale faces gathered to witness the scene. The Duke of Kent witnessed such a scene when Brant, in full regalia as Chief of the Mohawks, led off the dance in the presence of the father of our beloved Queen. And all this a century and less than a century ago!

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*Niagara-on-the-Lake, in 1813, when the United States sent armies to invade Canada, was destroyed by fire by the Americans. Many valuable records of historical importance perished in the flames of this then prosperous town.

By Constitutional Act, 1791, Upper Canada was formed into a separate government.

The Centennial celebration of this event took place on July 16th, 1892. The Niagara, Lundy's Lane, York Rangers and Wentworth Historical Societies, by members and delegates, all took part in this provincial demonstration. At old Fort George Lieutenant Governor Kirkpatrick read a synopsis of the first Proclamation of 1792. Prayers were read by the chaplain, Rev. Canon Bull, of Lundy's Lane Society, who, upon the occasion, used the Common Prayer Book (1774) which had belonged to Mohawk Chief Brant, whose Indian name was Tyendenega. The book was printed on one page in English, on the opposite in the Mohawk tongue, and had been prepared and translated by Brant himself, printed and illustrated in English. Each Gospel lesson is illustrated by a quaint wood cut. In some of these the Devil is to be seen fleeing before Christ. These, without doubt, having been used as object lessons in teaching the Indians the truths of Christianity. Most patriotic addresses were delivered by Sir Oliver Mowat, Premier, Dr. Ferguson, Col. Denison, Dr. Tyendenega (Mohawk Chief and lineal descendant of Brant) and Sheriff McKellar, of Hamilton. The delegates from the W. H. S. were Sheriff McKellar, Alex. McKay, Esq., M. P., and Mrs. J. Rose Holden.

Sunday, July 17th, on nearly all of the churches on the Niagara peninsula the national flags were raised on the steeples, and memorial services held suitable to the occasion.

ANNIVERSARY OF THE BATTLE OF LUNDY'S LANE, 25TH JULY, 1814.

Owing to the recent celebration of various Historical Societies at Niagara-on-the-Lake, there was no general public demonstration at Lundy's Lane as in former years. The anniversary this year (1892) of the famous battle which took place there seventy-eight years ago, the event, however was suitably commemorated on the immediate scene of the never-to-be-forgotten contest.

The Lundy's Lane Historical Society together with a number of delegates from sister organizations, assembled on the old battle field to decorate the graves of the dead who fell on the memorable 25th of July, 1814. Rev Canon Bull, President of the L. L. H. S., addressed the assembly at length on the subject of the work of the Society during past years. The delegate from W. H. S. presented, in the name of the Society, wreaths to be laid on the graves of Laura Secord and Capt. Hull of the 9th Regulars, United States army the latter bearing the inscription "Entente cordiale entre Canada et Etats Unis." Captain Hull was the son of General Hull, who surrendered to the British forces at Detroit early in the war of 1812-14. The graves and trenches wherein rest the remains of the fallen heroes were lavishly decorated with flowers.

Reference must be also made to the general celebrations, more particularly in the United States, of the 400th anniversary of the landing of Christopher Columbus on one of the West India Islands.

America had of course been known to the barbarous tribes of eastern Asia for thousands of years, but it is singular that it should have been visited by one of the most enterprising nations of Europe five centuries before the time of Columbus without awakening the attention of either statesmen or philosophers. Iceland was discovered in 860 and colonized by Norwegians in 874. About fifty or according to other accounts one hundred years after the same people planted colonies in Greenland. Into the disputes respecting the situation of these colonies we have not room to enter. Sir Charles Giesecke, a good authority states that there are ruins extant near the southern part of the peninsula. It is obvious that the same adventurous spirit which enabled these northern mariners to discover the southern extremity of the country would not permit them to stop short without visiting what is now known to be the most habitable part of the western coast and the fact has been established by an inscription in *runic* characters found on a stone four miles from Upernavik, at the 73rd parallel intimating that "Erling, son of Sigvat, and Eindride Oddsson, had cleared that place and raised a hillock on Friday after Rogation day." The marking of the date is its subject, but it is supposed by Professor Rask, the translator, to be either 1135 or 1270; and the runic characters show at any rate that it was anterior to the Reformation, when this mode of writing was prohibited. Whoever looks at the map of Greenland and reflects on the fact that the Norwegians must have been ascending through Davis' Straits, as high as the latitude mentioned, annually, perhaps for two or three centuries, will admit that, with half the spirit of enterprise which had carried them so far, the discovery of some portions of the west coast of those straits was almost unavoidable. Now the position and direction of this coast once known, it required no great effort to trace it southward to Labrador and Newfoundland. We mention these particulars because Mr. Murray, one of the few who grounded his disbelief chiefly on the hypothesis that the colonies and navigation of that people at the period alluded to were confined to the east coast of Greenland. In 1001 an Icelander sailing to Greenland was driven away by tempest far to the southwest, where he saw a level country covered with wood. The wind abating, he turned his course homeward, and on his arrival gave such a flattering account of the country he had seen as induced Leif, the son of the founder of the Greenland colony, to undertake a voyage thither. Leif and Biorn, who sailed together, first reached a rocky island, to which they gave the name of Helluland; then a low country thickly wooded, which they called Markland; and some days afterwards they found trees, loaded with fruits, on the banks of the river. They spent the winter in the country; and one of them, who was a German, having found wild vines growing, they called it Vineland. They had some intercourse and traded for furs with a people who came in leathern boats, and were called Skrellings from their dwarfish size. A colony was planted, and remained for many years in the country, the situation of which is indicated by a fact casually mentioned, that the sun remained nine hours above the horizon at the shortest day. This indicates the 41st parallel of latitude; and the actual latitude of Rhode Island, the country which every collateral circumstance would lead us to fix as the seat of the colony, is from 41° to 42°. The Skrellings were of course the Esquimaux. The vine appears to be the fox grape (Vitis Vulpina), which grows wild in that part of America. Only a few unimportant particulars respecting the settlement are preserved; but it was probably abandoned or destroyed like the Greenland colony of which it was an offset. The account, though meagre, is distinct and consistent. Its authenticity can scarcely be disputed; and it is almost equally obvious that the country referred to under the name of Vinland is in the vicinity of Rhode Island. A conclusion resting on such strong ground scarcely requires to be supported by the high authority of Humboldt and Malte-Brun. That the colony disappeared and that the discoveries were not prosecuted farther, are not circumstances which will shake the credit of the narrative in the minds of those who know the numerous reverses which befell the early colonies in New England and other parts of America, the hostilities of the Skraelings no doubt being the principal cause of the abandonment of the colony. The Norsemen described Vinland as a rich country with a delightful climate. Helluland, Markland, and Vinland, were no doubt regarded as countries either connected with, or similar to Greenland, the flattering descriptions of which, given by the first discoverers, were sadly belied by later experience.* The interest excited by the obscure account of these countries was probably such as the announcement of a new island eastward of Spitzbergen would produce at the present day. No reasonable doubt can exist however that the north eastern portion of America (considering Greenland a distinct country), was familiar to the Norwegians in the eleventh century.

Christopher Columbus deserves to be remembered as a great man, not that he *restored* the lost knowledge of the American continent to Europe, and from the enterprise shown in landing to seek the lost Atlantes.

John Cabot discovered Newfoundland and coast of main land, 25th June 1497.

Columbus first saw America on 30th May 1498.

Respectfully submitted,

MARY E. HOLDEN,
ARCHIBALD MCKELLAR,
ALEXANDER MCKAY.

NOTE.—M. Rafn, a Dane, who at one time was much engaged in researches respecting these early voyages, announced that he had ascertained from original documents, various facts previously unknown, among others, that America (first discovered in 985) was repeatedly visited by the Icelanders in the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries, that the embouchure of the St. Lawrence, and in particular the Bay of Gaspe, were their principal stations, and that they penetrated along the coast as far as Carolina.

THE CRUSADE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Historical Sketch prepared for the [illegible]mouth Historical Society

BY MRS. JOAN ROSE HOLDER

The epoch of Canadian history immediately following the death of Champlain, dating from 1635 to 1666, when the charter of the Hundred Associates was abolished in Canada, tells of a continuous struggle for existence on the part of the French colonists. The form of Christianity which had taken root among the wild inhabitants of the woods now seemed to wither and die. The internecine wars of the savage aborigines forshadowed the annihilation of all that had tended towards civilization and threatened to a return of the barbaric past of superstition which had brooded originally over the continent of North America.

The Iroquois or Five Nations not only had sworn to extirpate the Hurons, Algonkins and Montagnais Indians who lived on the north shore of the St. Lawrence, but had also determined with unrelenting hatred to drive the new ally of these tribes (the French) from Canada, and so free the country from the foreigners' rule and sway.

The colonization of Canada by the Europeans at this time seemed futile. We read now not so much of the influence of kingly power and patronage lending aid often to colonial frauds in monopoly. For a time the chivalric and romantic pomp of vice-regal authority and the cupidity of the money-maker seemed to have flown from the country. Commercial monopoly and even national glory having failed so disastrously in the undertaking—what motive power could prevail? An irresistible and sacred impulse felt by many pious and devout men and women to be the direct influence and inspiration of the Holy Spirit of God, gave rise to the formation of a company called Les Associes de Montreal, with the noble aim of extending the glory of God to the savage tribes of Canada. The dark and terrible deeds of the aborigines, recorded on this page of history, throw into startling splendor the daily lives of a consecrated band of men and women. "Sprung of the Sam and Chevalier "—the forlorn hope of the Roman Catholic church—but a "hope" composed of those who with holy enthusiasm devoted their possessions, talents and lives in carrying Christ's salvation and message of "good will towards men," to the most cruel and ferocious of savage tribes. A distinctive feature and powerful factor in what may be called the crusade of the seventeenth century portrays to us the beneficence of woman's influence when embodied into living action. A class of women endowed with the true womanly personality which influenced the higher natures of all with whom they were thrown into contact; whose finely organized and perfected womanhood did so much towards shaping with royal power the times they lived in—not by the clamorous assertion of "Woman's Rights," but through the more potent and powerful benediction of their daily lives consecrated upon the altars of religion, loyalty and patriotism—missionary zeal supported by individual philanthropy supplied the necessary means, and crucifixion of self became the medium for undertaking and sustaining the chivalric crusade of the seventeenth century in North America.

The Jesuit martyrs, who devoted themselves to this cause, suffered such inhuman persecutions and martyrdom from the malignant Mohawk that recital of the slow and fiendish tortures they endured with steadfast courage, sublime and glorious faith, yielding up their lives and rejoicing that they were thought worthy to wear the martyr's crown for Christ's sake, takes us back to the true martyrdoms of Nero. This crusade was the power that saved Canada to France and the greater half of the continent of America to Christianity and civilization.

Canada is not the outcome of ambitious and despotic personalisms, or aggrandizing power and if true to the heredity and tradition of her Cosmos, in the evolution of the future, must rank high among the nations of the world.

The aims of the "Associés de Montreal" are distinctly laid down in the charter of the company and cover a comprehensive field of aggressive Christian work. Christianizing the savages was not to lead to pauperizing them but rather to educating and training the converts to habits of industry and independence. Schools were established for the manual training of Indian children, girls and boys—the adults were taught practical agriculture—an hospital was built for the sick, infirm, aged and wounded. The company assumtained clergy, who were specially educated as priests and teachers among the Indians. Translations of prayers and of portions of Scripture were made into the Indian tongue, and every effort was put forth to convert the savages to the truths of Christianity. This company stood pledged to observe the Common Law of Paris in civil matters, and in suits of justice to recognize the authority of the King's Court already established at Quebec. Trading in furs with the Indians was strictly prohibited, except what was absolutely needed for private use and comfort. Forty men, chosen with great care, of good character, and thoroughly equipped with all necessaries for such an undertaking, were to be sent as an advance guard to settle in the country; two gunboats were to run between Quebec and Montreal to carry supplies and colonists to the new home in the lone wilderness, and fortified protection was to be given and provided to the settlers against the savage foe. For the first four or five years necessary supplies, ammunition, seed and cattle, were to be sent out from France, as time and labor would be necessary in clearing the land and building. All expenses were to be defrayed by the Associates, no assistance having been promised by the King or home government.

To act as leader and commander of such an expedition, the Associates were most fortunate in securing the services of Paul de Chomedey, Sieur de Maisonneuve. Taught from his earliest infancy that the fulfilment of his destiny in life lay in the performance of his duty to God, king and country, he at the early age of 13 entered the army. During the war in Holland he gave signal proof of his courage and bravery, and amid all the social temptations which for so many years surrounded him, he retained and cherished the love of God in his heart, his highest ambition being that of serving God as a soldier in some distant land, where he would be free from the worldly influences by which he felt himself environed. When the command of the crusade was offered him he replied: "I gladly devote my purse and my life to this enterprise, satisfied with the honor bestowed upon me of thus being able to serve God and king in my profession."

Recruits were selected with great care, skilled mechanics and artisans, and as far as possible men trained as soldiers, yet equally fitted to handle the axe and hoe. Several noble ladies of France, associating themselves in the name of "Les Associés," gave generously of their means to support the work, and selected Mdlle.

Mance to carry on Christian woman's influence and Christian woman's work to the inhuman inhabitants of Canadian wilds. Melle. accompanied the expedition and became the foundress of the Hotel Dieu of Montreal. A *hospitalière* nurse and the wives of two of the colonists were the only women who accompanied the flotilla, which consisted of three vessels.

On the 8th of August, 1641, Melle. Mance, after a long and tedious voyage, arrived at Quebec and M. de Maisonneuve twelve days after, to the great joy and delight of the feeble colony stationed at Quebec. Governor M. de Montmagny entreated the expedition not to proceed higher up the river. The colony stationed at Quebec at this time consisting of only two or three hundred persons, this reinforcement of new life, means and supplies, would very much have increased the strength of Stadacona, and strong pressure was brought to bear upon the commander to remain in the vicinity of Quebec, and as a last inducement to join forces, the island of Orleans was offered to these soldiers of the Cross as a desirable site for a new settlement, while in the hope of intimidating the party from proceeding on to the intended destination, terrible tales of the ferocity of the dreaded Iroquois were told,—tales of the triumphant savages now victorious over the once powerful Huron and Algonkin races.

Maisonneuve's reply was characteristic and worthy of himself. "Sir," said he, "I am not come to deliberate but to execute. If there were as many Iroquois as trees at Montreal it is my duty and a matter of honor that I go there and establish a colony."

As the season was late he determined to winter if possible at Quebec, and proceed with the colonists to Montreal early the following spring. During the month of October M. de Maisonneuve, accompanied by a party of his men, sailed up the river to reconnoitre the approaches of the new home and select a favorable spot on the island on which to land his followers. Upon landing M. de Maisonneuve claimed possession of the isle in the name of God, the King of France, and the "Associes de Montreal" and set at once to erect a fort, which was nearly completed before the party returned to Quebec for the winter. At St. Foy accommodation was obtained for all the party, and during the winter months of waiting the band employed itself in making boats, furniture and portable material to be in readiness for the spring movement.

The 9th of May, 1642, the crusade started by boat for Montreal, and after nine days sailing and rowing sighted Mt. Royal, when the company burst forth into hymns of grateful praise to God, for safe conduct and guidance to their new home. For more than half a league before landing they found the meadow lands skirting the bank of the river clad in pristine beauty of spring verdure, enamelled with loveliest flowers, which by their luxuriance of growth variety of species, and exquisite colors, presented a most enchanting scene, and seemed by their beauty and brilliancy to breathe a welcome to the longing pilgrims.

A unique scene in the world's history unfolds to our view. The site and environments of Ville Marie looked their fairest and loveliest that natal May day. Mt. Royal, decked in shaded, varied greens and fragrant blossoms, moved by the gentle southern winds, wafted her tribute of sympathy and gladness upon the scene, while between her feet and the mighty rushing river stretched leagues of thickly wooded plains and smiling prairies. St. Helene, like an emerald jewel, sparkled in the sunshine, embosomed on the sweeping waters, which had just received new life and fresh impetus from the dashing frolicking rapids of Lachine. Boucherville, Rougemont and St. Hilaire, purple in the distance, stood like giant sentinels, emblems of protecting power, and all nature seemed to throb in unison with the high aims and aspirations of the devoted band.

Upon landing, M. de Maisonneuve and his followers fell upon their knees and thanked God for all His mercies bestowed upon the expedition. Surrounded by M. de Montmagny, the Governor General of Canada, Melle. Mance and Madame La Peltrie, who at Quebec had joined the party, priests, soldiers and followers, M. de Maisonneuve erected a large cross on "La Pointe a Callières." A portable altar was speedily set up, and all things being now ready the Crusaders sang the "Veni Creator," which was immediately followed by the celebration of "le grand Messe." All was simple — solemn old Gregorian chaunts, echoes from Solomon's temple rose and fell in sad but glorious antiphonal cadence on the breeze, and heralded to the new world the approach of a greater power than that of the many ferocious and powerful savage tribes which for so many ages had ruled the continent of America.

Thus was forged on the 18th May, 1642, the first link in the

subtle and indestructible power of religion which binds Europe, Asia, Africa and America together.

Not having oil with which to fill a lamp to burn before the altar, a number of a very curious and brilliant kind of fire-fly was caught and enclosed in a clear glass vial, the scintillations of which kept up a bright and shining light, and since that day nearly 290 years ago, the lamp before the altar of "Notre Dame," in Ville Marie, now Montreal, has been kept burning night and day. Tents were set up for shelter from the weather, and the next day trees were hewn down to form entrenchments, and a moat was dug round the encampment. The honor of felling the first tree used in the fortifications was awarded to M. de Maisonneuve, who claimed this right as Governor of Ville Marie. A chapel of bark was erected to use until such time as a proper and suitable church could be built.

The new colonists fortunately were able to accomplish a good deal in the way of fortifications, storing supplies and making clearings, before the Iroquois became aware of their presence on the island. D'Ailleboust, a man of high rank and great wealth, accompanied by his wife and sister, came out from France the same year, bringing fresh supplies, necessaries, ammunition, church and altar ornaments, and twelve new colonists; being practically conversant in the art of fortification, he was specially charged with the duty of preparing the defences necessary for protection against the Iroquois.

December, 1642, the colonists witnessed one of the great inundations to which the St. Lawrence is yet at intervals subject. The waters seem to rise from the bed of the river and overflow its banks. The fort was soon surrounded by the angry flood, the waves rolled in one upon another until the moat overflowed and the waters reached the threshold of the fort. During this time of anxiety and trial the community devoted itself to fasting and prayer to God for deliverance from this unexpected danger. M. de Maisonneuve vowed a vow that if deliverance were granted to the colony he would, as a memorial of that deliverance, plant a Cross on the summit of Mt. Royal. At the hour of midnight on the day of our Lord's Nativity the waters began to abate and soon the colony was free from danger. With a heart full of gratitude, M. de Maisonneuve set all the artisans, and assisted himself, in the necessary preparations to perform his vow; a road was cut and

cleared from the fort to the mountain top, and a large cross made.

The 6th of January, 1643, dawned clear and bright. Ville Marie now lay under winter's spell. The keen and bitter cold of January had followed swiftly on December's supreme effort to resist her icy spell, and the waters of St. Lawrence lay still and steel bound under the influences of the arctic blast. The woods and mountain slopes, now shorn of autumn's blaze of gorgeous color, stood grim and desolate. The stately pine and luxuriant sweeping hemlock, alone reflected glistening mist or fleecy snow in the glowing sunshine. Nature's pure and unsullied mantle of rest and repose covered the country and lay in unbroken stretches save where the processional path from the fort to the mountain wound, which patient hands and loyal hearts had cut through the brushwood and snow the day before. The Cross was blessed in the presence of the assembled garrison. Pere de Peron led the way, followed by Mlle. Mance and Madame de Peltrie, "chapelets en main," the whole community following, and as they marched, reciting a litany of praise. Maisonneuve bearing the cross on his shoulders brought up the rear. The pilgrims slowly walked their way through the bleak forest on to the mountain height, where the brave commandant, in pursuance of his vow, planted the cross, which for years stood and became a shrine to the many devout pilgrims of Ville Marie.

The Crusaders adopted the earliest Christian Church as the prototype of the community. For eleven years the colonists lived as one family within the fort, having all things in common. The fort, in addition to forming a haven of defence, afforded a home to seventy persons, who lived harmoniously together under the direction of two Jesuit priests. Race, religion and language, each so often nowadays looked upon as an ephemeral sentiment, in this instance welded together formed a band of iron which could not be broken.

It was the spring of the same year before the Iroquois discovered the presence of the French on the island, and now sure of their prey, they prowled in fierce and sullen bands of rage through the country between Montreal, Three Rivers and Quebec.

For a quarter of a century afterwards, the inhabitants of the settlement were subject to continual surprise and attack from these inhuman savages. The stealthy and treacherous Iroquois infested

the woods, always watching to kill or carry off into horrible captivity the laborers while at work outside the fort, or to seize and capture them while hunting or fishing. This scourge of the infant colony of Ville Marie stopped the passages of the rivers, upon checking the commerce of the company, waylaid the Huron and Algonkin peltrie traders as they brought their loads of furs to Quebec and Three Rivers, and determined by every means in its power to exterminate the French from the country and grasp the trade out of the hands of the French to divert it over to the Dutch settlements on the Hudson river. During 1643-44 the colonists lived in an uninterrupted state of siege, and many gallant and precious lives were lost to the French. In spite of the discontent and dissatisfaction of his followers Maisonneuve persisted in remaining on the defensive; though a brave and fearless commander, he was a provident general, who felt the responsibilities of his position, yet this laid him open to the charge of cowardice from his followers. Maisonneuve had brought with him from France several famous watch dogs, a species of blood hound; one of the most celebrated of these was named "Pilotte." Instinctively these creatures hated the Iroquois, and from their marvellous gift of scent, from afar off, recognized the presence of the enemy in ambuscade, and notified the inmates of the fort by their furious barking that danger was near. Daily these hounds acted as scouts and sentinels, scouring the neighborhood of Ville Marie in search of the wily lurking foe. On the 30th March, 1644, the deep and furious baying and howling of the hounds impelled the garrison to again urge the commandant to sally forth in quest of the enemy. "Sir," said one of the [illegible] soldiers, "the Iroquois are in the woods, are we never to see them?" "Yes, you shall see them," was the reply of Maisonneuve. "See you follow where I lead." At the head of thirty men, some on snowshoes, some floundering through the deep snow, Maisonneuve led his sortie forth, leaving M. D'Ailleboust in charge of the fort, to whom he gave parting orders in case of meeting death in the encounter before him. The enemy numbered 200; perceiving the French advance they at once divided into bands, placed themselves in ambush and sheltered themselves behind trees. As soon as the French entered the woods, on all sides they were attacked. Imitating the tactics of the Indians, M. de Maisonneuve ordered his followers to seek shelter behind the trees, when the attack again was renewed with fresh vigor, and was kept up, until the supply of ammunition failing them, three of their number slain, and two taken captive, Maisonneuve ordered a slow retreat to the fort by way of a road which had been cut from the woods to the fort, from whence they had drawn the necessary lumber for the building of the Hotel Dieu. This road was firm and well beaten, and enabled those of the party without snowshoes to retreat with greater safety. The order to retire was obeyed so precipitously that M. de Maisonneuve was left alone to face the pursuing enemy. Armed with a pistol in each hand, he covered his retreating soldiers at the peril of his own life by an act of valor that stands unequalled in heroic history. In this single-handed conflict he shot dead the Iroquois leader, then deliberately backed into the fort, "Pistolets aux poings." The enemy seeing their chief fall, instantly ran towards his body and flung it on their shoulders, retreated to the woods, where like angry wolves balked of their prey, they wreaked their disappointment and rage upon the hapless prisoners, whom they tortured in the most barbarous manner. This gallant action took place a little east of the present "Place D'Armes."

The next decade of years proved years of great trial to the colony,—trials which could only be met by the unswerving faith and confidence the colonists had in the sacredness of the work they had undertaken. The work was the work of God, and therefore should and would eventually succeed. After the defeat of the Hurons by the Iroquois, the latter became still more insolent, overbearing and threatening towards the French. Daily and almost hourly harassments kept the bourgade in a constant state of seige, subject to sudden and unexpected attack, and such, alas, was the extremity to which the inhabitants were put, that M. de Maisonneuve ordered all the families to leave their homes and take up their abode in the fort. The Hotel Dieu had to be abandoned as a hospital, garrisoned by a squad of soldiers and made into a fortified armory. Even the chapel was used as a magasin d'artillerie. Redoubts were stationed at intervals in the fields, and guarded by relays of soldiers, to give protection to the laborers while at work. In this deployment of his forces M. de Maisonneuve displayed great wisdom and foresight. During his absence from Canada in 1651, when he was obliged to return to France to obtain further reinforcements to maintain his hold of the country against the Iroquois, the wily savages managed to secrete themselves in the moat, which had been dug as a defence to the hospital. M. Lambert Closse, Mayor of Ville Marie, and now in command of the forces in Montreal, was fortunately at the time stationed at the hospital with twelve men. Unaware of the change made in the internal defence of the building, the Indians, suddenly rushing out from their hiding place, made a dash to seize the building, intending to raze it to the ground, and then set the settlement on fire. A vigorous defence was made against the obstinate attack of the enemy. The siege and defence lasted from six in the morning until sunset, when the Indians, finding themselves foiled and prostrated, and, always more or less timid and suspicious of the unknown power of the white man's fortifications, now utterly discouraged, withdrew, carrying away with them their dead and wounded. The population of Ville Marie, at this time, through the losses sustained from this guerilla warfare, had dwindled to fifty persons in the fort and seventeen in the hospital. For the past two years no fresh recruits or supplies had been sent from France, and isolated as Ville Marie was from Quebec and Three Rivers, no assistance could in the hour of sudden danger reach Montreal. Fear and consternation filled the minds of all, and clouds of despair hung over the settlement, when fortunately M. de Maisonneuve returned from France, bringing with [illegible] soldiers.

In October 1653 the deep baying of the vigilant hounds again notified an ambuscade of the Iroquois. Major M. Closse, at the head of twenty soldiers, sallied out in the direction pointed to by the dogs, only discovering the hiding of the enemy by finding himself surrounded by a cloud of savages, triumphantly rushing on to conflict, uttering the most terrific yells of defiance. Undaunted the little band, sustained by a lofty enthusiasm and believing that angels from on high came to their assistance, firmly and courageously stood their ground amid a perfect shower of bullets; not one of the French was harmed, while they were able to rout the foe and force the Iroquois to take refuge in the waters of the St Lawrence. The Pere, in the "Relations" devoutly adds "ce que Dieu garde est bien gardé."

In 1662 the colony sustained a most serious loss in the death of the brave Major Lambert Closse, one of the most valiant leaders of the crusade, who was fatally wounded when leading a sortie against the Iroquois, [illegible] as in the case of the Cid, of glorious fame, the news of his death was kept a secret for a long time after, and we read that the great grace was granted to him that his fame

When his soul had fled,
Still did cause the foe to flee.

Possessed of that "good courage" which is sustained and perfected by pious zeal, he displayed an intrepid spirit in presence of great danger in an overwhelming foe. The life he led, and the death he died, entitle him to rank as one of the heroes of that heroic age. As in the unwritten law of classic lore and rhyme, martial valor was considered one of the noblest of human virtues, so in the lives of the heroes of Canada we find that premier virtue illustrated, but intensified by humane and kindly generosity towards the most cruel and savage foe, ardent love to God and religion patriotism and loyalty to king, a scorn of falsehood, fraud and dishonor, portray to us "Le chevalier sans peur et sans reproche." We have not to fall back upon the myths or legends of classic shades for heroic examples to study and cherish, and whose spirit we mayhap try to follow even dimly in our daily lives. Within the last two centuries and a half, in the clear light of modern civilization, we learn that Canadian river and lake shores have witnessed deeds to which we find no parallel in ancient or modern history.

"The very gale, their names are sighing
The waters are [illegible] of their names,
The woods are peopled with their fame.
Their spirits sweep the dusky mountains
Their memory *sparkles* o'er the fountain.
Our meanest rill, our mightiest river
Rolls mingling with their fame forever."

Let us go back to the spring of 1660. The Iroquois were massing in large numbers on the Ottawa river and surrounding country north and north-west of Montreal, in preparation for a final attack on Montreal, Three Rivers and Quebec. When the news reached Ville Marie, Dollard des Ormeaux, a young officer of the garrison, formed the noble resolution of heading a chosen band of followers, imbued with the same spirit as himself, to challenge the foe, and by means of a brilliant *coup de main*, frustrate and check the plans of the enemy and direct the savages from their dire purpose, at least until further reinforcements reached the colony from France.

Having obtained M. de Maisonneuve's permission to lead the sortie, Dollard and his sixteen soldiers of the cross, took a solemn oath before the altar to stand by each other in the undertaking, to give and take no quarter, to be loyal to God and the land of their adoption, and if necessary give up their lives in hopes of saving the community from destruction. Their arms being blessed—each man shriven by the priest, and the sacrament of the Lord partaken of—the small band of consecrated heroes, followed by the benedictions of the church and the prayers of the settlement, embarked in canoes and sailed for the Ottawa.

By the rapids of Longue or Chaudiere Sault they halted and landed. There to their joy they found the remains of an old moss-covered redoubt, which had doubtless been used in some struggle between native tribes. At night-fall they were joined by forty Huron allies. Scouts and sentinels were stationed, and shelter for the night taken within the redoubt. Soon they were warned of the approach of a band of 300 Iroquois warriors, thoroughly equipped for the war path. Like malicious demons they skimmed in their bark canoes the sparkling, foaming Sault; they landed on the same spot as Dollard and his band had landed but a few hours before, the empty canoes of the French a signal of their presence and refuge. Eagerly the Iroquois advanced to assail the position occupied by Dollard, and were repelled with great slaughter, but being reinforced by 500 companions, the French and their allies found themselves surrounded by a force from which it was impossible to escape. Through hunger, thirst, sleeplessness and fatigue for eight days they valiantly resisted their assailants, but at last, through the treachery of two Huron deserters, the real condition of the besieged became known to the Iroquois, who now with renewed ferocity rushed to the onset and finally Dollard and his gallant band were all killed except four Hurons, who were captured and reserved for a less glorious but more terrible fate. Four Huron captives managed to escape independently of each other and at last made their way to Quebec and Montreal, bringing with them the thrilling details of the terrible tragedy.

The heroism of the French made a deep impression upon the minds of the Iroquois. Judging that the resistance of the fortified

settlements would be equally courageous and sustained, they determined to give up what now appeared to them a hazardous attempt upon the French posts.

Dollard des Ormeaux has been styled the "Leonidas," and the shores of the Longue Sault the "Thermopylæ" of Canada. Scant justice that. Leonidas of old stood on his native land, backed by his brave 300 Spartans, sheltered by rugged mountain walls, faced by Xerxes, seated on his marble throne, from which he surveyed the sea covered with his navy, and on land his hosts of spearmen, bowmen, and hitherto invincible "Immortals." Spurred on by such inspiring surroundings the heroes of old fought and died.

Comparatively easy to "do and die" while "all the world wondered!" It required the far finer and purer courage of the crusaders of the seventeenth century to perform "to the death," with no witnesses but changeless nature, primeval woods, pale moon and solitary stars, accompanied by the sad-sounding symphonies of the forest, the hoarse Sault, and the dismal flappings of the wings of the carrion vultures gathered from afar. These were the spectators of what proved to be the supreme struggle for supremacy between the white man and red, Christianity and superstition, civilization and ignorance within nature's vast amphitheatre, now known as the Dominion of Canada.

In 1663, the company of Montreal was dissolved, transferring their rights to the religious order of St. Sulpice, at Paris. Not long afterwards M. de Maisonneuve, notwithstanding his great services rendered to the colony, the affection, love and veneration in which he was held by the inhabitants, and the respect and recognition of his valor by the Iroquois, was forced to relinquish his command and to leave Canada, on account of the arbitrary and unjust proceedings of the Governor General at Quebec.

Maisonneuve stands forth on the pages of history as one of the grandest and most perfect characters of his age. The courage of the lionhearted, the humility and pure faith of a child, won him the immortality of an accomplished mission. He established on sure foundations the objects of the company he served so faithfully and represented so effectively, through the securing of which Ville Marie as a mission of the church, passed through a *baptême de feu*. In perils of water, in perils of robbers, in perils by *mine own countrymen*, in perils by the heathen, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in weariness, in painfulness, in watchings often, in cold."

After twenty-three years of residence in Canada Maisonneuve returned to Paris where the seminary allowed him a pension, much of which was spent in acts of benevolence and charity.

He died in his humble home in Paris on the 9th of September, 1676, and was buried in the cemetery of the parish church of St Etienne de Mont, Paris.

To these heroes we may well apply the words of Sir Matthew Arnold—

"Of knightly honor, holding life in trust
In God and Lord, and all things pure and just."

A VISIT TO BOSTON IN 185 —A REMINISCENCE OF LORD ELGIN

AND A TRIBUTE TO SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD.

BY THE PRESIDENT, MR. GEO. H. MILLS.

Along with many gentlemen I had the honor of an invitation to attend the Grand Jubilee held in Boston in the summer of 1851 to commemorate the completion of the Ogdensburg and Boston Railway. Accepting the invitation, and having been a partaker of the festivities of that imposing event, I think it may not be altogether uninteresting to present to this Society a few recollections of it, especially relating to the most prominent personage present.

Lord Elgin was then Governor-General of Canada, and in the very zenith of his popularity. He had entirely out-lived the shadows under which he had fallen in the estimation of excited partisans on account of his constitutional assent to the Rebellion Losses Bill and had become universally regarded—as he has by Canadians ever since been—the foremost statesman and most accomplished orator who at any time held the position of Governor-General of Canada. Fillmore who had lately succeeded Taylor was President of the United States. In addition to thousands of strangers from all quarters of the United States and Canada, there were assembled at Boston the chief statesmen, orators and military magnates of the great Republic. Among the most notable, and towering above all others, was the illustrious Daniel Webster. The names of Edward Everett, Boutwell and Quincy Adams, will long be remembered by the Americans present, as imparting to the fete a power and grace unsurpassed by any former gathering of the intellectual giants of the land. Sir Francis Hincks, Premier of Canada, and Joseph Howe, the old man eloquent, were present. Never before nor since had Boston commons been the scene of such peaceful brilliancy. Never since nor before have been congregated together on these historic grounds, such an army of distinguished representative men from army, navy, senate, bar and pulpit.

A vast canvas tent had been erected on the commons. Five thousand guests were comfortably seated underneath its cooling shades, who partook of the sumptuous repast prepared for them. Crampton was the British Minister at Washington, Bigelow was the Mayor of Boston, and presided. On his right sat President Fillmore and the Hon. Edward Everett; on his left Crampton and Lord Elgin; to the right and left of these were ranged gentlemen of distinction.

The perfect order, the dazzling uniforms of military men, coupled with the most captivating music from the several bands, and above all, the calm dignity of the countenances surrounding the chair, all conspired to make the scene most imposing. The Queen's health was proposed and grandly honored. When the cheering had subsided, and God save the Queen had been exquisitely rendered by the bands, the chairman rose and invited Crampton to respond to the royal toast. The ambassador gracefully declined, stating that the pleasant duty would be far better performed by Lord Elgin. The duty was accepted and sustained by his lordship in a manner that made every English and Canadian heart thrill with pride, as with what grandeur the great representative of the Queen and Canada proceeded with his oration. His lordship commenced by saying: "That in no one respect did he so well represent his countrymen as by his stammering tongue and embarrassed utterance," and then proceeded to deliver one of the most masterly speeches I ever heard. So distinct, so slow, and yet so musical were his utterances, that no one in that vast assemblage failed to catch his well chosen and impressive words.

At the conclusion of the oration, the five thousand guests, as one man, rose to their feet in a frenzy of delight; they could not have expected such a treat, they had indeed never heard anything to approach it. The Americans were patted on the back with the utmost skill and grace of diction. The President was eulogized possibly far beyond his merits, but the praise was gratifying to the audience. The ladies were not forgotten, but his lordship, eloquent as he was, could scarcely do justice to their beauty and intelligence. From recollection I faintly reproduce part of his reference to President Fillmore: "It ill becomes me," he said, "as

Governor-General of Canada to eulogize the public conduct of President Fillmore, but as a spectator, a bystander, I do not hesitate to predict that he will occupy a proud position on the roll of illustrious individuals upon whom the mantle of Washington has fallen." He also in a facetious way pointed out how the Americans might successfully invade Canada, a result as he said though with trepidation in the presence of so many warlike men, they had more than once failed to accomplish. He advised that the ladies of Boston should be placed in the front columns of the invading army, and assured them that if this device were practically attended to, every Canadian youth would desert without striking a blow for his country.

This memorable speech having been concluded, the Hon. Edward Everett, then one of the most cultured and accomplished gentlemen in the Union, and if I mistake not, Secretary of State, rose and said, "Lord Elgin commenced by disabling himself and immediately proceeded to deliver one of the most brilliant speeches that ever fell from the lips of man. After hearing that speech I am proud to say that Chatham's language is my mother tongue." Other speakers of note, including Sir Francis Hincks, Boutwell, Adams and Howe, addressed the audience, but worthy as their speeches undoubtedly were, nothing could lessen the deep impression produced by Lord Elgin's electrical oration. Speakers were indifferently listened to, and the vast concourse of people in due course wended on to their homes. On the day following the banquet all Boston was crazy to catch a glimpse of the great English nobleman and orator who the day before had fascinated his intelligent hearers with his burning eloquence. Wherever he went he was followed by immense numbers of ladies and gentlemen, the former actually pelting him with rare beautiful and costly bouquets, the latter deafening him with cheers and laudations. I had the honor of being one of a number of attendants who accompanied his lordship in this triumphal parade. Among other places of note visited was the mansion of Mayor Bigelow, and I well remember with what refined grace and courtesy that gentleman received his distinguished visitor, remarking as he cordially took his hand, "This, your lordship, very much resembles a nuptial feast." Quick as thought Lord Elgin replied, "It does indeed, and I can assure you I am not here to forbid the bans." So great was the pleasurable excitement reaching almost to *furore*, that it was most difficult for the carriages

to pass through the delighted crowd, although every ameliorating effort was made by the well appointed police to maintain order.

At every street corner hung life-sized portraits of the Canadian Governor, while bunting, wreaths and flowers, decorated and floated from every window and balcony. The Bostonians never felt more pride in their British ancestry than on that day. The same evening was assembled a company of the *élite* and fashion of Boston, at a grand ball, given in honor of the invited guests. The scene was dazzling; the glitter of jewels and female beauty rendered it simply enchanting. Still, Lord Elgin was the observed of all observers. Radiant with the glow of youth and vigorous manhood, stately, calmly, but yet with modest dignity, he gracefully acknowledged the flattering attentions bestowed upon him. But, as all things must have an end, so this gay and brilliant gathering, in the early morning hours, very reluctantly withdrew. The next day Lord Elgin took his departure from the "Hub," as Boston then was, and still is called, and we Canadians returned to our humble homes overflowing with pleasant memories of our visit, and these memories, I am sure, will never fade while a Canadian lives who took part in the festivities. Most of the bright stars in that galaxy of intellectual power have passed away. Indeed, almost *all*. Elgin, Webster, Everett, Howe and Hincks, have been gathered to their fathers. Others, too, must have vanished, and it is doubtful if their places have since been filled by statesmen and orators as grand as they. The curtain drops, but memory cannot be deprived of of its tenacity. The pleasurable thoughts of youth remain as a support and solace of old age.

Lord Elgin afterwards became Viceroy of India, and filled that most responsible position with honor to himself and satisfaction to his sovereign. With the single exception of Lord Dufferin, Canada has not had a Governor General approaching him as a statesman and orator. He was a cultured gentleman and a profound statesman; unostentatious in manners, yet dignified and firm in his resolves, he endeared himself to the people of Canada and left the country the most popular of all its Governors.

Among the many Canadians I had the pleasure of meeting in Boston was one formerly of Hamilton, who since having made a name for himself deserves notice. My reference is to Mr. Roderick W. Cameron, now Sir Roderick. There must still be many in this city who remember him well, because his genial off-hand but refined manner everywhere attracted friendly attention. He came to Hamilton from Glengary, and engaged with our late and respected townsman, Robert Roy, as clerk or salesman in that gentleman's dry goods establishment, which at that time—about 1848—was the leading retail store in the city. He subsequently aspired to civic honors, and though he possessed no real estate, he qualified upon his rental. He ran for old St. Mary's Ward, and after two days' voting—the order in those days—was defeated by a small majority. In less than two weeks after his defeat he turned his back upon the city, and has never returned to it except as a visitor. He has since assured me that his defeat was in fact the most auspicious event of his life. "Had I been successful," said he, "I should have felt in honor bound to remain in Hamilton for at least the year I held office, but having been defeated I had nothing to keep me there, and packing up my traps, none of real value, I migrated to New York city, where I at once found influential friends and opportunities to start me on the road to fortune."

He shortly after became prominently connected with gentlemen who inaugurated a line of steamships to run from New York to Melbourne, Australia. The enterprise was a success. He became a partner in the business, and subsequently, as I have learned, became the sole owner of the fleet.

Some years ago important services rendered by him in Australia, to Her Majesty the Queen, were rewarded by his being made the recipient of the honor of knighthood, and our Hamilton friend is now Sir Roderick.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD

Now that the gentlemen who have charge of the monument shortly to be erected in commemoration of the late Right Honorable Sir John Macdonald, with commendable liberality, are providing a niche in the corner stone for the deposit of the proceedings of this Association, I ask permission to place a few words on record in memory of a lifelong friendship. But, at the same time, any responsibility that may attach to these words, I desire to wholly assume.

The Right Honorable Sir John Macdonald was by far the most distinguished and able statesman Canada has ever produced—produced because he was but five years old when his father with his family emigrated from Glasgow to this country. His educa tional advantages were such as the Kingston Grammar School, at that early day, could afford.

It would be doing him but scant justice to say that he possessed merely a high order of talents, for scarcely less than genius could have filled the history of our country for the past forty five years with the brilliant records stamped by that statesman upon its pages.

He was, in almost every sense, a remarkable man. He possessed largely a combination of qualities apparently essential for the successful leadership of men. A clear, sound, unerring judgment, a memory marvellously retentive, a cordial, genial attractive manner, a profound knowledge of men, a total lack of arrogance or ostentation, a deferential respect for the opinions of others while maintaining his own, a comprehensive understanding and a happy way of imparting his own convictions, and satisfying others of their truth or importance. To his political opponents even when severe he was courteous. He was capable of framing measures of magnitude and forecasting their results with singular exactness. His discretion prevented a parade of his views in advance of public opinion, but his apparently intuitive knowledge of it led him to seize the exact moment when to propose them, but added to his popularity. He perceived with acute vision the shadows of coming events, and prepared himself to direct and control the [illegible] which only matured, for practical management. He readily detected, while his tact and judgment as readily frustrated, schemes, combinations and conspiracies, carefully and elaborately prepared for his political destruction. His skill in harmonising discordant and heterogeneous elements was probably equal if not superior to that possessed by any statesman, living or dead. Roman Catholics, Orangemen, French Canadians, English, Irish and Scotch, were brought through his influence to acknowledge that their several interests were safe under his guidance, safer than in charge of any other political leader, and although widely differing upon a variety of subjects they united in sustaining him and his principles. Courage formed no inconsiderable part of his composition. He was never known to falter, however trying, unlooked for or complicated the emergency presented for his consideration may have been, but with steady determination he surrounded himself with every available means to meet and overcome the threatened danger. His firmness in carrying out the solemn judgment of the courts, when endorsed by the Privy Council, in the case of Riel, notwithstanding the fanatical outcry of his French supporters, which at one time seemed to threaten the very life of his government, amply indicates the total absence of cowardice or indecision, if it fails to establish that he placed the welfare of his country, by sustaining its laws, far beyond party or personal consideration.

Sir John's detractors contended that personal ambition was his guiding star, as they found it impossible to charge that pecuniary aggrandizement had been his object. If this be true, he certainly well concealed his design, by carrying along with him the ambitions and hopes of the people to see their country attain to national greatness. His political friends regarded such conduct in their leader as patriotic in the highest sense of the term, and cared not to lessen their own honor by disparaging the illustrious individual who had been chiefly instrumental in elevating the status of the country from which that honor was derived.

Sir John was not an accomplished orator; his delivery was neither smooth nor graceful, often halting; yet the genial play of his countenance when speaking, coupled with frequent happy and pointed illustrations, not only immediately attracted favorable attention, but imperceptibly impressed his hearers. As a parliamentary debater he had few equals. Sir Charles Tupper and the Hon. Mr. Blake might for the moment have appeared more effective, but they both use a superabundance of words when presenting their arguments. Terse words they are, yet with fewer and no less terse Sir John reached the very pith and marrow of his subject. He made no attempt at flowing periods or polished diction; yet, when he had ceased speaking, the poorest understanding had grasped the drift of his contention, and become conversant with even its details. To substantiate what I state, an attentive perusal of the speeches of prominent members on the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway is recommended.

For the germs of liberty, the fruition of which we now enjoy, for the popularity of our constitution, and for our prospects of a permanent nationality, Canada is beyond question more largely indebted to the comprehensive genius of Lord Durham than any other individual. Although he was a resident of the country but for a few months, in that short time he clearly measured its capacity and perceived the checks to its progress. He found the provinces, after the rebellion of 1837, politically and socially disorganized and discontented, with laws imperfect, and administered by an irresponsible oligarchy. To him we owe in a large degree the responsibility of our executive. With singular prescience of results he suggested as a remedy for existing evils a political union of Upper and Lower Canada, to be ultimately followed by a federation of all the provinces. From his thoughtful mind Canadian statesmen caught the inspiration which, when welded to practical form, procured the abolition of seignorial tenures and clergy reserves. Indeed, almost every important measure for the welfare of Canada foreshadowed by him has since his death become a reality, and now forms part of our boasted constitution.

As evidenced by his public conduct, this nobleman was largely endowed with wisdom, courage, firmness and political sagacity. These were qualities possessed in no less degree by Sir John. In this respect there is a marked analogy between them. But the latter for more than forty years was environed with circumstances and events far more difficult to shape and control than were ever presented to the former, such as plots, combinations, conspiracies and rebellions; such as the forming and sustaining of governments, the federation of provinces, composed of political and religious elements and nationalities widely divergent in opinion and sentiment; such as the acquiring and organizing territories, the framing of a national trade policy and the adjusting of treaties. Yet, with patient, unwavering perseverance and fidelity had he, almost single handed, directed public affairs with consummate skill, and brought Canada at last to the very threshold of national distinction; and at the age of seventy-six he still remained—till he died—Premier of this grand Dominion, covered with honors from his Sovereign, and sustained by the confidence of a majority of the people, but as poor in worldly acquirements as he was the day he selected to become a representative in the councils of his country.

Without claiming from the public records of these distinguished men that our own possession was the greater statesman, it is safe to say that since the first settlement of Canada, no name occurs in her history, however honored or patriotic or surrounded with brilliancy, that may fairly rank with the names of Durham and Macdonald. When detraction has lost its power and envy its malice, these two men will appear divested of their supposed frailties, and their genius will be universally regarded with admiration by succeeding generations, and their lives studied by aspiring statesmen with profit to themselves and advantage to their country.

The crowning glory of this veteran statesman was the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway. With the grandeur of his magnificent enterprise his name will be inseparably associated as the moving spirit in its inception and the guardian of its progress. Had his great talents been confined to securing the success of this single project, he should be honored, but, only when this, with his other patriotic achievements come to be rightly considered, will the gratitude of his countrymen become commensurate with his merits, and the time is rapidly approaching when this shall happen. Monuments to his memory are already being erected in England and Canada.

TOPOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF HAMILTON AS IT WAS IN 1830 AND [illegible]

By Thos. H. McKeone

I left Cromarty, Scotland, on the 20th June, 1830, on board the ship "John," and arrived at Quebec on [illegible] August of the same year. I then left Quebec for Montreal by steamer, thence from Montreal to Hamilton by batteaux, steamer and stage, reaching Hamilton on the 23rd August, and landed at Hatt's wharf, now Browne's.

I walked from there up James street [illegible] to the village, the street being then about half corduroy and cedar swamps. From the wharf to King street there were about six or seven houses. The house opposite Christ Church (and still there) was occupied by the late Judge Taylor of the Gore District. The other houses were [illegible] frame ones.

At the corner of James and King streets was a two-story frame hotel occupied by a person of the name of Miller. Going west from Miller's hotel one house was occupied by a carpenter; next to that lived a Mr. Kirkendall, a farmer. Where the market is now was a fine orchard and farm owned by the same man. From there to what is now called Queen street there were three houses; the late Mr. Hess lived in one and owned the farm in rear of it. On the west of what is now Queen street was a frame house used as a hotel. Further west, on the south side of King street, was the first house, owned by the late Mr. New and occupied as a hotel called the "Rising Sun." The next, on the same side of the street, was the property of the late Mr. Mills, father of the late Hon. Samuel Mills, and Mr. Geo. H. Mills, our President. There were no houses on that side of the street until you reached a rough stone building, occupied at that time by the late Mr. Berry, who was then clerk of the old Gore District, and from there down to the corner of John and King there were no other houses.

About where the Spectator office stands now on James street

south, was a two-story frame residence occupied by the late Peter Hamilton, beyond that were no other houses except one or two small ones further south.

On the east side of James street, commencing at the bottom of that street, there was one small house at the top of the hill, and from there for a long distance up there were no houses, and the greater portion of the ground was composed of cedar swamps and corduroy roads, until you came up near the old Post Office, where there was a small one-story building occupied as Post Office, and from there up to the corner there were two or three scattered houses.

At the corner of James and King street, east were the offices of the late Sir Allan Macnab, and from there to the corner of what is now called Hughson street there were two small houses, one occupied as a combined shoe shop and saloon.

At the corner of now Hughson and King streets was a two-story house, the lower part occupied as an office by the late Judge O'Reilly, and the upper story by the late Thomas Racey, as immigrant agent.

Between Hughson and John streets, about the middle of the block, stood the store occupied by the Stinsons, and near the corner of John and King streets east stood a brick house occupied by a Mr. Brown, as a tailor's establishment and clothing store. From the corner of John to that street now called Catharine, there were four stores and a hotel, also a small printing office in which was published a paper called the "Gore Balance."

At the east corner of Catharine and King streets was a store kept by a Mr. Leonard, and from there to Wellington street were only two or three small houses, the street being all cedar swamp.

At the corner of Wellington and King street east stood a hotel carried on by a Mrs. Price; east of that was nothing but farms.

The properties from King street to the bay were also farms occupied by the late Mr. Ferguson and Mr. Hughson, and then well down to the lake was a road to the late Abel Land's forwarding buildings, and near the property in that section.

Where the First Methodist church stands, stood a small frame church, occupied by the Methodist body. A potash manufactory was carried on west of this on a rising ground in the swamp. From there going east to nearly opposite the corner of now Catharine street, there were only two or three houses. Then from Catharine

to the corner of John were several small stores, selling different kinds of stock.

At the corner of King and John streets stood the frame store occupied by the firm of James Brown & Co. In the rear of that was a two-story frame building used as a storehouse in connection with their business. From there to where Jolley's saddlery establishment is now was one house at the corner of Main and John streets, about where Jolley's store stands, and about fifteen or twenty feet from the street stood the old jail built of logs. The lower part, for criminals, was constructed four logs thick, and the second story, set apart for debtors, was made of three logs, and the third story, used as a court house two logs thick. In this court house divine service was held on Sundays by different denominations. On one occasion the service was conducted by a lady from Nova Scotia, who delivered a most beautiful address. The court house that was lately taken down to make room for the present one was then being built.

From there to where John McPherson & Son's factory stands was one small tavern. Further up was a building occupied by the late Mr Ralston as a store and dwelling. Beyond that, nearer the mountain, stood the house of the late George Hamilton, which, I believe, is still there, and occupied by Mr Barker.

Where the wood and hay market now is a general market was held on Saturdays. At the time I saw it there were on view one wagon, three or four wheelbarrows, and several baskets filled with supplies for the people.

On the east side of the Court House, on John street, there was a small house on the corner, and next to that was a blacksmith shop, and a house occupied by the late David Farley, and close to that, further north, was a shanty in which lived a coloured barber and his wife.

About the west corner of where the Post Office now stands was a hotel, carried on by the late Mr Carey, and from that to the corner of Hughson street were two or three stores and a hotel on the corner.

At the corner of King and Hughson street stood the establishment of the old firm of Colin Ferrie & Co., the Post Office being removed to a small building close to their store. From there to the corner was an open field on which a hotel was put up and occupied by the late Mr Bentley.

At the corner now covered by the Board of Trade rooms Messrs. James Turner & Co., and the adjoining property was occupied by C. Ferrie & Co. as a lumber and store yard. On the south side of the same street was a stone cutting establishment occupied by a man of the name of Evans. Further west about twenty feet from the road stood the cottage of Mr. A. K. Smith. Some distance from the rear of this place was a frame building occupied by the late John Law, and beyond that again was a small building occupied and used by a turner and carpenter of the name of Simpson.

In order that a comparison may be made as to prices of farm produce in 1830 and the present time the following list will give a fair idea.

Oats, per bushel, 18c. to 20c. Barley, per bushel, 25c. to 30c. Wheat, per bushel, 50c. to 56c. Butter, per pound, 10c. Eggs, per dozen, 8c. Firewood, $1.00 to $1.50 per cord.

THE BATTLE OF QUEENSTON HEIGHTS.

A Patriotic Poem written on the Anniversary of that Great Victory.

BY WILLIAM THOMAS WHITE

Ho! ye who are Canadians, and glory in your birth
Who boast your land the fairest of all the lands on earth

To-night go home with cheerful heart and lay all care aside
And set aglow your brightest lamps and throw the shutters wide.

Heap high with coals the fire, till its merriest sparks you win
And send out all your messengers to call the neighbors in

Then when the evening meal is spent with feast and mirthful sound
In circle deep about the hearth range girls and boys around.

Bring forth the book of heroes' deeds, and to your listening flock,
Read reverently of Queenston Heights and the death of Isaac Brock

Oh! there are some among us who spurn the pale of a name
Who say our country has no past, no heroes known to fame.

They talk of bold Leonidas who held the pass of blood
And how Horatius Cocles braved swollen Tiber's flood.

They never tire of dark Cortez who spared not blood nor tears,
Nor yet of Arnold Winkelreid, who broke the Austrian spears

Their glory is of Waterloo, that crimson memoried fight,
Of the "thin red line" of Inkerman and Alma's bloody height.

For Canada their voice is mute, yet history's pages tell
That braver blood was never spilt than where her heroes fell

To-day o'er Queenston's lofty heights the autumn sky is drear
From drooping limbs the withering leaves hang bloodless, wan and sere.

From fertile sward the plough has gone, and from the field the wain,
In bursting barns the farmer's own his wealth of garnered grain

Those fields are sacred and that sward shall be Canadians' boast,
The spot where valor's few hurled back the dark invader's host.

The tale shall live while grow the trees, while the rippling water runs,
Of fame's bright birth to Canada from the life-blood of her sons.

You know it well! The invaders crossed with the first grey dawn of light,
And foot by foot their numbers told and gained the stubborn height.

The guns are turned on Dennis' flank the whistling missiles pour,
While from the battery on the hill the crashing round shot tore.

And backward, surely backward, the patriot heroes move,
With death to left and death to right and death on high above.

But hark! When hope has almost fled at the hour of sorest need,
Is heard the clatter of iron hoofs and the neigh of a coursing steed.

Now let the martial music breathe its most inspiring notes,
As bursts the shout of welcome from the faltering veterans' throats!

What spell so much could nerve them in that losing battle's shock,
"Courage, boys! It is the General! Onward comrades! On with Brock

Now forward to the battery!" They lend a ready ear;
There's a hero's form to lead them and a hero's voice to cheer.

And o'er the level plain they press, and up the sloping hill,
'Mid hail of shot and volleys' smoke his cry is "Onward!" still.

And now they pass the low ravine, they clamber o'er the wall;
The fatal death shot strikes him — they see their leader fall.

"Push on, push on, York volunteers!" brave words—they were his last,
And like the vision of a dream the charging column passed.

He heard their cry of vengeance as they reached the mountain's crest,
Then rushed in purpling tide the flood of life-blood from his breast.

You've read the rest: their comrades came to stay their second flight,
Dashed on to meet the foe in blue and hurled them from the height.

Then, Canada, was seen thy might, by equal ardour led,
[illegible]

One spirit moved, one thought inspired that gallant little band
That foot of no invading foe should e'er pollute their land.

A thousand men laid down their arms to forces inferior far
Blush, fickle land of commerce, for thy myrmidons of war.

Sleep, heroes! Rest upon the hill where valor's deed was done,
No flower shall ever wither in a crown so nobly won

While Canada can rear her sons, the bravest of the brave
From the tempests of Atlantic to the placid western wave

So surely we shall honor the day that tells your deathless fame
Till all future patriots mourn you and festal rights proclaim

And thou, whose sacred dust entombed on yonder summit lies,
Beneath that noble monument far-reaching toward the skies,

Thy name shall be a holy word, a trumpet note to all
When bravery's arm is needed and they hear their country's call

And future sires shall take their sons at evening on their knee
And tell the old tale over and thus shall speak of thee—

"His is the noblest name we have in all our bright array
He taught our youth to falter not tho' death might bar the way

He showed our might, he led our arms, he conquered tho' he fell
He gave up all he had—his life—for the land he loved so well."

A LETTER FROM HON. HENRY GRIFFIN

GRAND HAVEN, Mich., May 25, 1889.

JUSTUS A. GRIFFIN.

My Dear Nephew,—Many thanks for the copy of the Hamilton *Spectator*, received yesterday, dated May 3, 1889, and containing memoirs of the city of Hamilton in 1832 by Major Glasgow, in a paper read before the Wentworth Historical Society. I was so much interested in the Major's reminiscences of the early days of your city that I propose to give you, for the benefit of the Historical Society, a statement about the city at a time five years before the major and his party arrived in Hamilton.

First, I would say that Ebenezer C. Griffin, mentioned by Major Glasgow as a Justice of the Peace, and who died in Oct., 1847, was my eldest brother. Rev. W. S. Griffin, D. D., of Stratford, Ont., and E. R. Griffin, M. D., of Brantford, Ont., are my nephews. Doctor H. S. Griffin, of your city, is my grand-nephew. My father, Smith Griffin, Esq., who was a U. E. Loyalist, came to Canada, in 1788, at the age of 16 years, with his father, mother, and ten of his eleven brothers and sisters. They came from Duchess County, N. Y., and when they reached [illegible] there were only two buildings, a tavern and a blacksmith shop. At ~~Oswego~~ the women and children were put into flat-bottomed boats and with part of the men coasted round the lake shore, while the rest of the men took the horses and came through the woods to Canada. They all settled at Smithville in the Township of Grimsby south, where I was born.

In 1827 I purchased from Abraham K. Smith, a store building, two-story frame, 22 feet x 60 feet, for £300. It was situated on the corner of King and John streets. I then went to Montreal and New York, and bought a general stock of merchandise. My last purchase was at Rochester, N. Y., 500 barrels of salt, which I shipped on the Hon. James Crooks's vessel, the Margaret, Capt. Mitchell. I ordered one half the cargo delivered at Hamilton, (there was no canal to connect the bay with Lake Ontario) the vessel anchored out a quarter of a mile perhaps, and a large flat-bottomed boat brought the salt and other merchandise through the little channel and up to the Hamilton wharf. I think a Mr. Land did that business. The other half of the cargo I sent to Grimsby. My business was dealing in all kinds of merchandise and produce.

John Smith was my clerk at Hamilton. I visited that store every week, by the old Troy stage and four which carried the mail once per day; letter postage, 25 cents. John Smith was in business on the south-east corner of King and John streets a few years later, in Mr. Sheldon's store, until he was appointed Sheriff of Brant County where he died at an advanced age. My store and Mr. Sheldon's did the principal business. Thomas Stinson had a little fancy dry goods store in a small dwelling house room. Soon after purchasing this store I built a small brick tailor shop adjoining; this was the first brick store in Hamilton.

In 1830, I sold my store, the brick tailor shop and a half-quarter of an acre of land to Thomas Stinson, where he built a large brick store subsequently. Mr. Casey had a good sized brick hotel on the corner opposite Sheldon's; only two brick buildings then in town—mine was the second.

I well remember the names of my customers at Hamilton sixty years ago. Richard Beasley was one, on a farm which I think he sold to Sir Allan McNab, then a young and popular lawyer from Toronto, and also a large customer. McNab built a three story frame hotel on the corner at the west end of King street park. It was a great building for that time. It took fire and burned down before it was finished inside. George and Peter Hamilton were also good customers. A. K. Smith and John Thatcher an auctioneer were business men. Dr. Smith, on the mountain, another was Colonel Brown, of Waterdown, and sometimes customers from Ancaster, Grand River Settlers, Dundas, Nelson and even Brantford, and farmers from Burford.

The population of Hamilton was about 300 or 400 souls when I bought out A. K. Smith.

At the time of the war of 1812 I was about six or seven years old. My father was a captain in the Lincoln Militia and five of his brothers served in the same regiment. The last battle my father was engaged in was Lundy's Lane; after that he had charge of the commissariat and I have seen our meadows at Smithville filled with cattle for the army. I remember seeing a squadron of U. S.

every part of our farm. One time I saw a company of American soldiers sleeping on our kitchen floor, and the next week a company of Canadian Militia occupied the same place. That must have been about the time of the battle of Stony Creek.

With a good library, plenty of Canadian and American papers, and general good health I enjoy life even at my advanced age.

Yours Truly,

HENRY GRIFFIN.

N. B. The Hon. Henry Griffin, who wrote the foregoing letter, died at Grand Haven, Mich., July 6, 189 . He belonged to a family which, though never particularly distinguished in history, may be considered a type of a large class of Canadian Loyalists, having in almost every generation acted an honorable and patriotic part.

THE CALL TO BATTLE

BY GEORGE HAWKSWORTH ARMSTRONG

> Where is the coward that would not dare
> To fight for such a land? —Marmion

Ye sons of Canada, be first in danger's field
The sword of honor and of truth to wield
Be prompt the injured to defend and save
Appal her foes and assist her brave

Ye sons of Canada, by your country's name
Her crown of glory, her unsullied fame,
By the bright laurels immortal Brock at Queenston won
Undaunted spirit, valor's favorite son

Oh, by the shades of Stony Creek's inviolate dead
By warrior bands at Lundy's Lane who bled,
By honors gained on Chrysler's fertile plain,
By those in victory's arms at Chateauguay slain
By Britain's thousand thousand deeds sublime,
Renowned from zone to zone, from clime to clime
Ye sons of Canada, may your trophies raise
A deathless monument to future days

Oh, let your courage still triumphant rise
Exalt your red cross banner to the skies,
Transcend the fairest names in history's page
The brightest actions of a future age.
The reign of freedom let your arms restore
And bid invasion fall, to rise no more

His father was at the battle of Chrysler's farm and received a medal

THE MAPLE LEAF FOREVER

BY ALEXANDER MUIR.

In days of yore from Britain's shore
  Wolfe the dauntless hero came,
And planted firm Britannia's flag
  On Canada's fair domain.
There may it wave, our boast, our pride,
  And, joined in love together,
The Thistle, Shamrock, Rose entwine
  The Maple Leaf Forever

Chorus

The Maple Leaf, The Maple Leaf
  The Maple Leaf Forever
God Save our Queen, and heaven bless
  The Maple Leaf Forever

At Queenston Heights and Lundy's Lane,
  Our brave fathers side by side
For freedom, homes and loved ones dear
  Firmly stood and nobly died
And those dear rights which they maintained
  We swear to yield them never
Our watchword evermore shall be
  The Maple Leaf Forever
Chorus — The Maple Leaf etc.

Our fair Dominion now extends
  From Cape Race to Nootka Sound
May peace forever be our lot
  And plenteous store abound
And may those ties of love be ours,
  Which discord cannot sever
And flourish green o'er freedom's home
  The Maple Leaf Forever
Chorus — The Maple Leaf etc.

On merry England's far famed land
  May kind heaven sweetly smile
God bless old Scotland evermore
  And Ireland's Emerald Isle.
Then sing the song both loud and long,
  Till rocks and forests quiver
God Save our Queen and heaven bless
  The Maple Leaf Forever
Chorus —The Maple Leaf etc.

FORM OF SCHEDULE DISTRIBUTED BY THE WENTWORTH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

AS A MEANS OF COLLECTING HISTORICAL DATA

A schedule of facts furnished the Society by   of the   in the county of   in the Province of Ontario.

1 Place of birth of informant, age and date of birth

2. If born out of Ontario date of arrival in the Province

3 Occupations pursued by informant and locality

4 Father's name, age and date of birth

5 Father's residence

6 Mother's name, age and date of birth.

7 Mother's residence

8. Ancestors' residence.

9 Where informant was educated

10 Name of instructors.

11 Subjects taught

12 Names of leading residents in Ontario with whom you have been acquainted.

13 Personal reminiscences.

14 Names of members of Legislature and of Parliament for your county or city and for what period of time they served.

15 Names of Judges, Mayors, Magistrates and other officials

16 What military organizations.

17 Names of officers

18. What military actions.

19 Recollections, if any, in which you participated.

20 Civic disturbances, if any, the cause and outcome of same.

21 Recollections as to the early settlers in this province

22 Recollections as to the Indians.

23 Their character and intercourse with the settlers.

24 Do you possess any Indian or other relics or documents that would be interesting to examine?

25 Would you permit inspection of them by the society or

contribute the same towards the completion of the museum of the society?

26. Are you aware of any relics, documents or specimens that it would be to the advantage of the society to possess?

27. State fully any traditions you are in possession of bearing upon the history of the province.

28. Furnish the names and addresses of any persons whom you think could give any information as to traditions, relics, specimens, etc.

29. Mention the occupations of prominent early settlers, also giving addresses.

30. Furnish any information in your opinion desirable that the society should possess not embodied in above items.

Dated at th day of 18

Signature of informant
Occupation
Residence

RESOLUTIONS OF THE WENTWORTH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

In 1890 application was made to the Council of the City of Hamilton for the purchase of a portion of the ground known as "Earthworks," constructed in 1813 on Burlington Heights, when the Executive Council of the Association passed the following resolution:

"Whereas, having learned with surprise and regret, that the Cemetery Committee of the City Council are offering for sale a further portion of the grounds known as Burlington Heights Breastworks, to be used for private purposes, at the very time when petitions are before Parliament praying for the erection thereon of a suitable memorial to commemorate the spot constructed in defence of the country whence a handful of brave men utterly routed an invading army numerically four times their own strength, and preserved the whole of this southern part of Ontario. And believing that such action was taken without full knowledge of the historic value of those grounds. Therefore resolved that this Executive Council of the Wentworth Historical Society solemnly protests against such action of the City Council, and against any further encroachment upon those memorable grounds."

At a meeting of the City Council subsequently held, a resolution was unanimously carried endorsing the views of the Society and declaring that no further disposition of the grounds in question should be made.

Petitions from the society have been forwarded to the Federal Government praying for the erection of suitable memorials on the Stony Creek battle grounds and on Burlington Heights, and the society has fair reason for believing that the prayer of the petitioners will be granted.

Moved by Judge Muir seconded by Richard Bull, and resolved:

That the Wentworth Historical Society while deeply deploring the loss it has sustained by the death of the late T. C. Mewburn desires to express its high appreciation of the valuable services rendered by him to the society in forwarding the objects of the same.

And it also desires to express its great admiration of his unswerving loyalty to the Throne of Great Britain, his outspoken views on the subject of British connection, his intense love for Canada, his adopted country, and his untiring efforts to impress the growing generation of Canadians with the spirit of patriotism, and to commend to all Canadians his career in such respect as an example worthy to be followed.

Resolution of thanks to the Committee of the Sir John A. Macdonald Monument about to be erected in this city.

Resolved—That this society, feeling much gratified on learning that the Committee of the Sir John A. Macdonald's Monument has directed that a niche be made in the Corner Stone of the monument, in which the "Proceedings" of the society just published, shall be placed, desires to thank such Committee for the honor thus conferred.

LIST OF PAPERS AND ARTICLES DONATED TO THE WENTWORTH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Royal Society of Canada—Copies of proceedings. 9 Vols. 1882-1891 inclusive.

Rev. G. A. Ball—Copies of papers read, and newspapers and clippings, from Lundy's Lane Society.

J. G. Y. Burkholder—3 Vols. Anglo American Magazine, 1853.

Adam Brown—Debates and proceedings House of Commons.

Dr. Bourinot—Debates and proceedings House of Commons.

Dr. Bourinot—Blue Books and Report of Canadian Archivist.

T. C. Mewburn—Old Deeds, Letters, Documents, Books and Relics.

Hon. A. McKellar—Photograph of Model of old Hand Mill.

M. Anderson—Documents re settlement of Lundy's Lane.

Hon. J. D. Gillin—Documents and Reminiscences.

Mr. J. Biddle—Sir Francis Bond Head's Narrative of 1837-8.

Mr. J. Merritt—Life of Hon. W. H. Merritt.

Capt. Barker—Old Newspapers, etc.

Major J. Glasgow—Old Newspapers and Papers.

J. A. Griffin—Old Newspapers, Papers and Pamphlets.

T. H. Stinson—Old Newspapers, 1851.

Mr. Coombs—Canon Ball from Navy Island, 1837.

Mrs. C. Lee—Sword, and other relics of 1812.

Mrs. Gregory—Old and Valuable Documents.

Mrs. R. J. Hamilton—Engraving, Death of Wolfe, and Proceedings of Parliament, 1828.

Mr. John W. Jones—Observations on a trip through West Indies, United States and Statistical Account of Upper Canada 1836, by Dr. Thomas Rolph.

Indenture of B. and S.—Deed of Land, James Cameron, of Township Ancaster, U. C., and his wife, to John Ross, of York, in Home District. Dated 7th October, 1834.

Indenture—Chas. S. Perley of Township Burford, County of Oxford, District of London, U. C., to John Ross. Dated [illegible] April, 1834.

Lieut.-Gen. Murray with Thos Street, Andw Stevens and Jno. Lyons, Esq trustees Parchment settlement to Mr and Mrs Radcliffe. Dated 23rd March 1841

Parchment exemplification of probate of will of James McLellan deceased in the eleventh year of translation of William Archbishop of Canterbury Dated 8th November 1838

Patent Grant from Peregrine Maitland, Governor to John Andrew Stevenson Dated [illegible]th October 1824.

Grant—Lieut.-Gov Gore to Jacob S. Ball 200 acres in Township of Thorold, County of Lincoln Dated 2nd May 1810.

Grant—Lieut. Gov Hunter to Philip Rose Dated 9th June 1802

LIST OF NEWSPAPERS.

"The Spectator St Davids, U C	3rd May 1816
" " "	17th May 1816
" " "	31st May 1816
" " "	14th June 1816
The Gleaner and Niagara Newspaper Published by A Heron	18th May 1820
" " "	4th April 182
" " "	3rd Mar 1827
" " "	23rd Sep 1826
" " " "	28th Oct. 1826
" " " "	20th Jan. 1827
" " " "	6th Jan 1827
" " " "	30th June, 182
" " " "	10th Feb. 1827
" " " "	24th Feb. 1827
" " " "	12th Aug. 1826
" " " "	3rd Feb., 1827
" " " "	27th Jan 1827
"Morning Banner" Hamilton C. W with full account of Desjardins canal accident (Presented by Thos H Stinson Esq)	16th Mar 1857
"The Herald of Truth, G D Griffin, Hamilton, C. W publisher and proprietor containing account of visit of Prince of Wales and Battle of Queenston Heights.	16th Aug. 1860

"The Herald of Truth," st Aug., 1861

" 1st Sept., 1861

Printed article, "To the Electors of the County of Halton," by a farmer, 824
discussing qualification of four candidates, viz.: Geo. Rolph, Caleb Hopkins, James Crooks and M. O'Reilly, father of the late Miles O'Reilly. (Presented by Miss O'Reilly.)

Grant—Peregrine Maitland to John Ross, November 14th 1825.

Grant—Peregrine Maitland to Elizabeth Cameron, daughter of Jacob Summer, a U. E. Loyalist, June 6th, 1822.

Grant—Sir John Colborne to Eliza Cline, daughter of Moses Williams, U. E. Loyalist, November 1st, 1832.

Grant—Peregrine Maitland to Abraham Vannowen, December 1st, 1824.

Selections—Public Documents of Province of Nova Scotia, by Thomas B. Akins, D. C. L. (Presented by Miss Minnie S. Neal, of Halifax.)

Mount's History of Canada, 1804. Presented by Robert Jarvis Hamilton.

Laws of Canada, 1805. Presented by Mrs. Nelson Mills.

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE WENTWORTH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Armstrong, Geo. H
Alexander, John
Baker, Hugh C.
Balfour, James
Barnard, Major F
Barr, John A
Barton, George M.
Bartlett, Cameron
Beasley, Thomas
Bearman, F W
Begue, Thos. H S (Dundas)
Bickle, John W
Black, Henry John
Bowman, William
Brown, Adam
Bruce, Alexander Q. C
Bruce, John A
Bruce, Frank C.
Buchanan, W W
Burton, Warren F
Buchanan, J G.
Bruce, William
Bull, Richard
Bull, Eldon J
Bull, George H
Burkholder, J G Y
Cahill, James
Cahill, E. D
Calder, John
Case, H N
Charlton, B E
Chittenden, C. S
Carpenter, F M. M.P (Winona)
Carpenter, Henry
Carrell, Cyrus
Chisholm, James, M A.
Counsell, Charles M
Cummings, James
Davis, Samuel
Dayfoot, P W
Durand, Charles (Toronto)
Emory, C. VanNorman, M D
Fearman, F W
Williams, C. J
Freeman, Ransom
Ferres, James
Gage, R R
Gates, F W Sen
Gates, Arthur R
Ghent, S. H
Gibson, Hon J M
Geddes, J Gamble, Very Rev
Dean of Niagara
Gaviller, Alexander
Griffin, Justus A.
Gunn, R. L.
Gunnm, William
Gurnet, L. A. (Ancaster)
Glasgow, Major John
Hamilton, R J
Hallman, O. S
Horning, O A.
Jones, John W L. L. B.
Jones, Alvin (Stony Creek)
Kelly, Daniel
Kennedy, R. Æ
Kenrick, E. (Ancaster)
Kitson, Ernest E.

Kittson H N
Kidner Frank
Laing Col John
Land John H
Land, Peter M
Land R E A.
Lazier S. F LL B Q C.
Lees, William, Senr
Lees, William Jr
Lees George H
Lester Thomas W
Lester Joseph
Lottridge Robert
Lottridge James M
Lucas, R A
Magill Col Charles
Malloch A E. M D
Malloch F S.
Martin Edward, Q C
Martin Richard S.
Martin, Geo. E.
Martin, W G
Mewburn Thomas Chilton
Mewburn Sidney Chilton
Miller Thomas, M D
Mills, George H
Mills William H.
Mills, James H
Mills, Francis H
Mills, Sidney George
Milne W
Moore Lyman
Moore, Major Alexander H
Moore J H
Morgan, William S
Muir John Judge C. C
Mullock, Luke (Waterdown)
MacInnes Hon. Donald
McKellar Hon. Arch., Sheriff
County Wentworth
McKenzie Thos H (Dundas
McLaren, Major Henry
McKay Alexander M P
Mackelcan, Frank Q. C
Macnab Duncan A.
Mackelcan, Henry
McCullough, C. R
New Henry
Nisbet J W Q C
Nelles, H E (Grimsby)
O'Reilly Miles, Q C.
O'Reilly Major J Edwin, Q C
Pettit, M (Winona)
Ryckman S. S M P
Pottenger John
Plastow J E.
Ramsay, A. G
Ridley Henry T M. D
Rosebrugh, John W M D.
Ross, F Samuel
Sanford, Hon. William E.
Scott John J
Stinson Thomas C.
Snider F
Stewart, James
Stuart Philip H
Stuart, John
Smith Edward F
Southam William
Thomson George C
Walker W F M A LL. B.
Q C. Dead
Walker James
Wolverton Algernon, M. D
Watkins, Thomas C.
Zealand, Capt. William

LIST OF LIEUT GOVERNORS FROM 1792 TO 1892

UPPER CANADA.

Simcoe, Col John Graves	July 8th 1792,	to	July 21st 1796.
Russell, Peter	July 21 1796,		August [illegible] 1799.
Hunter, Peter	Aug. 17 1799,		Sept 21st 1805.
Grant, Alexander	Sept. 11 1805,		August 25 1806.
Gore, Francis	Aug. 25, 1806,		June [illegible], 1817.
Brock, Sir Isaac	Sept. 30, 1811		Oct. 13th 1812.
Sheaffe, Sir Roger Hale	Oct. 20 1812,		June 19th 1813.
Rottenburg, Maj Gen Francis de	June 19, 1813		Dec 13th, 1813.
Drummond, Sir Gordon	Dec. 13 1813		April 25th 1815.
Murray, Sir George	April 25, 1815,		June 30th, 1815
Robinson, Sir Fred. Philipps	July 1, 1815,		Sept. 25th 1815
Smith, Samuel	June 11 1817		Aug. 13th 1818.
Maitland, Sir Peregrine	Aug. 13, 1818,		Nov 3rd 1828.
Smith, Samuel	March 8, 1820,		June 30th 1820.
Colborne, Sir John	Nov 4th, 1828,		Jan 25th 1836.
Head, Sir Francis Bond	Jan 25, 1836,		March 23rd 1838.
Arthur, Sir George	March 23, 1838,		Feb. 10th, 1841

UNITED CANADA

Lord Sydenham	Oct. 19, 1839,	to	Sept. 19th, 1841.
Jackson, Sir Richard Downes	Sept. 24 1841		Jan 12th, 1842
Bagot, Sir Charles	Jan 12, 1842,		March 30, 1843
Metcalfe, Sir Charles Theophilus	March 30, 1843,		Nov 26th 1845
Cathcart, Charles Murray, Earl of	Nov. 26, 1845,		Ap 23rd 1846.
Cathcart Charles Murray Earl of	April 24, 1846,		Jan 29th 1847
Elgin, James Bruce, Earl of	Jan. 30, 1847		Dec. 19th 1854
Rowan, Lieut.-Gen William	Aug 29 1853,		June 10th 1853
Head, Sir Edmund Walker	Dec 19, 1854		Oct. 25th, 1861
Eyre, Sir William	June 26, 1857		Nov 2nd 1857
Williams, Sir William Fenwick	Oct. 12, 1860,		Feb 22nd. 1861
Monck, Charles Stanley Viscount	Oct. 25, 1861		Nov 27th, 1861.
Monck, Charles Stanley Viscount	Nov 28, 1861,		June 30th, 1867
Michel, Sir John	Sept. 30, 1865,		Feb. 15th 1866.

ONTARIO

Stisted, Maj. Gen Henry William	July 8, 1867,	to	July 14th, 1868.
Howland, William Pearce	July 14 1868.		Nov 12th 1873.
Crawford, John Willoughby	Nov 12, 1873,		May 13th, 1875
Macdonald, Donald Alexander	May 18, 1875,		June 30th 1880.
Robinson, John Beverley	June 30, 1880,		May 31st, 1887
Campbell, Sir Alexander	June 1, 1887		May 24th, 1892.
Kirkpatrick, George Airey	May 28, 1892.		—— ——

Administrator

[illegible] at the back of paper you will
see they represent the women of nearly all
[illegible] Commonwealth [illegible]

for Mr. [illegible] / 1.

WENTWORTH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

JOURNAL AND TRANSACTIONS

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1892-1908

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OF THE

Wentworth Historical Society

VOL. I

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HAMILTON
~~SPECTATOR PRINTING COMPANY~~
1892

Never was isle so little, never was sea so lone
But over the sand and the palm trees an
English flag was flown' Kipling

F.
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Hon D MacInnes,	$10 00
Geo H Mills,	10 00
F W Fearman	10 00
J M Lottridge	10 00
Major H McLaren	5 00
Hon Judge J Muir	5 00
John W Jones	5 00
Hon Arch McKellar	[illegible] 00
S H Ghent,	3 00
Adam Brown,	5 00
Alex McKay M P	5 00
W F Walker Q C	5 00
Frank C Bruce	5 00
John A Bruce,	5 00
Alex Bruce, Q C	5 00
Edward Martin Q C	5 00
Hon J M Gibson	5 00
Hon W E Sanford	10 00
E A Lucas	5 00
Warren Burton	2 00
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William Southam	10 00
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John Hoodless	5 00
Frank Mackelcan Q C	2 00
John H Land,	10 00
Col John Land	5 00
James Ferres	2 00
S S Ryckman, M P	2 00
F W Gates,	5 00
Major A H Moore	2 00
Hugh C. Baker	5 00
Thomas Beasley (City Clerk)	5 00
A G Ramsay	5 00
John Stuart	[illegible] 00
John A Barr	2 00
Reginald Kennedy	5 00
Sidney George Mills	5 00
R E A Land	5 00

PREFACE.

A RECOGNITION of the neglected state into which much of the historic ground in the Province of Ontario had fallen, led to the inauguration of the Wentworth Historical Society. The strip of land lying between Lakes Erie and Ontario, will ever remain identified with the history of Canada, forming as it does one of the great battle grounds upon which five races have struggled and fought for victory; the Indian, French, British, American, and Canadian.

The War of 1812-14 and the Rebellion of 1837-38 proved crucial tests of the loyalty of the United Empire Loyalists towards the British Government, and it is more particularly to these two epochs in our history that the people of Ontario turn with interest, as to this lovely garden cluster the memories of their most loyal struggles. Brock and the memorable Battle of Queenston Heights will never be forgotten as long as the Niagara River speeds past the monument erected to his memory.

The objects of the Society are clearly laid down in the Constitution, and are, it is assumed, of such an order of thought, that the prosecuting and fulfilling of the same can only tend to the development and stability of a national life, which shall embrace the Canadian half of the continent of North America.

The Wentworth Historical Society felt that this year of centennial celebrations must not pass away without placing upon record by publication, what contemporary and corroborative testimony it had been enabled to gather together during the four years of its existence by tracing the rise and growth of our provincial life. This Society aims at recording history, or current events with fidelity and accuracy, leaving the publication of scientific and polished literature to some of our sister associations. To curtail or make an abstract of some of the papers, would destroy much of their value and lessen what in the future will be looked upon as being amongst our most important contributions.

The Society takes this opportunity of thanking the public generally, the press, and the several sister societies and associations in the Province, for the hearty co-operation extended to it in responding to the requests made in the large number of circulars distributed through the country asking for information regarding the settlement of the country. Biographical sketches of pioneer families and persons holding important positions, or of those who have been associated or identified with any great movements in the religious, political, educational, social or philanthropic development of the country. Any such reports or data will always be gladly received as an important communication and brought before the consideration of the executive council.

The Society hopes that much good has been accomplished by the dissemination of literature in the form of circulars containing copies of the Constitution, list of membership, and drafted questions seeking information as to early settlers, their progress and other matters of historical interest.

The Society further desires to acknowledge the advantage it has gained by affiliation with the Royal Society of Canada.

ORGANIZATION.

On the evening of December 17th 1888, the following gentlemen met in the Hamilton Association Rooms Hamilton, Ont., to discuss the advisability of forming a Historical Society for the County of Wentworth and vicinity viz. Geo H Mills, F W Fearman, Geo. M Barton, J H. Land Richard Bull P M Land, J Moffatt, Geo. H Lees Justus A. Griffin and Capt Wm. Zealand.

The organization was decided upon and on the 8th Jan 1889 the officers were elected, constitution adopted, and the Wentworth Historical Society was fairly launched.

The following is the Constitution.

NAME.

The name of the society shall be THE WENTWORTH HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

OBJECTS.

Its objects shall be,

1.—To prosecute researches into the history and archæology of the province of Ontario, and into the genealogy of the inhabitants thereof.

2.—To publish the results of those researches so far as may be deemed advisable.

3.—To collect and maintain a library of books, pamphlets and manuscripts, more especially such as relate to the history of this province.

4.—To collect and preserve such archæological and other specimens, relics and traditions, as tend to illustrate that history.

5.—To record passing events of importance with accuracy.

6.—To create and perpetuate a closer and more friendly relationship between the early settlers of the country and their descendants.

MEMBERSHIP.

The Society shall consist of active and honorary members.

Active members, residents in the county of Wentworth, or with in ten miles thereof shall pay a subscription fee of one dollar per annum in advance

Honorary members shall be admitted without fee or imposition of any kind

Honorary membership shall be conferred only upon such persons wheresoever resident, as, in the opinion of the Society, may for some special reason be considered entitled to such distinction

Payment by any member of a fee of twenty dollars shall entitle him to life membership, and from the time of such payment he shall be free from all annual and other fees whatsoever

From and after the first day of May next every candidate for admission to membership of the Society shall be proposed and seconded by members at an ordinary or general meeting of the Society, and shall be elected by a two-thirds vote of the members present at such ordinary or general meeting.

All votes for membership shall be by ballot

Every member on being elected shall either personally or through his mover or seconder pay his annual subscription of one dollar previous to his name being entered on the roll of members

Any member who shall refuse or neglect to pay his dues for two years after they have accrued, provided he has been notified of his delinquency by the Secretary, shall be considered as having withdrawn himself from the Society and the Secretary shall erase his name from the list of members

OFFICERS

The officers of the Society shall consist of seventeen persons all of whom shall be active members, viz : A President, three Vice-Presidents, a Secretary Treasurer Corresponding Secretary, and eleven other members. These shall form the Executive Council of the Society and the President Vice-Presidents and Secretary Treasurer shall be *ex-officio* members thereof

The government and exclusive management of the Society's affairs shall be, and hereby is, vested in the said Executive Council five members whereof shall be necessary to form a quorum

The President, Vice-Presidents Secretary Treasurer and eleven Executive Councilors shall in future be elected annually by ballot at an annual meeting to be held at the headquarters of the Society or at such other place as may be agreed upon, at eight o'clock on the evening of the fifth day of June, or the first legal day thereafter, of each succeeding year.

If any member of the Executive Council shall be absent from the meetings for a continuous period of three months, unless by reason of illness, absence from the province, or other just cause, his office may be declared vacant by the Society and a successor elected in his stead.

In case of demission of office by any Executive Councilor, whether by death, resignation or otherwise, the vacancy thereby created shall be filled at the next regular meeting of the Society, by the election of another member in his place, and the person so elected shall hold office for the unexpired term of the person vacating the same.

The President, or in case of his absence one of the Vice-Presidents, or in case of their absence a chairman *pro tem*, shall preside at all meetings of the Society, and shall have a casting vote. He shall be entitled to decide all questions of order, and his decision shall be subject to an appeal to the Executive Council, whose decision shall be final and conclusive.

The Secretary-Treasurer shall keep the minutes and records of the Society and give due notice of its meetings. For the time being and until the appointment of a special officer for that purpose shall become necessary, he shall also act as Librarian. He shall receive all monies of the Society, and disburse the same subject to the order of the Executive Council. He shall furthermore keep an account of the receipts and expenditure and submit the same to the Society at its annual meeting, or whenever required to do so.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Society shall hold ordinary meetings for the despatch of business on the first Tuesday in every month, at the hour of eight p. m., when the presence of seven members shall be necessary to form a quorum.

A special meeting of the Society may be called by the President or either of the Vice-Presidents upon a requisition, signed by at least five members, which meeting shall be competent to enter upon only the business for which it was specially called.

The Society shall, at any of its ordinary meetings, have power to amend its Constitution and make or alter a By-Law if moved and seconded and adopted by a two-thirds vote of those present provided three months notice of such proposed change had been given at a former ordinary meeting

The Executive Council shall have power to appoint an Advisory Board consisting of two members of the Society from each township in the county who shall advise with the Executive on all matters referred to them occuring in their respective townships.

BY LAWS

1.—The President shall be *ex officio* chairman of all meetings, ordinary or special, where he shall be present.

2.—In case of the absence of the President, the Vice Presidents shall preside, taking rank by seniority

3.—Should neither President nor Vice President be present at any meeting, ordinary or extraordinary the members present may elect a member to preside, who for the time being shall be clothed with the powers of the President.

4.—In case of two members rising to address the meeting at the same time, the presiding officer shall decide who shall take precedence

5.—Any member addressing the meeting shall do so through the chairman or presiding officer

6.—At all meetings the Chair is to be taken punctually at the hour appointed; and in case thirty minutes shall elapse without a quorum, the meeting will stand adjourned until such time as the members present shall name and appoint

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

The order of business at the meetings of the Society shall be as follows

1.—Calling to order
2.—Reading and confirming minutes.
3.—Reading and referring correspondence, applications, etc.
4.—Nomination and election of members.
5.—Introduction of new members
6.—Reports of committees
7.—Inquiries and notices of motion
8.—Unfinished and miscellaneous business
9.—Adjournment.

OFFICE-BEARERS.

	PRESIDENT	1st VICE PRES	2nd VICE-PRES.	3rd VICE-PRES.	SECRETARY TREAS
1889	Geo. H Mills.	Hon A. McKellar	J E. O'Reilly		J H Land
1890	Geo H Mills.	Hon. A. McKellar	F W Fearman	Mrs. Isaac Buchanan	J H Land
1891	Geo H Mills.	Hon. A McKellar	F W Fearman	Mrs J Rose Holden	J H Land
1892	Geo. H. Mills	Hon A McKellar	F W Fearman	Mrs J Rose Holden	J H Land

HONORARY COUNCIL.—Hon. G W Allen Pres. Historical Society of Ontario; Rev H Scadding D D, Pres York Pioneers; Rev Canon Bull M A, Pres Lundy's Lane Historical Society; The Presidents of the Pioneer and Historical Societies of Lethbridge and McLeod; Miles O'Reilly Q C; Very Rev J Gamble Geddes D D, Dean of Niagara; Robert Jarvis Hamilton; Col. John Land; Peter S. VanWagner and Mrs John Rose Holden

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, 1892.—Geo H Mills president, Hon. Arch McKellar, F W Fearman Mrs. J Rose Holden Hon D McInnes F M Carpenter M P, J Alexander H C Baker, John Muir, Judge C C J W Jones *T H Stinson, Richard Bull Alex. McKay M P, Hon J M Gibson John A Barr J H Land, secretary Justus Griffin, corresponding secretary

*Since deceased.

OUTING AT STONY CREEK

The outing of the Society was held on the Stony Creek battle ground the 5th of June, 1889, to commemorate the 76th anniversary of that memorable battle, when quite one thousand ladies and gentlemen were present to greet them.

The gathering represented all parts of the county of Wentworth and some of the adjoining counties as well. Among those present were: Mr. Geo. H. Mills, President of the Society; Hon. Archibald McKellar, First Vice-President; Mr. J. H. Land, Secretary and Treasurer, and Messrs. Lyman Moore, H. C. Baker, F. W. Fearman, J. W. Jones, Richard Bull and Ald. T. H. Stinson, members of the Executive Council; also Hon. J. M. Gibson, Provincial Secretary, and Messrs. Peter Filman, Peter S. Van Wagner, James Somerville, M. P., A. D. Lee, W. S. Burkholder, H. B. Witton, George Roach, James A. Weir, Jacob Burkholder, Crawford Cowan, John Carscallen, John Van Wagner, William Nash, N. F. Birely, J. N. Waddell, Robert Evans, M. Murphy, William Jones, C. D. Blachford, James Laidlaw, John Combs, Alva Jones, Alva G. Jones, J. B. Laidlaw, Justus Griffin, F. MacKelcan, Q. C., John Davis, Major Glasgow, George M. Barton, F. C. Fearman, George Holden, Henry Lutz, P. J. Culhane, Chas. Weaver, Murray Pettit, Erland Lee, A. Lee, A. D. Cameron, John Alexander, Charles Lemon, Jonathan Pottruff, Henry Felker, William Jones, John Gullen, Mark Barker, W. A. Howell, Isaac Corman, John W. Vandosen, William A. Lottridge, F. C. Van Wagner, E. Hopkins, Thomas Jones, R. R. Smith, Clerk of the Township of Saltfleet, Dr. Malloch, Dr. Borgess, W. K. Secord, W. H. Marshall, J. D. Lutz, Hiram Smith, Henry Spera, Marshall Hopkins, Levi Neil, Wm. Harris, Samuel Patterson, J. B. Smith, J. B. Springstead, J. C. Moore, James Springstead, Wm. E. Orr, J. B. Walker, S. Dean, Jasper Springstead, W. H. Wodehouse, Wm. Fortman, Henry Fortman, Capt. W. Lee, George Stewart, Thomas Stewart, P. Utter, Wm. Williams, James Granger, Elias Pettit, Henry Flewelling, George Corman, W. H. Corman, Abram Corman, Geo. Williams, Thomas Murphy H A. Coombs, Dr Carr Archibald Spera, Wm Spera, Rufus Glover Charles Marshall, John Springstead John Hopkins Nelson St. John J W Green, John McNulty John Glover W Hurd, A Condy John Anderson Samuel Bewell, Thomas Carpenter Arthur G Bales, Walter Ghent Wm S Spera John Spera, jr E D Smith R Squire, W A. Davis, Thomas Snider, Richard Lacey S Gage John Webb, John Gage W H. Spera, Luther D Crosthwaite Tenis Corman A. C Springstead James Wallace Wesley Peterson George S. Fisher H E Nelles A S Nelles, Dr A C Jones, Geo H Lees F Kidner, A. T Freed, and others The County Council attended in a body there being present Mr J W Gage Warden and the following councillors viz Messrs Geo F Lewis, R L. Biggs M S. Wilson J E. Calder, A R Wardell T A. Walker Wm Clark John Dickenson W. D Waite, T B Townsend Robert Ferguson, W G Fletcher W B Switzer Joseph Snasdell J W Flewelling Geo Hart, John Nicholson, Dr McGregor T S Henderson and B Leeming. Mr Thomas Stock ex Warden of the County Dr Russell, of the Asylum County Treasurer Stock Mr R R Waddell and Caretaker Plastow accompanied the County Council. The Saltfleet Township Council also attended in a body and the City Council was represented by Ald Morgan and Ald. Stinson

There were also those present who remembered the battle though in 1813 they were too young to know much about it One of the oldest was J H. Burkholder He was eleven years old at the time and was born within three miles of Hamilton Ever since 1812 he has lived in the vicinity Mr John Davis was also one of the oldest present He was born about seven miles east of the battlefield in 1803 and has spent the whole of his life, almost, in the vicinity Perhaps the oldest gentleman present was Mr William Macklem who is as old as this century if not a little older and whose recollection of the battle is to a certain extent remembrances of what came under his own observation when a boy Mrs. Birely is believed to be the only living person who was on the battlefield at the time of the great struggle.

The President of the Association, Mr Geo. H Mills, in his opening address, cordially welcomed those present, and said he regarded the large assemblage though the weather was not very auspicious, as a flattering indication that the objects of the Society received the hearty endorsement of the public. He lucidly described the objects of the Association, that the chief of these was the collection and preservation of materials for a truthful record of the historical events of this part of the country, to collect traditions that would prove valuable to future historians, to record with accuracy passing events, and thus aid in welding together a patriotic and distinctively Canadian national sentiment, that will enable us to hand down to our children unimpaired this grand inheritance, our country and our laws, as we received them from our forefathers who preserved them with heroic valor against great odds, when they were of immeasurably less value than they are now. Continuing he said that the influence of Societies like this would go far towards strengthening a determination to maintain, continue and even enlarge our affectionate relationship with the Mother Land, and this, is the only true course to be adopted if we desire fulfilment of our aspirations, that Canada shall ultimately become a nation among nations, and if in the future the developments which time produces may render separation necessary in order that Canada may take an independent place among the ruling powers of the earth, that separation will be sanctioned, but the ties of affection existing between this and our parent land will never be severed, and the new nation will carry with it in its constitution, the prestige of England's glory, and the abiding principles of Canadian liberty. He called upon the Hon. J. M. Gibson to address the audience.

The Hon. J. M. Gibson, when moving the first resolution, in a brilliant and exhaustive speech, recounted the history of the battle and clearly set forth the causes which led up to the war of 1812 and '13. He said: "I am sure we are all very much indebted to the Wentworth Historical Society if for nothing else, at all events, for the opportunity they have to-day given us of assembling here and commemorating the anniversary of that well known historical event—the battle of Stony Creek. I have often wondered that steps were not taken of a systematic description, to do something in the way of commemorating and rendering permanent the appreciation by the people, of the valor of our ancestors, who took part on that memorable occasion. I am not here by any means to-day in the character of an orator but I have been requested to move a resolution, and I do so with a great deal of pleasure

Around me on the platform and on the grounds are men well up in years, men from 50 to 100 years of age some of whom, perhaps, were either present on that occasion or at all events were so familiarly interested in the events in their childhood as to take a peculiar interest in the proceedings of to-day Not only the elderly gentlemen, but the women of the district their daughters and granddaughters are present, signifying their interest in what is now going on. It has been to me, sir a matter of great interest since I came upon the ground to be able to shake hands with an elderly lady whose husband was present and took part in that memorable fight the battle of Stony Creek. He referred to the battle of Lundy's Lane one of the most pluckily fought engagements which ever took place in any country and also one of the most sanguinary as the records prove. Are we, the Canadians of to-day he asked, ready to follow the examples of our forefathers in standing up for our country and in being prepared to shed our last drop of blood in defence of her interests? I sympathize with the remarks of the President. I am true to British connection and feel that it is entirely unnecessary for any one to stand on this platform and preach loyalty to the Mother Country because if ever a loyal band of people were gathered together they are before me now" Proceeding, he said, we are proud of the great empire of which we form a part, and while our sympathies will always be found in touch with the Motherland, it is right for us to have aspirations. Let us be proud of our country and endeavor to make it what it is destined to become—a great country—and in the same proportion as we show a resolution to depend upon ourselves, will our Mother Country respect us, and do for us all we can ask, or expect to be done by our parent.

In seconding the resolution Mr F W Fearman said Mr Chairman ladies and gentlemen—I recognize and acknowledge the honor I partake of in being permitted to second this resolution. I also recognize in the language of the resolution the fact that we to-day stand on almost sacred ground that we have assembled here to day over the ashes of the heroes who 76 years ago took their lives in their hands, and many of them gave them for their homes, families, King, constitution and country, and they are in every sense entitled to our remembrance gratitude and what honor we can bestow upon their memories, If we can bestow on them a greater than to proclaim that they died for their country. We do not assemble here to-day to erect a Vendome obelisk, to commemorate the ravages of an ambitious imperial tyrant, or an arch to perpetuate the robberies and rapine of a Roman scourge but to endeavor to preserve the memories of the brave men who laid down their lives on the never to be forgotten soil on which we now stand and to celebrate a victory which has proven most important to us Canadians who have succeeded them; a victory which will not be erased from history in all time; a victory that has very few equals; a victory that has secured the home, the family and the country to the British-Canadian people we trust for all time to come; a victory that we now assemble to honor and commemorate, and to be ever after held fresh in the love and memory of Canadian people. We must acknowledge the neglect of years past and regret that suitable care and attention have not been given to the memory of the brave and fallen heroes, and I trust now, that a suitable memento will be placed over their remains and that at last we fulfil our duty. I know sir that old men live in the past and young men in the future and I cannot refrain from drawing a picture of our country seventy six years ago and comparing it with the nation of to-day. The night that these brave men, led by Vincent and Hervey, left the entrenchments on Burlington Heights (now Hamilton Cemetery), with arms unloaded, poorly fed, worse paid, half clothed, in the darkness of midnight, over a forest covered track—not one third the number of the well-equipped foe who held possession of all the country east of this to the Niagara River, who held possession of the strong points of this field, who had penetrated almost to what are now the suburbs of the city of Hamilton, and that our matchless little army, with all its disadvantages, should succeed in defeating and destroying the enemy and in a very short time driving them from the face of Canadian soil. It is such recollections as these that lead us to value the memories of these men, and that inspire us to do them honor; and while we look at the possessions, the comfort, prosperity and happiness insured to us by their heroic achievements, by their sacrifices, trials and death, we cannot but feel grateful as a people for all the blessings that Divine Providence has conferred upon us. When we look at this Canada of ours, its wonderful advance among the nations of the world, its increase in wealth, commerce, and comfort, the educational advantages and religious tendencies of the people, the great and rapid means of transit, the vast extent of territory claimed by the agriculturist from the prairie and forest, we can but wonder and marvel that all this has been done in so short a time. But so it is and so may it long continue! The resolution refers to the moral and material support received in the past from the Mother Country. We acknowledge it most gratefully and also acknowledge its influence on us and on our country, and may the day be far distant when that influence will cease. While we here to-day celebrate the great event that saved this country from the grasp of an invading foe, let us not forget their dead. They lie here in the same graves. They sleep their last sleep side by side with the defenders of our country, and let us as Canadians, whether native born or adopted, remember that they were under orders and led as they supposed by duty to their sad end. May this, for all the future, be the last record of strife between us and our neighbors to the south. Let concord, peace, and progress forever reign, and the only contest be which can do the most for the happiness, cordiality and advancement of each other, and thereby benefit ourselves individually and humanity as a whole. Let our motto be "Peace on earth, good will toward men," and with the poet we will say

Cover them over with beautiful flowers,
Deck them with garlands, those brothers of ours,
Lying so silent, by night and by day,
Sleeping the years of their manhood away,
Years they had marked for the joys of the brave,
Years they must waste in the moldering grave.
All the bright laurels that waited to bloom
Fell from their hopes when they fell to the tomb.
Give them the meed they have won in the past,
Give them the honors the future forecast,
Give them the chaplets they won in the strife,
Give them the laurels they lost with their life.
Cover them over, yes, cover them over,
Parent and husband, brother and lover,
Crown in your heart these dead heroes of ours,
And cover them over with beautiful flowers.

The motion was put and declared carried unanimously.

Mr A. T. Freed was then called upon. He said: Permit me to say that I am very much pleased with the honor done me in being allowed to make a resolution. We in Canada have a history. We can look around us and say, on these fields our fathers fought and have handed down to us great blessings. Let us prove that we are worthy sons of worthy sires. I feel we will not be faithful sons of worthy sires if we do not place upon the battle-field of Stony Creek something to mark and tell of the bravery of our fathers.

Mr. Peter S. VanWagner, a veteran, in seconding the resolution, said: The ground has been gone over so well that there is little for me to relate, yet I may allude to a few of the details which I learned when at school on the scene of the battle when I was a boy only twelve years after the battle, when I and others used to pick up the bullets, bent bayonets and swords, and old rusty musket barrels about the battle field. At the time of the battle all the courage was not on our side. Oh no! Our big brother to the south was brave, too, and thought he would lick his little brother, but little Johnny Canuck was stubborn and wouldn't have it. It has often been wondered how the Americans came to be surprised. How did the British get the countersign? Why, it was like this. Mr. Peter Corman was taken prisoner by the Americans for not telling where the British were camped. He taffied up the soldiers who had him in charge, and they let him go, giving him the countersign to enable him to get home. He gave the countersign to William Green, a scout, who took it to the British. A council of war was held and a surprise arranged. As you know, it was successfully carried out, and the seven hundred British and Canadians routed the three thousand or three thousand five hundred Americans. We have just as good Canadian boys now as they had then, and should occasion ever offer I am sure they will prove themselves to be so. You will naturally ask, What signs remain of this important event to arrest the eye, to awaken the memory, to honor the dead, to arouse a country's gratitude, to stimulate our patriotism? Nought but those apple trees on the hill which seem to stand sentry over what was once a long trench, in which forty friend and foe lie sleeping and waiting the last bugle call. To this date those apple trees, nourished by the mouldering bones of those who lie beneath the sod, are the only monument. For ourselves we have carved not a line, we have raised not a stone, but we have left them alone in their glory. The band should play "My Cottage by the Wood," for to this tune the brave boys marched away, and we should see to it that the spot where the battle was fought and won should be properly marked.

Major Glasgow was then called upon and read the following poem written for the occasion by himself

STONY CREEK JUNE 5TH 1813 AND 1899

The sun had set on yonder height
That heads Ontario's restless might
The darkness of the summer night
Enshrouded the display
Where Britons brave, in one appeal
With hearts as trusty as their steel
Longed for the deadly fray

Young Harvey's hand had grasped his sword—
The fear of death all there ignored
Each hero heard the welcome word
Proud Vincent uttered low
The signal heard in British style
Had moved each sturdy rank and file
To seek the daring foe.

No ringing cheers in warlike mood
Awoke the inmates of the wood—
A silence that was understood
Pervaded every man
The muffled guns no warning gave
To foemen that the gallant brave
Toiled at his secret plan

The little host with pluck for mail
In haste marched down the gloomy trail—
With vanguard ready to assail
The foeman's camp in view
Then shot and shell and bayonet keen
Wrought havoc in the midnight scene
Where Stony Creek runs through.

Our gallant sires with blood so warm
Gave little time for foes to form—
The iron hail a northern storm
Sent many down to death
And few there were who safely won
Their liberty to homeward run
From Britons in their wrath.

Thus Britons in their sternest might,
Will ever battle for the right
Humanity would feel the plight
If fortune here should fail
For liberty is still their word
Engraved on every foeman's sword,
Whoever may assail

Oft has the seasons ceaseless run
Enlivened June's sweet summer sun
Since this famed field was fairly won
By Harvey's little band.
Yet many now are here to-day
Who in their hearts will fondly say
This is our own loved land.

In moving the third resolution Judge Jones said I am thankful to you Mr President, to give me the opportunity to speak here and to see so many old friends of my former Stony Creek home. My earliest recollections are of my father telling me of Queenstown Heights and the battle of Stony Creek the battle field being yet the property of my wife and highly prized on account of its history Let us honor our forefathers for what they have done, and let us follow in their royal example

In seconding the motion Sheriff McKellar said he was pleased to be present. He congratulated the society upon its successful organization and alluded to the men of the past who had made Canada what it is. It was to commemorate the deeds of the Canadian pioneers that the society was organized.

The resolutions following were then unanimously carried

Resolved, That we regard with thankfulness the contentment, comfort and self-reliance of the people of this Dominion, which the freedom of our institutions and the bravery of our ancestors under Divine Providence have conferred upon us, and we gratefully acknowledge the moral and material support which in the past our Mother Country has ever willingly granted and secured to us in a great measure as the result of the glorious victory the anniversary of which we now celebrate

Resolved, That the Dominion Government be respectfully requested to grant a reasonable sum of money in aid of the erection of suitable monuments on the battle ground of Stony Creek and on Burlington Heights in commeration of the heroic bravery and self sacrifice of the defenders of our country and in grateful appreciation of the important results which the victory attending that battle has secured to us.

Resolved, That this meeting urge the importance of forming Pioneer and Historical Societies throughout the Dominion as a valuable and influential agency for the collection and preservation of the necessary materials for reliable histories of our country and as an indication of the loyalty of the Canadian people to their country and their attachment to British laws and institutions

THE BATTLE OF STONY CREEK

Paper read before the Wentworth Historical Society, Thursday, March 21st, 1889

BY J H LAND

As I had never read any detailed account of this most important, in its results, of all the battles of the War of 1812, and having heard my father and grandfather repeatedly describe to me its incidents and actors, I thought that it might be interesting to this Society if I put these "Traditions of the elders" into writing in the hope that they may be found worthy of preservation in its archives.

Since I commenced writing it I have been fortunate enough to find an official account of this battle in a copy of the *Anglo-American Magazine*, published in 1853, and kindly loaned me by Mr J. Y. Burkholder, and must thank Dr Gaviller for a clipping from the *Empire*, giving Mr C. Durand's account of the battle. From these and the traditions alluded to above, I have enlisted the following account.

The fourth day of June, 1813, was a day long to be remembered by the handful of harrassed settlers at the head of the Lake, and the few but dauntless troops in what they thought to be their last camp on Burlington Heights. The war cloud that had been hovering over our country since June 18th, 1812, when the great United States of America declared war against Great Britain to avenge the insult offered to their new formed flag by that "tottering and effete" nation, hovering so close sometimes, that the muttering and echoes of its dreadful thunder reached the ears of the anxious wives, mothers and aged fathers of our brave men, had now settled heavily over the Gore District.

The enemy, commanded by Com. Chauncey and Gen. Dearborn, had made a descent upon York (Toronto), had bombarded and driven out its little garrison, who made their way towards Kingston, then crossed the Lake and attacked Fort George, and with the assistance of Fort Niagara, had compelled its garrison to abandon it after a most gallant defence and retreat to Burlington Heights uniting on the march with the garrisons of Fort Erie and Chippawa a total force according to the *Anglo-American* of some sixteen hundred men I have been able to find no official report of these troops but in the account of the action at Fort George I find mentioned the Forty-ninth Regiment and detachments of the Eighth and Forty-first Glengarrys and a Newfoundland corps. Eight companies of the Forty-ninth five companies of the Eighth, three companies of the Glengarrys two of the Newfoundland Regiment and the artillery were stationed at Fort George with three hundred militia and about fifty Indians, in all about one thousand men. Three hundred and fifty-eight of these are reported killed wounded or missing after the battle at the Fort and it is probable that the detachments joining General Vincent from Forts Erie and Chippawa did not much more than cover this loss, and we may safely suppose that the force at the Heights consisted of the above named corps, or rather the remnants of them, and take the estimate given, 1600, as the total effective force to meet the victorious enemy then within seven miles of them

The American forces consisted of two brigades—one under General Winder composed of the fifth, thirteenth and fourteenth regiments of infantry, the other under General Chandler of the sixteenth twenty-second and twenty-third regiments—containing some 1,450 men each together with 400 artillery and 250 cavalry in all 3,550 men With such odds against them it is little wonder that the determination was reached to destroy all the stores that could not be removed, evacuate the Heights and try to escape to Kingston, leaving the whole western country in the enemy's hands. So scarce was powder in that camp that though it was the King's birthday they dare not waste the small quantity required to fire the usual salute in his honor

Preparations were made both for a final struggle, should they be forced to it, and the inevitable surrender of this "last post" of the "Men of Gore."

During the day a runner brought news of the leisurely approach of the enemy and a detachment of the Forty-ninth Royal Irish under command of Lieut Crowther was sent to reconnoitre and if possible, check the advance With grim looks and determined tread the heroes left the Heights, crossed the prairie like plain now covered by our Ambitious City—on which all the fences had been levelled in anticipation of the morrow's fight—down through the deserted farms, whose owners were in the patriot ranks and their wives and little ones in the fort at the Heights—on, within hail of the spot where the jewels of old Barton Lodge lay buried, along the ridge road keeping a sharp look-out for the enemy, through the woods where Bartonville now nestles at the foot of the cliff, as far as the "Red Hill." At this point a scout brought word that the Yankees were just on the other side of the "Big Creek," and a bright idea struck the Lieutenant—he would ambush and capture the whole Yankee army. Concealing his men in the brush he gave strict orders that not a man must move until he gave the word. Lying in the brush on that sunny hillside they soon heard sounds of the coming foe, and with every nerve strained to the utmost they waited. Soon the glitter of bayonets showed through the brush, then an occasional glimpse of a cockaded hat, then round the bend of the hill on the opposite side of the creek came sweeping the veterans of the advanced guard. No sooner had they come into full view than one of our men, with true Irish impetuosity, blazed away at them, utterly forgetful of his officers' orders. The enemy halted, when a volley from the whole detachment was poured into their ranks. That hint was enough and they broke for shelter, our men getting in another volley to hurry them up—and it succeeded. But the Lieutenant's plan was spoiled, and his rage knew no bounds. He is said to have belabored that unfortunate soldier all the way home and declared he should be hung, drawn and quartered for mutiny. Having ascertained that the enemy was in retreat, and that the main body was preparing to camp at Stony Creek, he returned to the Heights and reported to Gen. Vincent. Knowing the importance of having full and reliable information as to their number and position, Lieut. James Fitzgibbons, of the Forty-ninth, volunteered to visit the enemy's camp, and, disguising himself as a settler, he took a basket of butter and marched boldly into the Yankee lines, went freely about, noted their disposition of troops and guards, and the evident carelessness and lack of discipline among them, sold his butter (and the Yankees), and came away satisfied. He reported them encamped on Mr. James Gage's farm, on the easterly bank of a rivulet just west of the Stony Creek, which ran through a shallow valley some 200 yards wide with steep banks 12 or 15 feet high, their guns planted on the edge of the bank as on a parapet overlooking the flat; the infantry were encamped behind them in an orchard on the north, and in the fields to the south of the road, while Generals Winder and Chandler and their staff had possession of Mr. Gage's house as their headquarters. The luckless advanced guard was posted in the meeting house on the west side of the flat, about a quarter of a mile from the camp.

In the meantime a sail was seen on the lake making towards the beach; ran close in, and a runner brought word that she had landed fully 1000 men to re-inforce the Yankee army at the Creek. Then preparations for destroying everything in the Camp that could not be removed were pushed vigorously on, for should these forces effect a junction any attempt to force a battle would be sheer madness for lack of ammunition, ninety rounds per man being all they had. On receipt of Lieut. Fitzgibbons' report, an anxious council of war was held, and Col. Harvey proposed a night attack as the only plan promising the least chance of inflicting injury on the enemy, and with the forlorn hope that it might at least delay their attack on the Heights. This desperate chance was at last decided on, and the command given to Col. Harvey. The troops engaged in this action as officially reported consisted of five companies of the eighth, under Major Ogilvie and five companies of the forty-ninth under Major Plenderleath. No mention is made of any of the other corps that must have been in camp, or of the militia, yet there is undoubted proof that a considerable number of the latter were engaged. The force numbered seven hundred and four rank and file and having assured himself that every musket was empty, and every flint removed (he did not propose to risk a recurrence of the Red Hill mishap) this plucky commander gave the order to march, and in grim silence in the first hours of that fateful sixth of June, 1813, this handful of desperate men started on as hazardous a mission as ever Briton sought, to meet at the bayonet's point over three thousand well armed and equipped enemies. For two or three long hours the comrades, wives, mothers and children of these devoted men waited feverishly, breathlessly for some sign of the fray. Just before dawn there came to their straining ears the sound of firing, scattered at first, then in heavy volleys, then the boom of cannon, then it all died away and they knew that either victory or death had fallen on their comrades and loved ones. Who can paint the surprise that followed? As day broke and the sun rose they saw the Yankee vessel sailing away and a messenger came spurring and shouting "victory." When the column had reached the scene of Lieut. Crowther's ambuscade Col. Harvey halted it, and called Col. (then Lieut.) Robert Land, of the 3rd Gore Militia, to him, asked him if he could place himself with a detachment where he could check the advance of the Brigade camped on the Beach should they try either to effect a junction with the main body or get in his rear. "I can, Colonel," was the ready reply. "Then take three men with you and that will be your duty to-night," was the order. Captain Elijah Secord and John Applegarth were assigned a similar duty on the brow of the mountain. Lieut. Land chose his position not far from where the extension of Barton Street strikes the Stony Creek road from the Beach, and spent the hours in watching the enemy, until sound of the firing telling of the attack begun, aroused them. As the sounds of battle increased the Americans seemed to become panic stricken and instead of marching on to join in the fray they hurried on board their vessel, and sailed away without the least attempt to learn what had happened. Having taken these precautions, Col. Harvey and his handful of heroes, pushed on, and as the first tinges of the coming day tinted the east came on the sentry posted at the church. His call of "Who goes there?" was answered "Friend!" by the Colonel, who at the same time spurred forward and clove him to the chin with his sabre. This incident is related differently by a "forty-ninth man" in the *Anglo-American Magazine*. He states that the first sentry was *bayonetted* by the leading section of the forty-ninth under Lieut. Danford, the second sentry served in the same summary fashion, whose groans alarmed the third sentry, who fired at them and fled. They then rushed on the sleeping guard, a few of whom escaped, firing as they ran, some were bayonetted, the rest captured.

Mr. C. Durand in his account of it also states that the sentry was bayonetted and that the guard fired at our men, thus alarming the camp.

My information is from Col. Harvey's own account of it to my grandfather corroborated by Dr. W[illegible]der who was at his bridle when it was done, and both agree in saying that there was but one sentry, and that the guard was captured without firing a shot or giving the least alarm.

Leaving the panic stricken guard behind them the column marched on unnoticed by the few of the enemy who were beginning to move about fixing their camp-fires, deployed into line in the flat and sprang up the short steep bank of the little valley between the muzzles of the guns, among their sleeping foes whose first hint of the proximity of an enemy was the bayonet thrust that took their lives. "Oh!" said one of ours, "I tell you it was terrible work that, to march right up in front of those cannon, not knowing what instant they might belch forth flame and death right between them and to stick my bayonet into the sleeping gunners." The alarm was of course given, and a scene of the wildest confusion ensued, our troops pushed on over the camp fires and were halted at a rail fence to fix their flints and load. By this time some of the enemy had been got into order and opened fire on our men with fatal effect as they stood in front of the fires, and were fair marks and but for the fence the casualties would have been much heavier. A few moments sufficed to fix the flints and soon a volley from our troops increased the panic, it was followed by a charge with the bayonet on those making a stand; they broke and fled, other corps of the enemy in succession were formed and were broken by bayonet charges until all were scattered, some flying along the road towards Fort George, some towards the Lake, and some up on the foot hills of the Mountain. Whole regiments got away there, and after our troops had withdrawn they came to the camp, destroyed what they could not carry off, left their dead and some of the wounded on the field, and retreated, a disorganized mob, towards the river. It is said that the road was littered with arms, knapsacks and accoutrements, thrown away in the flight. The cannon were used during the fight, as the old church had a number of shot holes in it, showing that in the confusion the guns had been fired just where they stood; later however they were turned on the enemy and helped to complete his rout. The officers' baggage and army chest were captured in Mr Gage's, and after spiking the guns he could not bring away, Col Harvey withdrew his little band towards the Heights with three guns and one brass howitzer, both the generals Winder and Chandler, and over one hundred prisoners of war, not deeming it wise to remain in an exposed position with so small a force.

Our loss was twenty three killed, one hundred and thirty-six wounded and fifty five missing. The enemy's loss was much more severe. Chandler in his dispatch puts it at one hundred and sixteen, but our tradition has it that more Yankees were buried by our troops than we lost altogether in killed, wounded and missing. In the little church yard lie buried friend and foe, and there are few marks left by which to distinguish their graves. All are neglected and uncared for, and it should be one of the first duties of this Society to rescue the names of these heroes from oblivion, and see that their graves are guarded against desecration.

This battle was a turning point in the war, for except Proctor's defeat in the west, our armies were generally victorious, till the war closed with Fort Niagara, Buffalo and the east bank of the river in our possession.

The church alluded to has long since disappeared, and perhaps as suitable a monument as could be built would be a more substantial edifice on its historic site.

FIFTY-SEVEN YEARS' EXPERIENCE OF CANADIAN LIFE.

A Paper read before the Wentworth Historical Society

BY JOHN GLASGOW

WE left Scotland in the month of May, in the year 1832, and reached Quebec after an Atlantic passage of seven weeks and three days, and, after viewing the city and its bomb-proof stronghold, we took steamer for Montreal. On our arrival there, we disembarked and spent a portion of a day looking over the then small city and in getting provisions to carry us up the river. It was then that our troubles as immigrants commenced. The cholera had broken out in Europe ere we left, and, having made its baneful appearance on this side of the water, had reached Montreal in our advance, in its most malignant form. The people were alarmed, and rightly afraid of each and every one who had left the motherland to better his condition in this new, wild and uncultivated home. It was no unusual thing to see a corpse nailed up in a rough box and left in an open shed or outhouse until the authorities had it carted away like so much old lumber. We were put on board of a barge, or Durham boat, as they were called—open vessels, without decks, and with a footway on each side of about a foot wide for the sailors to walk on while they used their pike-poles to propel the boat, when it was not towed by oxen or horses—so that, in the very nature of things, our progress westward was slow and tedious, as at night no advance whatever was thought of. During the day, the passengers would stroll leisurely along the shore, and were very often ahead of the boat, anxiously awaiting its arrival past some dangerous point in the turbulent stream. When the boats were tied up for the night, our bedding was taken out and spread on some green spot, so that we could retire and sleep while the dews of Heaven watered the face of the sun-burned immigrant while he reposed under the unclouded and star-lit canopy. It may seem strange to those who never passed through the ordeal of navigating the St. Lawrence at that critical time, when I repeat the fact that water for culinary purposes was difficult to obtain. We were warned against using the river water, and the wells, with their old fashioned swing hoists, were invariably chained down so that the immigrants, with their cholera-poisoned garments and surroundings, would be prevented thereby from congregating in the neighborhood of private dwellings. Under the circumstances we could scarcely blame them for their apparent inhumanity, the harvest of death by the dread monster being so appalling that only we, who could not flee from its presence, would remain in the proximity of the departed, as those who died on the boats were allowed to remain there for hours until some convenient place was reached for landing. Where the water would permit, a dozen or more of the Durham boats were taken in tow by a steamer till another dangerous point was reached. Thus we toiled on day after day, and finally getting aboard of a steamer at Prescott we reached Hamilton, having spent three weeks and one day on the way from Quebec.

On our way through the old canal at the beach the first object sighted was the glittering tin spire of the old court house. All eyes were eagerly turned in the direction of the hamlet which was to be our new home. Many questions were asked by the much interested immigrants about the population of the town and surrounding country, the fertility of the soil, and a hundred other things of which they were anxious to learn. On our arrival at the wharf at the foot of James street, we had our baggage put on the platform adjoining the storehouse, owned at that time by Mr. D. C. Gunn. As it was near sundown it was thought best not to go in search of a house at that hour, and as usual we had another night in the open air. Our beds were made on the wharf and we passed the midnight watches gazing at the stars, or dozing off to sleep as best we could. I might here state that there were four families of us who came as far as Hamilton, one by the name of Lees, related to Wm. Lees, baker, and Thos. Lees, watchmaker, who reside in this city at the present time. The Lees family went direct to the township of Dumfries. The remaining three families located in Hamilton for a time, and were composed of Mr. and Mrs. Little, their three sons, and three daughters and daughter-in-law. George and Andrew Hall, two brothers, composed family No. 2. Our family consisted of father, mother, one brother and sister, and the writer of this narrative. When the sun of the following morning had raised his head above the eastern horizon and thrown his beams athwart the placid waters of Ontario, we were up and ready to greet his cheery face. Breakfast, not the most appetizing you may be sure, was soon gotten ready and discussed, when all were ready to proceed up James street to King to get a view of the little town, for it should be remembered that between King street and the bay only one house graced the rugged sides of James street at that time, it being the residence of Judge Taylor. As we wended our way over the mud road as far as what is now called Macaulay street, we found ourselves to be in the woods and on a dilapidated corduroy road with a moderately steep bank at the southern terminus of the wooden macadam. With a little care we drove over dry shod, there being much hearty laughter over this new idea in road making. When we had reached the locality of what is now termed Stuart street our ears were not pierced by the shrill neigh of the iron horse, for that noble animal was an entire stranger and never seen in Canada at that time. Both sides of the street at this point were partially cleared and under crop, being protected by the zig zag rail fence so common and useful in a new country like this. A little farther on, and just about opposite where Christ Church Cathedral now stands, we passed the solitary house before referred to, which is still standing on the west side of James street north, as a memento of old times. On enquiry it was found impossible to procure a dwelling house on account of not having passed through the cholera district. The immigrant shed, in the north-eastern part of the town, seemed too filthy to enter. By the time that we reached the wharf on our return Bella Little had been seized by the cholera and died. The solemn but small funeral procession left the wharf about four o'clock in the afternoon, and the corpse was laid in mother earth at the Methodist church erected in 1824, on the corner of King and Wellington streets, the only public burying ground in the town at that time. On our return to our headquarters at the wharf Mr. Gunn and his clerk, Mr. Vallance, took pity on us and kindly had us placed in the storehouse, under cover. Mr. George Little, who had just married his young wife before leaving Scotland, and who seemed to be in perfect health when he returned from the mournful rite performed to the remains of his deceased sister, was taken sick at ten o'clock that night and died at two o'clock next morning. The townspeople, though very kind, became alarmed and were fully aware of the danger of coming in contact with us. Mr George Hamilton—for whose sympathy on that occasion I will ever remain a debtor to his family—most kindly and thoughtfully suggested that we should build a shanty at the edge of the woods about 150 yards south of the court house, the woods at that time reaching from the Mountain fully as far north as what is now Hunter street. We took advantage of the offer, and the remaining members of the families moved into their new abode, where old Mr Little died a short time after, but not of the cholera. We lived there until the cold weather set in in October, when we moved into a house on King street, about where Wood & Leggat's hardware house is established, and the other families lived on the opposite side of the street. Very few houses were erected on King street at that time. John street, from King, as far up as Hunter, was the principal part of the town. Mr John Bradley was doing business about opposite the jail and court house. Mr Thomas Gillespy kept hotel and boarding house on John street, between King and Main streets, Mr David Farrell having his blacksmith shop alongside; a person named Carey kept hotel on the corner now covered by the new post office. Mr John Young had a small store on the south side of King, between John and Hughson streets. Mr Ruthven had a small store on the northwest corner of King and John streets, at which pens, ink and paper were sold. Ebenezer and John Stinson had a small general store on the north side of King, between John and Hughson streets, at which the people could purchase all that was required in those days of rural simplicity. This store contained all that was really needful and useful for the immigrant, such as logging chains, saws, axes, augers, hammers, nails, chisels, etc., besides in the dry goods line cottons, linens, American satinette, corduroy, moleskin, home-made flannel, and fullcloth; in groceries there were two or three kinds of tea, while the sugar would not dim the eyes of the purchaser by its brilliancy; there were also to be had tobacco, snuff, rice, and a little of something which was wrongfully termed oatmeal, but the Stinsons did not indulge in the sale of stimulants, for Canadian whiskey could be purchased at every country village for twenty-five cents per gallon and unadulterated at that price. Sir Allan N. McNab had his law office at the willows on the northeast corner of King and James streets. Andrew Millar carried on a hotel business on the opposite corner, his orchard covering the ground where the new city hall is now being built There were but four brick buildings in the place at that time viz. Stinson's store Carey's hotel, Bank of Upper Canada at corner of Bay and King, and the Club House at the corner of James and Main streets in which the late Andrew Stevens resided. Mr John Winer was doing business as a druggist on King street, while a travelling butcher supplied the wants of the people once or twice a week, and sometimes once in two weeks just as he could procure the living material He was not noted for his punctuality for when he got elevated by the unadulterated he seemed to think that the people like himself were full and happy

The most of the old, or first settlers, Messrs Land Beasley Ferguson, Hughson Mills, Hess, Kirkendall and some others were still living on their farms In order to reach the heights, at the upper end of the bay the teamster would follow King street west till he reached Queen street then turn north to where York street is located All west of James street to Queen street was under fences and cultivated only a foot path shewing the line and direction of the present York street. Peter Hamilton had his house in the neighborhood of the Central School This vicinity was surrounded by woods, and was of course considered out of the town

After considerable time being spent in looking up land, the three families purchased their several homes in the fifth concession of East Flamboro, paying four dollars per acre. I am safe in saying it was a wilderness at that time, not one tree having been chopped down on either of the three places Log houses were erected and occupied about Christmas Our settlement was three miles from the nearest road Mr Hugh Creen brother of the late Mr Creen, of Niagara, and brother-in-law of the late Archibald Ferguson of Hamilton was our nearest neighbor He had one small field cleared, that being the only land clearance on the east side of the centre road Three small places were cleared on the west side by Messrs. Finley Foster and Baker There was no other settlement until Carlisle was reached where a few acres were cleared The next settlement was Guelph where a few half pay military officers had settled. Waterdown was three miles from our lot, and in order to get thither we were forced to make a sleigh track through the woods, and as no eight hour movement was in vogue in those days, the work went merrily on from daylight till dark Statute labor was not the only work performed; all hands put in one day in the week gratis until a temporary road was made passable for a yoke of oxen and sleigh. There were but two wagons in the whole settlement, and they were owned on the east side of what is now the centre or toll road. Each of the families made a small clearing the first year, and one of the greatest difficulties for the immigrant to overcome was how to winter his oxen if he was fortunate to have them. In the summer season, plenty of fodder was to be had in the woods, but the principal feed for the first winter was browse (the small twigs of the tops of the hardwood) and generally the cattle got very thin and emaciated, ere the spring luxuriance gave relief to the poor and useful beast. The second year was not so bad for, having straw as an assistant to the browse, things did not look so blue and foreboding.

Immigrants flocked in, year after year, until the whole township was taken up, and the work done by those honest and industrious people who came here to carve out a home for themselves and their children was of such a laborious character and so beset with difficulties in every direction, that the young generation of to day can form no correct idea of the toil, trouble, and vexatious losses in stock which the pioneer had to face and surmount ere he made himself even moderately comfortable in his adopted home. It may be asked how and where did we get our provisions for the family. Waterdown, at that time, was composed of a small hotel, a still smaller blacksmith shop owned by a person named Dunham, a shoemaker's shop, and a small tannery to supply the cobbler with poorly tanned leather. This formed the bulk of the little village. There was also a small grist mill, where Howland's mill now stands, which was of great benefit to the few inhabitants of Waterdown, as well as to the people living in the neighborhood of Hamilton. Mr Ebenezer Griffin, grandfather of Dr Griffin of this city, was a justice of the peace and kept the people in good humor by dispensing justice when necessary. Mr Alexander Brown, father of the late Warden Alexander Brown of the County of Wentworth, was the first settler on the Mountain, and lived on his farm of 400 acres close by the village. He settled there before any white man had ever beheld the Waterdown stream flowing through its rocky channel. Mr Grierson, brother-in-law to Mr Brown, settled there at a later period on the west side of the village. There were no stores of any kind nearer than Hamilton or Dundas, so we had to obtain our supplies in either of those places, and after purchasing only what was absolutely necessary, we then, like beasts of burden, had to carry the whole supply on our backs to the settlement. At that time Dundas was a much larger place than Hamilton, and our supplies, such as they were, we often procured in the former place. It might now be asked why we did not hitch up our oxen, and by that means get our supplies. I will relate one incident in connection with obtaining supplies in that manner. James Little and your humble servant with two yoke of oxen hitched to a wooden shod sleigh—iron-shod sleighs were a rarity at that time—left for Dundas on a fine day in November, 1833, to get beans and shorts for feeding purposes, for at that time we had not raised any small or spring grain to fatten the long snouted breed of pigs peculiarly and well known by the name of "Racers." There was no snow on the ground, and by the time we had gotten less than half way the oxen began to show signs of fatigue from the labor of dragging the sleigh on the bare ground. Mr. Thomas Church, at that time living on Dundas street, quite near the boundary line between East and West Flamboro, loaned us his wagon, and we then got along much better. By the time that we got our small load in the bags and returned to where we got the wagon, it was dark, and Mr. Church very kindly asked us to stay all night. As it would be impossible for us to reach home before morning we thankfully accepted the offer, retired, and slept as sound as boys generally do who are possessed of clear consciences. Next morning we were called up long before daylight, and beheld the grandest and most soul-stirring scene that I ever saw or expect to see—meteors, or shooting stars, darting by tens of thousands in every direction, until the morning sun eclipsed their never-to-be-forgotten brilliancy. We reached home that night with our small load, having spent two days on the trip. I will now relate another little incident which will, as far as it goes, show one of the many difficulties with which we had to contend. The chimney in our house, having been built late in the fall and with poor mortar, was likely to give way, and as two-thirds of its entire length was made of wood plastered over with clay, it was thought better to have it taken down and a safe one built, provided we could get someone able to do it. This was in the spring of 1834. We had heard that a family named Campbell had settled on the thirteenth concession of the township and that one of the brothers was a mason. I left home at 12 o'clock noon in order to find such a distinguished person as a stone mason. I found my way to Carlisle on the ninth concession very well, for the lines were blazed all the way, but from the ninth to the thirteenth concession I had no mark to guide me. I knew the direction from where I stood by the number of the lot which I had previously learned, but how to go four or five miles through the woods and hit the right spot was rather a serious undertaking, there being but two acres slashed at the time. However I reached the place and persuaded Campbell to come and do the job, as we could not get another person to do it. I was asked to remain all night being advised that I would never find my way home night being at hand. However I started on the return trip, but after proceeding a short distance I stood still for a short time and thought over what was best to be done. I reasoned with myself as to whether the course I was taking was correct. The best course would be to look neither to the right or left, but sight three trees in a straight line in front of me and when I reached the first of the three to then sight another one. I adopted this plan and when I came to a fallen tree, over which I had to go, I did not go around but straight over still keeping the trees in view. Fortunately I came out right. It was a life and death struggle and made me cautious in the extreme, for had I lost myself on that occasion my chances for life would have been small. I reached home at 11.30 that night, and thankful for my escape, fully determined never to try such a foolish thing again at such a late hour in the day. I can scarcely conceive at this distant day how I got through, for I had often lost myself while near home and while not travelling one half the distance.

Wheat at that time was the only grain that would command cash, store pay being the order of the day for all other kinds of produce. It was only at certain times that wheat was saleable the best season being in the spring when navigation was open. Threshing machines were something of the future. We had raised the fourth crop of wheat ere we could hire anyone to thresh it out. The machines used in those days were articles that the people were not forbidden to worship, as they were unlike anything on the earth or in waters under the earth. The wheel of the horse power was in segments, and continually breaking. There were three breakdowns in threshing that crop of less than one hundred bushels of badly shrunken wheat, as the rust had made sad havoc with it. Mr. Geo. Chisholm had a storehouse on the north side of the bay, a short distance from the beach, where wheat was stored till navigation opened. The price received for our first two crops, which were very good, was $1.00 per bushel; oats 15 cents in store pay. I may here mention that Waterdown had a very small school, but was not behind Hamilton in that respect, there being only one in the latter place, that situated a little east of the Methodist church, corner of King and Wellington streets. One church and one school was all that Hamilton could boast of in the educational line in those days. Services were held in the Court House by Episcopalians. It was ten years after we had settled in East Flamboro before we had a school in our neighborhood. It was built by gratis labor in the year 1842, and yet that was destined to be the first free school in the county of Wentworth. After considerable exertion, Mr. Abraham Binkley and myself accomplished the conversion of the people to the free school system, the Act giving the ratepayers that power having been passed by the Legislature. It was the custom in 1832, and for years afterwards, to appoint three commissioners to expend the small government grant given at that time for road improvement. Mr. Edward Evans, Mr. Alexander Brown and Mr. Easton were the gentlemen empowered to see to the expenditure. When the District Council was instituted in the year 1842 two councillors were sent from each township as representatives, and at that time the Gore district was composed of Halton, Wentworth, Brant, Haldimand and the township of Puslinch, in the county of Wellington. In 1850, Township Councils were formed, when the reeves and deputy-reeves comprised the County Council, over which the warden, elected from their own number, presided. Previous to the formation of the Township and County Councils, the provinces had been united in the year 1841, Charles, Baron Sydenham, being the first Governor-General.

Long before this time, the secularization of the clergy reserves became a burning question, out of which to a great extent sprang the rebellion of 1837. The whole country was excited and angry, the people arguing the matter pro and con according to their several religious beliefs or political proclivities. Matters came to a crisis with open rebellion in Lower Canada, and shortly after a the fall of 1837. William Lyon McKenzie led off in battle at Gallows Hill, Toronto, in which he and his few followers were defeated. Your humble servant reached Toronto by the little steamer Burlington in the afternoon, a little too late to take part in the fray. McKenzie and his followers taking possession of Navy Island caused us once more to take up old "Brown Bess" in behalf of our country. But as this is a matter of history, I will not digress by a lengthy discussion of those unfortunate events, the clergy reserves, as is well known, being secularized in 1854.

It may be interesting to the young people of to-day to get a little insight into the postal arrangements of the good old times, ere railways were even thought of in this the sunny west. I need scarcely tell you that our winters then were as severe as they now are, and at that inclement season the mails had to be carried overland, on horseback and sometimes on foot. In conversation, thirty years ago, with an old pioneer named Burtch, who had long lived in the neighborhood, he informed me that he carried the mail once a month, on horseback, from Toronto to the Talbot settlement on Lake Erie. Nature by her law of compensation had formed the man to successfully perform and carry out the arduous and dangerous work appertaining to that of mail carrier in the days of the first settler. He was an old man when I first saw him, small, wiry and withy as a whip, even in his old age. He said that for a long time Brown and Grierson were the only settlers on the Flamboro Mountain, and there were very few between that locality and Toronto. It appears that the Government had surveyed what is now called Dundas street, having run a line westward to where London now is, and also to the Talbot settlement, the surveying party cutting the underbrush out so as to make a trail. This must have been about 1812 or shortly after that time, from the description he gave of Waterdown Creek and its surroundings, with the two inhabitants, and I had every reason to believe in his veracity. He said the greatest difficulty that he had to overcome was in getting over the streams on that wild and weary trail, there being scarcely a bridge over which he could safely pass. In our own day, 1832, the arrival of the mails were very uncertain, and the postage just as fluctuating. A letter from Scotland cost one shilling currency, sometimes eighteen pence. When the postage was reduced to ninepence we thought that we were doing well. On one occasion we heard that there was a letter for us in the Hamilton post office, there being no post office at Waterdown for many years after that time. I went to the former place to secure the letter, and on enquiry, found that I had to pay postage to the amount of three and ninepence before I could get it out of the office. It had gone past the little place called Hamilton, and once off the track it had wandered westward, and through no fault of ours we had to pay for all the extra mileage, receiving it eight months after date.

I may here be permitted to say a few words about the apparel of the people in those days, who generally were dressed in home-made garments. The women went to the meeting houses in their checked flannel dresses (spun and made up by themselves) and with a handkerchief for a bonnet, they jauntily stepped over the threshold quite unconscious of the future artistic attire of the Canadian lady yet to be. The men dressed in full cloth, grey or butternut in color. Frequently in warm weather they would attend the meeting house without their coats, and as a matter of course thought they appeared quite respectable in their shirt sleeves. Broadcloth was entirely out of the question, being found only in the possession of those who had brought it with them from the old land. We had no merchant tailors at the time, only some poor son of the shears travelling from house to house, doing the work as occasion would require. The shoemaker kept scarcely any stock; when a pair of boots was required, the customer would go to the tanner, get the leather and hand it over to be made up into anything but that which might now be called an elegant pair of foot gear.

Improvements were rapidly developed all over the land, the forest giving way in every direction to man's industry and perseverance. Side lines and concessions were opened and improved, leading roads, such as that from Hamilton to Galt, having been macadamized as early as 1842-43. Railways were introduced and completed, the Great Western being fit for traffic as early as 1853. The Northwestern was finished to Georgetown in 1876, and to Barrie in 1878. Post offices were established in every convenient location, and Her Majesty's mails received fast as well as satisfactory transportation. This gave a wonderful impetus to trade all over the country from the east to the far west.

Hamilton, the Birmingham of Canada, leaped with gigantic strides from a small population of eight hundred in 1832 to the pre-

sent population of well on to fifty thousand and containing workshops and warehouses of every description. What a change in fifty seven years! An improvement has transpired of which the settlers of to-day have no conception.

The first court house and jail was erected under a statute passed in 1816, chap. 19 of 56 Geo. III whereby it was enacted "That a gaol and court house for the District of Gore shall be erected on lot number fourteen in the third concession of the Township of Barton to be called the Town of Hamilton." This must have been the old log jail and court house; the old stone court house was erected in 1828. I find no statute defining the boundaries of the town earlier than 1833 when chap. 16 of 3rd William IV was passed defining the boundaries of the City and dividing the same into four wards. This statute also made provisions for police government, etc., and gave directions for holding the first election on 1st March, 1833. If the boundary was not defined until 1833, although called the Town of Hamilton in 1816, it is evident that until 1833 the population was included with that of the Township of Barton. I can find no record of the number of inhabitants until 1834. The first court was held in 1819.

If we take a retrospective view of this progressive and lovely city we will perceive that even in the disastrous year 1834, when the second attack of cholera had thinned the ranks of the people, there was a population of about 1,367; in 1836, 2,846; and in 1837, 3,567. The rebellion breaking out in 1837 brought everything to a standstill, there being no work in the building line, and the best tradesmen were anxious to obtain laboring work at 75 cents per day. In the towns, the poor mechanic suffered fearfully; the country people, however, not feeling the effects of the stagnation to the same extent in consequence of having raised their own supplies. A decrease in the population had taken place, for we find that in 1841 it was 3,446, less by 121 than that of 1837. Troops were constantly kept in Niagara, Hamilton and many other places, until 1843, in case of another outbreak, and I had the honor of wearing Her Majesty's uniform for two years; but, immediately after 1840, the political horizon began to lose its dark and leaden hue, and the change for the better became rapid and encouraging. Hamilton had the honor of being made a city in 1847, and in 1851 we find that the population had risen to 14,112, the County of Wentworth in the same year showing 28,507. A better class of buildings were now being erected in every part of the city, the little foundry owned by Fisher & McQuesten, built in 1835 on the corner of James and Merrick streets, being succeeded by one on Wellington street much larger, while Gurney's foundry, established in 1843, and James Stewart & Co.'s, in 1845, with many other industries at a later period, gave employment to a great number of persons. The people at that time ceased to look to Ancaster as their base of supplies. Many fine and capacious churches were built by the various denominations, while a number of schoolhouses which grace the sections of the Ambitious City would do credit to the wealthiest city in Europe.

What a mighty change in fifty-seven years! If I, after my arrival, had turned my back on Canada, and in my absence had heard nothing of the wonderful changes which have taken place all all over the country, and if you, Mr. President, with a becoming pride in the wealth and greatness of your native Canada, had invited me to see it to-day, I would at once say, "This is not the country that I saw fifty-seven years ago—it cannot be." I would naturally ask, "Where is the forest? Where are the mighty monarchs of the soil?" You point out to me fertile fields, smiling orchards, substantial houses and outbuildings instead of the crowned kings who held sway for ages. You might in joyfulness lead me to the mountain top and say, "Behold the City of Hamilton!" But could I believe it to be the Hamilton that I knew of old, with its four brick buildings and few frame shanties which dotted the muddy streets of the future city? It cannot be, and yet it is; and we love it because it is our own handiwork, the work of the pioneer. We love it because it is our home, and we love it because its soil has been made sacred by the ashes of our fathers.

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS UPON THE ANNUAL REPORT 1889-90.

The Secretary presented the Annual Report. The President in moving its adoption made the following address :—

The report appears to me so complete and embraces so accurately the leading features of our proceedings during the past year that it seems needless to enlarge upon it. I would consequently recommend its adoption. I may, however, remark that the operations of the association have been materially retarded and its influence lessened because, as yet, no suitable quarters have been secured wherein its property, such as relics, books, papers and manuscripts may be safely deposited. I therefore trust that the incoming council will view this matter of sufficient importance to induce activity on their part towards providing this necessary adjunct to the prosperity of the society.

I may perhaps further venture to suggest that a large field of usefulness seems to me open in the direction of introducing popular histories of this vast Dominion more largely into our common schools. To such an extent has this been neglected or overlooked in the past, that I am convinced the younger generations of our Canadian people are far behind the youth of the neighboring republic, in knowledge of the history of their country, and this disparaging comparison between ourselves and our American cousins may without doubt be chiefly traced to the popular character of the histories in their common schools. Hence their advantage in this respect is in my judgment a fit subject for emulation. We should, I think, move promptly, but in union and harmony with other associations of kindred pursuit to ours, to urge by petition and otherwise upon the Ontario government and the public school department of that government especially, the great need of improving the existing system, which in many other respects is admirable. And, while referring to this part of the subject I should not fail to notice several interesting discussions during the year, touching the expediency of prizes issuing from the association, for essays upon the constitution and history of our country, to be competed for by pupils in the public schools; and although no complete or definite action has as yet been taken in that direction, I sincerely trust that the time may not be far distant when the society may feel financially strong enough to carry out in fact what so far has only been under discussion. To most of you it is doubtless a familiar fact that the county of Wentworth, after which our society was named, once forming part of the old Gore district, would in itself present prolific food for the pens of young men who may be ambitious of becoming future historians of their country and such laudable ambition should be fostered and strengthened by all the power of this association.

One word as to the united action of the several historical and pioneer societies throughout the country—and there are many. Without unity all are weakened in there efforts to spread more widely patriotic sentiments. With unity their joint influence could, with little exertion, accomplish wonderful results in that direction. It was the confederation of scattered provinces that produced our Dominion, and it will be through that sacred union that national dignity may yet be attained. So should there be a confederation of all the historical societies of the country. Their aims and objects are identical; their operations to attain these should be in harmony, and not weakened by sectional aspirations for prominence or perishable fame. I trust in this direction, too, some practical measures to effect a larger union may be set on foot during the current year. We should, I think, always remember that however puny and insignificant our first efforts have as yet been, we possess the germs within our organization which, with steady perseverance on our part, will in the end—as our members and influence increase—confer immeasurable advantages upon those who come after us, and we will not have failed altogether in our duty if we succeed in even imperfectly laying portions of the edifice with which an affectionate regard for this grand country will be reared and perpetuated.

Whether our society had or had not anything to do with stimulating a national sentiment, the fact remains that this year $2,000 were voted by the parliament at Ottawa towards the erection of monuments at Lundy's Lane and Chateauguay, and I am assured

that Burlington heights and Stony Creek will in due time be treated with like consideration, along with other memorable battlefields until significant memorials shall mark the spots which have furnished the most brilliant chapters of our country's history and left her sons an inheritance of imperishable loyalty to their possessions and their Queen

NOTES OF AUTOBIOGRAPHY

A paper read before the Wentworth Historical Society

BY THE VERY REV. J. G. GEDDES, D.D.

Dean of Niagara

I was the second son of James Geddes, Assistant Staff Surgeon and Sarah Hannah Boies Gamble, born in Kingston on the 29th of March, 1811. I was one of a family of sixteen, of whom nine daughters and five sons survived and married; all with one exception had families. Through my maternal grandmother, Mrs. Gamble, I was descended from the U. E. Loyalists. Her father, Dr. Clarke, removed with his family from New York to New Brunswick at the peace of 1783. Here my grandmother married Dr. Gamble, Surgeon of the Queen's Rangers, and after fourteen years' residence there she removed to Canada to join her husband, then quartered at Niagara. She ascended the river St. John with her five daughters (of whom my mother was one) in a bark canoe, traversing on foot the portages of the Tamiscouta Route, sheltered only by the heavens and the primeval forest. She lived to the age of 92, when her immediate descendants had reached the large number of 204. My mother's family, as already mentioned, numbered sixteen, and of the ten surviving members at the present day the aggregate of ages amounts to the large sum of 750 years.

The remarkable longevity of a large number of the American U. E. Loyalists who came to the British Provinces after the American Revolution has been noticed by the Lord Bishop of New Brunswick as a striking instance of the fulfillment of the promise contained in the Fifth Commandment, embracing, as that Commandment unquestionably does, the duty of obedience to civil rulers. The Gambles and Geddeses may well be counted among the number.

I was educated at the Grammar School, Kingston, till I was seventeen years of age. I was then appointed to a scholarship in Divinity under the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and studied at the Theological College at Chambly till 1834

I was ordained Deacon on the 10th day of August of that year my father having died of Asiatic cholera on the preceding day Having served three months as Curate to Arch-Deacon Stuart in St George's Church Kingston, I was sent as Curate to Three Rivers in Lower Canada. Not long after in the month of March, 1835 I received the appointment of Rector of Hamilton and Barton and parts adjacent, and on the 10th of that month I entered on my charge in which I continued for the long period of forty five years

The following statistics will illustrate the marvellous changes that occured under my ministry On my arrival I found there was no church in which to worship, and was glad to accept the offer of the Jail and Court House for that purpose The population at this time was about 1520 The number of my first congregation 35 partly accounted for by the fact that many leading church families had pews in the Presbyterian Church and were regular attendants there In December 1879 when I retired and left the parish in the hands of a Rector in-charge and accepted a living in England I left behind me a population of some 40 000 five churches (including Christ Church Cathedral which had been rebuilt) and as many numerous and prosperous congregations My ministerial acts were as follows marriages solemnized 1 250 baptisms 5 186 burials 3 000 and 1,200 young persons prepared for confirmation My ministry was exercised in times of varied public calamity, viz two visitations of Asiatic cholera one of ship fever among the emigrants one of rebellion and one of foreign invasion and the appalling railway disaster at the Desjardines Canal Bridge Out of the 70 heads of families who were enrolled as members of the Church of England at the organization of the parish in 1835 only two remain in this year of 1889 and out of the first list of communicants in 1836 five only at present are to be found

Among the public offices which I was called to fill were Chaplain to the Jail and Hospital a Grammar School Trustee associated with Dr Craigie and Father Gordon member of Trinity College Council Toronto Chaplain to the Incorporated Battalion of Militia, commanded by Col Gourlay also Chaplain to the 47th Regiment and the Rifle Brigade and other Regiments when quartered in Hamilton. I was for many years Secretary to the Gore and Wellington Church Society for many more Clerical Secretary to the Synod of

Toronto, Examining Chaplain to Bishop Bethune of Toronto, Rural Dean, Prolocutor to the Provincial Synod, Dean of Niagara, Rector of Tatsfield, Surrey, England, member of the Council of the Diocese of Rochester, and, after my return to Canada, Rector in charge of Chippawa.

Between 1884 and 1886 I held missions in the following parishes in England: Leigh, Surrey; Upchurch, Kent; Weedon and Rushton, Northamptonshire; Stanton St. John, Oxford; Birchanger, Hertford; Ashley, Cambridge; Gloucester, and Primrose Hill, Regent's Park, London.

In 1848 I graduated at Kings' College, Toronto, having availed myself of a statute of the University enabling clergymen engaged in Parish work to attend examinations without residence or attendance on lectures. I subsequently took an adeundum B. A. at Trinity College and proceeded to my M. A. Subsequently I received from the same University the Honorary Degree of D. C. L.

I twice served on deputations for the Society for Propagating the Gospel—once in 1876 when I visited the following counties: Middlesex, Surrey, Kent, Gloucester, Somerset, Leicester, Oxford, Buckingham, Essex, Wiltshire and Suffolk—In 1880 I spent a fortnight for the same purpose, (advocating the cause of missions) in Cornwall in the following parishes: Salt-Ash, Menheniot, St. Dominick, St. Mellion, Callington, St. Twithel, Truro, Bodmin, Redruth, Kee-Tunis, St. Tudy, St. Emard, Dundstowe, Camelford, Pillaton, Broadoak, Baconnia, St. Merorn, St. Austell.

In 1841, September 23rd, I was married to Susan Davidson, second daughter of the Hon. John Stewart (of Marchmont) in the Cathedral at Quebec by Bishop Mountain, assisted by his Chaplain the Rev. George Mackie. Our children are two sons, John Gamble and George W. Allen, and three daughters, who were married as follows: Hannah Stewart to Constantine Brough, Susan Stewart to Major Phipps, and Mary Allen to Dr. John Walters. My son John married Josephine Magill, and George, Clara Garnet.

In 1855 we visited England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Prussia and Belgium. In 1866 we again visited England and Scotland and I was present at the Church Congress at York. In 1876 we again crossed the Atlantic. During this visit I had the honor of an invitation from the Arch Bishop of Canterbury (Dr. Tait) to attend the annual dinner given at Lambeth to the Bishops of

England. In 1880 I was the guest of the present Archbishop of Canterbury (when Bishop of Truro) and had the great privilege of attending (on invitation), his enthronization in Canterbury Cathedral forming one of a procession of five hundred clergymen in surplices.

Our last visit to England was in January, 1880, when I went to accept the Living of Tatsfield, to which I had been presented by Mr. Leveson Gower of Titsey. This I resigned in 1884, and after two years additional in England, and two years charge of Chippawa, I have returned to end my days in Hamilton, where I have my seat as Dean in the Cathedral.

CHAMPLAIN THE FATHER AND FOUNDER OF CANADA

Historical Sketch read before the Wentworth Historical Society, Hamilton, Ont. December 2nd, 1890.

BY MRS. JOHN ROSE HOLDEN

BEFORE entering upon the subject of the paper which I have the honor to lay before you this evening, I feel I must say how difficult a matter it is, in presenting to such a Society as this, of what is but a simple historical sketch to do much that may be considered as original work. The dry facts, causes, conditions and results, are all recorded in our Archives by eye-witnesses, contemporary and historical writers both French and English with such minuteness that a student of this fascinating pursuit, finds that he or she can only follow into already well developed paths clearly and graphically described by a host of authorities. The mass of writings on early Canadian History is so great that it seems impossible to do much more than grasp a general idea of certain epochs or movements and form as correct a consensus as possible of the varied lights and shadows thrown upon the pages of our past by interested and yet opposing recorders of the same event. I have attached a list of the authorities from whose pages I have drawn my information and whose writings and revelations have deepened and strengthened within me such a firm faith in the grand and certain future of our native land.

No study is so fascinating and impressive as that of History. As the historian sways his magician's wand, the student is carried back to ages gone by, graves are opened and the dead come forth without disturbing their long repose, and present to us heroes living, talking and performing wondrous actions, whose bodies have slept in the silence and oblivion of ages. We are made familiar with the intrigues of politicians and the stratagems of warriors, and there is nothing public or private in courts or councils to which an historian is a stranger—we see through a vista of ages past the illustrious and immortal personages who have "strutted and fretted" on the troubled stage of life.

Canadian History is a subject which has been too long considered so trival and unimportant as to be unworthy the attention of scholars. It seemed impossible that much of interest or of value could be found in the account of a country peopled by savages, and that a region only known for about two hundred and fifty years could possibly have anything to teach the Motherland appeared absurd. At one time a vague impression of perpetual snow and ice, Christopher Columbus wrestling over the "egg" problem, feathered Indians, bark wigwams and canoes, blanketted squaws, tomahawks, —mixed with uncertain ideas as to the means of transit, whether horses, reindeer, buffaloes or dogs were most in use—these and similar notions prevailed. Yet how different the truth! Canada has a past of which we have every reason to be proud. A roll of brave men and women, who persevered and struggled for an existence facing fearful odds; heroes who never lost faith in the possibilities and potentialities of their adopted country, encouraged and inspired by women worthy to be helpmates to such men, very often women delicately nurtured in their maidenhood, in refined British and French homes, here in this New World with all its unprecedented environments, ministered with their own hands, like the Apostle Paul, to the daily necessities of their own households, taught the heathen, fed the hungry, clothed the naked, nursed the sick and dying, and shrank not from the post of duty in the hour of danger; delicate women and brave children, breathing the same heroic atmosphere, could handle a musket or fire a gun in defence of their homes in the wilderness. "For God, King and Country," was the watch word in those early days. The farmer as he cleared the forests, ploughed, planted, sowed and reaped, carried his firearms by his side, unconscious of the old prophecy which he fulfilled of "turning the sword into a pruning hook."

The early history of the Maritime Provinces and that of Upper and Lower Canada, presents a perfect historical antithesis. French colonization in Lower Canada represented the Phoenix of Feudalism and Mediaevalism—Church and State wedded together, embodied the dominant idea of despotism, through the arbitrary prerogative of the French Crown, exercised directly upon all matters temporal and spiritual concerning the colony, and individually by the rights and privileges of seigneurial tenure. French colonization limited and crippled by edict and enactment of the Home Government among her own loyal subjects, failed, or in Acadie, first of French settlements, settled by Huguenot thrift and industry and in full promise of self-supporting independence from home help and assistance, was destroyed and crushed by Jesuitical influences. In pursuance of the fatal Home policy in extending her dominions France lost the supremacy she once held in the New World. The unequal partnership of French trade and commerce with religion, missionary zeal and military glory, merged into the pillage, peculation, rascality and above all the treason to the Mother Land of the administration of the Bigot coterie of 1748 to 1760; the effects of which paved the way for the comparatively quiet submission on the part of the French Canadian habitant to British rule and supremacy.

Upper Canada (Ontario) and the Maritime Provinces were permanently settled by British patriots, 45,000 United Empire Loyalists who came over from the United States of America after the war of Independence and settled in what now is known as Canada—heroes in the great battle of faith, freedom and liberty, which had been upheaving the social and religious elements of Europe, the echoes of which strengthened and encouraged our noble pioneers to "suffer and be strong." No promised land overflowing with wine, milk and honey tempted these heroes to emigrate in those early days of our history in such numbers to found new homes for their wives and families in Canada—Canada as reported to them was a land of snow, intense cold, ice-bound waters, dense wilderness and dank swamps full of venomous reptiles, the home of savage beasts and still more savage and vindictive Indians." The hardships, exposures and privations endured by the Loyalists in making their way from their confiscated homes to Canada were longer and more severe than any Everett has been able to tell us of the New England Pilgrim Fathers; and the persecutions which sent these Fathers of New England voyaging to Plymouth Rock was but a morning shower when compared to the mobbings and imprisonments, confiscations and death that fell in savage fury upon the faithful of old England, in the days of the American revolution and drove the remnant that was left into the wilderness of Canada. The Pilgrim Fathers could keep Harvest Home Festival of a week's duration at the end of the first year from their landing. But the Loyalists were in most instances forced to seek a home in Canada without food or shelter, and at a season too late for any clearing of the forest and seed sowing. While the New England Fathers were keeping Harvest Home the Loyalists of Canada were passing through all the rigours of famine."

Though homeless and almost perishing they carried with them the "Ark of the Covenant" of God with man, counting as their most precious heritage the tables of the law, holy vessels and arms of old England—which they had saved from the burning ruins of their churches and homes in the U. S. of America—thus laying the foundation of our national existence in that "righteousness which exalteth a nation" and a freedom and liberty which has not degenerated into the license and lawlessness of a Proletariate, but that which is subject to the command "Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's and unto God the things which are God's." It is this loyalty to "God and King" which has saved to Britain the greater half of the continent of America. And now what is the reality of our position as Canadians? Clothed by the lavish hand of nature, as befits the daughter of Imperial England, Canada stretches from the Atlantic to the Pacific, two hundred miles beyond the U. S. of America, which gives her an area greater than one half of the continent of North America—seas, lakes, rivers, canals, channels, traversed by a merchant marine ranking now fourth among nations. If the United States shipping employed on the river and lake trade were included Canada would rank second in the world; the total tonnage amounting to 4,684,759 tons. Railway communication connecting ocean with ocean and a steamship service which links the hoary Eastern World with her young life. These two great arteries of commerce and civilization, with innumerable loop lines, vein the country in every direction—telegraph, postal and telephone systems, banks, public schools, colleges and universities, where women can enjoy the same educational privileges as man—private and technical schools in arts and sciences, steam and electricity, hand maidens of travel and the press daily bring knowledge to the humblest—public libraries, churches, in number outvying any other institution, all testify to the brain, energy, integrity and pluck of the Anglo-Saxon race when aided by public and private enterprise. The immense wealth of our mineral and natural productions lies far beyond the limits of this sketch.

Having had this passing sketch of Canada of to-day, let us now go back to the 17th century. A new phase in the evolution of the world's history was then unfolding, viz.: The second great emigration of the populations of the old world, dating from the dawn of christianity. The first great convulsion was the overthrow, destruction and dismembering of Imperial Rome, by the Goths, Vandals and Huns, when ancient civilization, corrupted by effeminacy and profligacy, gave way before the brute force and rapacity of the barbarian, enthralling Europe for many centuries in a pall of ignorance and superstition, which was only dispelled by the penetrating light of the great Renaissance. The spirit of commerce, guided by the mysterious mariner's compass, had led navigators and bold adventurers beyond all known limits. Love of conquest and the power of the sword alone led to new discoveries in the old world. The spirit of commerce and missionary zeal has in modern times opened up the continent of America and that of Africa in our own days. Canada in particular fell under these new influences. Francis I., king of France, fired by the fabulous tales of the riches and wealth found in the New World by the Spaniard and Portuguese, determined to dispute the assumed right the sovereigns of Spain and Portugal laid to the entire new country rediscovered by Columbus, and commissioned Jacques Cartier to start on a voyage of discovery and claim all he could in the name of the French king. La Nouvelle France was the name then given to the vast and rich maritime domain which we now know as the Maritime Provinces. Cartier was a discoverer; he left the land very much as he found it. Not until 1603 came Samuel de Champlain, the man of destiny to Canada, a man who has been described as "soldier, sailor, engineer, naturalist and statesman," with the heart and soul of a hero, the pure faith of a child, the courage of a warrior and zeal of a crusader, came the Father and Founder of Canada. Champlain came of a family of fishermen, and upon the bosom of the restless ocean he early imbibed the love of adventures, and the fearless spirit which so distinguished him. He was born of Huguenot parents at Brouage, a small seaport on the Bay of Biscay. There is no record of his baptism, but his birth may be dated at 1567. Samuel was at that time a name never given to Roman Catholics, and was confined to the

Huguenots. The strict observance of the "Registres Civiles" is known. It is part of French national life that the name of every Roman Catholic child should be enrolled on its pages. Again in 1610, he entered into a contract of marriage with Helene Boule who was a Protestant at the time of her betrothment, no record of the marriage in the "Registres" is to be found, so that when the ceremony took place a Protestant minister must have officiated. He was not only a naval captain but had also served as a soldier fighting during the wars of the League under that soldier of soldiers Henry of Navarre. The reign of Henry 4th dates all that is great in modern France. At that period there were three great factions or parties in France. The party of the League determined on the supremacy of the Pope, extermination of all heretics and religious unity. Second, the zealous Huguenots or Protestants a quarter of the population of France who having received no toleration gave none. The middle or third party composed of moderate Catholics and Protestants, who before everything else were Frenchmen whose strongest feelings were those for the welfare of their country. Each of these parties in its turn has left its impress on our country, and we find the national progress of the Province of Quebec to-day dwarfed and hindered by the followers of the same parties striving against one another in civil and political issues. First the ultramontane or Jesuit, second Protestants, third, the Gallican or native priesthood, who from love of their country would gladly allow the Protestant equal rights and freedom to worship God according to dictates of conscience. It should be noted *en passant* that the temperance cause which now wields such an influence in church and state, also in the days of Champlain during the period of the one hundred associates, rent the feeble colony almost to disruption. Champlain previous to his first voyage to Canada, had visited the West Indies, at that time a region of mystery from which Spanish jealousy excluded all foreigners. His adventures here occupied him more than three years. Champlain kept a diary and on his return to France drew up a manuscript, which was circulated and attracted the attention of King Henry, who bestowed upon him the title of "Geographer of the King" and granted him a small pension in recognition of his services as a naturalist. It is only within the last thirty years that this manuscript was discovered. It was published in 1870, brought out under the auspices of Laval University and is contained in the Laval University edition of his work. While at Panama his bold and active mind conceived the plan of a ship canal across the Isthmus, an idea, which 250 years later the great modern engineer of the world, Lesseps, has yet hopes of accomplishing. Upon his return to France from the West Indies, Champlain was induced by De Chastes, a pronounced Huguenot, who was then organizing an expedition to New France, to accept a position in the new company, and he joined Pont-grave (also a Huguenot) in extending among savage tribes the Christian faith, "*Foy Christienne*," not "*Catholique and Romaine*," as given by Jesuit interpolators. Champlain is his own historian, and by his life and writings posterity judges him. At that time no test of religious orthodoxy was necessary to join the expedition, and there is little doubt of the evil consequences of the departure from this rule, when at a latter period it was determined to exclude from the country all but professing Roman Catholics.

1603. Two small vessels were equipped of twelve and fifteen tons burden, and like little sparks on the broad Atlantic, they crossed the stormy deep and sailed up the lovely St. Lawrence, around whose lofty scenery much of the romance and legend of Indian races is associated, passed Tadousac, Orleans, the glittering cataract of Montmorenci and the giant rock of Stadacona into Lake St. Peter with its lovely archipelago, on to the Island of Montreal. All was solitude, not a vestige of Stadacona or Hochelaga and their friendly populations described by Cartier remained. Champlain ascended Mount Royal, and beheld the transcending beauty of the scene around him. Looking towards the west, the majestic St. Lawrence rolled on its eastward course to the sea, as it issued from Lake St. Peter, careering in mad frolic over the rapids of the "Sault"; to the northwest the Ottawa glided and gleamed through the wooded plains and seemed to beckon the gazer with all the magnetic force of fresh discovery. Directly south, the future "Eastern Townships," with their many mountains, stood like guardian sentinels, protecting the treasures of the land till the coming of their rightful heritors. With the prescience of the founder of a nation, Champlain realized the immense possibilities of the new world, and with prophetic vision pierced the veil of the future, like Moses of old, from afar off he was granted a vision of the new "Promised Land," as it seemed to him for the persecuted Protestant children of France. A fortified post might be built here, where as from a secure basis, the waters of the vast interior might be traced back to their source and a western route discovered to China and Japan, another of Champlain's grand prophetic glimpses, which the Canadian Pacific Railway of to-day has fulfilled. The very spot chosen by him, Lachine and Caughnawaga, opposite sides of the river, now support terminal arches of the steel bridge spanning the St. Lawrence, connecting the south-eastern traffic with the west and north-west. This bridge must not be confused with the Grand Trunk tubular bridge which spans the river at St. Lamberts on the south and Point St. Charles (Montreal Island) on the north. It was in 1603 that Champlain's much criticised yet famous alliance was made at Tadousac with the Algonquin races against the Iroquois or powerful confederation of Six Nations. It must be recollected that hostility between these nations existed long before Champlain entered the country; a long exterminating war between the native tribes had been raging. He recognized the necessity of attaching himself and his cause to one side of the struggle in order to gain assistance in future discoveries. The settlements of Stadacona and Hochelaga no doubt were destroyed by hostile tribes.

Kingsford writes: "It was not Champlain's policy which was at fault—the Mother Country was to blame. The fashionable influences of the French Court enabled the Jesuits to dictate the policy with respect to Canada. Their attempt was to establish the undisputed supremacy of the Church. Champlain wanted soldiers, and by gaining over the friendly Indians by alliance and organizing them, win them over to Christianity and then civilize them." If this had been done we would not read of the annihilation of the Huron race, the ruin of the Jesuit missions and the murder of the five missionaries, the latter events took place fifteen years after Champlain's death. Returning (in 1603) to France he found that his patron De Chastes was dead. The King had appointed as his successor De Monts, also a Huguenot. A new expedition sailed in 1604, its aim being to establish colonists, cultivate the soil, search for mines, build forts and towns, and confer grants of land. A large number of the company were Protestants, and by the terms of their charter all were allowed free exercise of their own faith, but were bound to protect the Roman Catholic religion, and provision was made to convert the savages to that faith. Only one of the two vessels passed Tadousac. De Monts and Champlain passed a disastrous winter in Acadia. In 1605 they returned to France, sailing again for Canada in 1608, when upon his arrival at Quebec Champlain writes, "I searched for a proper place for habitation." In the following year, 1609, he was solicited by his allies the Algonquins, Hurons and Montagnais Indians to assist them in a war against their enemies, the Iroquois. Champlain thought this was the moment to reconcile these savage tribes, or alienate them forever. With two or three Frenchmen, guided and accompanied by his savage friends, they ascended the Richelieu River in canoes and reached Lake Champlain, the first white men who saw its waters, the shores of which river and lake proved to be for one hundred and sixty years the battle ground and scene of contest between Indians and white men, French and English, the New England colonies and our Mother Country. In 1609 the scene of so many future warlike expeditions was a vast wilderness, possessed only by the deer and beaver, which Champlain tells us abounded. On the 29th of July, about ten o'clock, they met the enemy. The Iroquois disembarked from their canoes, two hundred in number, headed by three powerful chiefs, tall men covered with a kind of armour made of hardened twigs. They greatly outnumbered the allies and marched with proud assurance like Goliath to meet David. When they came within shooting distance, Champlain, armed cap-a-pie in glittering steel, advanced alone to within three paces of the chiefs, who stared in mute astonishment at the wonderful apparition confronting them. Champlain suddenly discharging his arquebus, killed two of the chiefs and dangerously wounded a third. Immediately one of the Frenchmen discharged his weapon, which so astonished the savages that they fled in confusion, broke their ranks and scattered in every direction, leaving behind them their camp, canoes and provisions. Champlain quaintly says, "They did not run to save their lives, but because they believed that they were contending with supernatural beings." In the fall of the year Champlain returned to France, and in March 1610 again set sail for Quebec with a number of artisans. He went to Three Rivers, and with his Indian allies joined in another battle with the Iroquois. This time he was severely wounded in his neck by an arrow, but the enemy were defeated, all killed or made prisoners. Having again returned to France, he brought out with him Madam de Champlain, a gentle lovely woman, who was much beloved by all the colony and the trading Indians during her sojourn of four years in Canada, when at the end of that time she was obliged through ill health to return to France. St. Helen's Island opposite to Montreal was named after this lady. In 1611 Champlain made a settlement at the foot of Mount Royal, a trading post, on the spot where the Montreal Custom House now stands. He describes the spot unmistakeably in his account of voyage 1612. When thirty years later Maisonneuve took possession of the Island of Montreal in the name of "Les Associes de Montreal" he but carried out Champlain's idea. Thus our hero may be considered the founder of Montreal as well as of Quebec.

The assassination of Henry the fourth by Ravillac, a Jesuit priest (1610) exercised grave influences on the fortunes of Canada. France was unsettled, the Jesuits were begining to be all powerful at Court and aimed only at the establishment of their authority and by following out this policy in La Nouvelle France, brought the colony to the verge of destruction. The sad story of the settlement of Acadia proves the fatality of Jesuit interference and rule. In 1613 we read of New England and New France colonists in North America disputing about the boundary line and the "Fishery Question." Even in our own young country we find history deigne to repeat herself. It is during this year (1613) Champlain worked his way up the Ottawa River from Montreal about 200 miles to the site of Fort Coulonge, the gathering place at that time of the Ottawa Indians. Here he heard of the Nipissing and Huron Indians and entered into trading relations with them. In 1615 Champlain left France, bringing with him four Recollet priests. This Order is now represented in the Province of Quebec by what is known as the "Gallican Church." Arriving at Quebec a church was built, the first mass being celebrated in the presence of Champlain and the friendly Indians. The Fathers Denis and Joseph (Recollets) after having set up their portable altar on the river shore near Montreal chanted mass. The savages were lost in admiration of the ceremonies, vestments of the officiating priests and ornaments of the service. The same year the great explorer set out in the direction of the Huron Indians, passing the limits of his former expedition he reached the mouth of Mattawan River 300 miles above Montreal, and turning up that stream along the Huron trail he a length reached Lake Nipissing where now stands the important railroad town of North Bay and proceeded on to Georgian Bay and Lake Huron where he again joined the Hurons against the Iroquois, when he was wounded and obliged to retreat and winter with the Indians. Up to 1619 little progress was made in the colony; concord did not exist; strife between the Huguenots and Roman Catholics continued, old religious beliefs were fought out on new soil, the conversion of the Indians much retarded if not altogether arrested by the unseemly quarrels of the two parties, each of which claimed to be the true followers of the "Prince of Peace." It is about this time that we read of the first "habitant," Louis Hebert. Those who had previously visited Canada had been traders and adventurers; the white men who had remained with the Indians affected their mode of life, so much so that a class sprang up called "Courreurs des Bois," and "Voyageurs." The population at this time in Quebec was between fifty and sixty French, all connected with the traffic of the day—the Pelleterie or fur trade. Champlain had endeavored to open up timber traffic and had taken samples to France, but in this effort he failed. In 1627 we first read of a plough being drawn by oxen, all cultivation of land heretofore having been accomplished by human labor. This primitive method is still much in vogue in what is known as the "French counties," parts of the Province of Quebec both northeast and southeast of the St. Lawrence, where all the population is French and French only, and where we find the old fashions, habits and opinions of their forefathers still in full vogue.

In 1628 the Kirke brothers were commissioned by the King of England to destroy the French establishments in Canada. On the eighteenth of July David Kirke sailed up the St. Lawrence to Quebec and summoned Champlain to surrender. The little colony had been almost forgotten by the Home authorities and were starving, each reduced to a ration of seven ounces of pease flour per day and not fifty pounds of ammunition in the magazine. Champlain made such a defiant answer that Kirke, thinking him better provisioned and garrisoned, retired after burning the barracks at Tadousac. The new Company of one hundred Associates were sending out supplies of every description and new colonists but their vessels were captured by the Kirke brothers. The following year, David Kirke a second time appeared before Quebec when Champlain, no longer able to hold out against the neglect of the Home authorities, was forced to surrender. On the 22nd of July, 1629, the lilies of France gave way to the red cross of England, and for the first time the banner of old England floated over the bastions of Quebec, amid volleys of guns from the anchored English vessels. Quebec was restored to France in 1632 by the Treaty of St. Germain en Laye. While in France during the interval, Champlain published a complete history of what had transpired in Canada from the foundation of the colony. In 1633 Cardinal Richelieu invested him again as Governor of Canada, and the father of this country joyfully returned to the land of his adoption, bringing with him two hundred persons, seamen and colonists, and two Recollets. July fourth the town of Three Rivers (Trois Riviers) was founded. August thirteenth, Fort Richelieu (Sorel) founded. It was in pursuance of a vow Champlain erected a chapel called Notre Dame de la Recouvrance in memory of the recovery of the country and deliverance from shipwreck.

Christmas day, 1635, marked a day of grief and sorrow in the annals of New France. In a chamber of the old Fort of St. Louis, breathless and cold, lay the hardy frame which war, the wilderness and the sea had buffeted so long in vain. At the age of sixty eight the Father and Founder of the Country lay dead.

All the morn, the wan white mist is creeping,
Round the lone far habitation,
And the snow falls unceasing!
  Heaven's sign of sympathy!
Pain is in the air—the year is dying,
Fear is on the faces of the crowd,
One—the Country's well beloved, is lying
  In his shroud.

He is lying in a lighted chamber,
The true heart and brave,
To all noble things devoted solely—
So he strays in fields of asphodel,
Underneath the smile of God most holy
  Faring well!

Oh! be sure the dear Lord came to greet him,
This true knight who did his cause espouse,
Bending down with glad sweet words to greet him
  To His home.

There is much to be learned from the review of such a life. A young man when he landed first on Laurentian shores, almost the same age as Wolfe when he gained immortal fame on the plains of Abraham, his heroic perseverance and calm endeavor of purpose in spite of the weakness of his resources, neglect of Home authorities, sickness, hunger, rigorous climate and death of followers, combined with his deep religious life, rank him as "Chevalier sans peur et sans reproche." Thirty years of such continuous efforts to establish the Colony of Canada, testify to the perseverance and strength of his character. He added immense possessions to the crown of France, not by the power of the sword, so much as by the power of his daily Christian life. He may be ranked as the first missionary to the Indians, living among them and daily teaching them the truths of Christianity, he labored unceasingly with the help of the Recollets brothers to convert the Indians. His death was a sad blow to the Hurons, over whom he exercised unbounded influence. Suspicious of the influence of the Jesuits, he encouraged the less ambitious Orders in the Church to carry on missionary work. His manuscript, illustrated by maps and drawings, bear testimony of his fidelity as an author and ability as a writer. The hero of modern times to whom we can compare Champlain is General Gordon. "True soldier and true statesman, whose object was ever the welfare of the country over which he governed, who in war sought not the glory of victory but the riches of peace—soldier without shame or reproach, statesman of unsullied honor and integrity." A man who conquered savages and founded our Canada by vanquishing so few.

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CANADIAN HISTORY

Read before the Wentworth Historical Society

BY THE HON. DONALD MACINNES.

PART I

FEELING convinced that no subject can be more instructive and interesting, or a knowledge of it of greater importance than the history of one's country, I have consented, at the request of your President and other members of the Wentworth Historical Society, to write a paper on the History of Canada. I have not undertaken this duty without reluctance and misgiving, because my own reading and study of the subject have not been such as to warrant a belief that I am able to convey much instruction to others. I have, therefore, at the outset to crave your indulgence; all that I shall attempt is to take a rapid glance at some of the most important events in the history of our country from its discovery and early settlement down to the conquest and the treaty of Paris, 1763.

I shall draw your attention to the various histories which have been written and to the various sources of information within my knowledge, and should I succeed in so interesting others as to induce a perusal of them, I shall feel that my paper has been of some use. My comments are intended to be purely of a national, historical and non-partisan character.

Although the physical geography of our country must already be familiar to you, I think it well to commence by taking a glance at its enormous area, its fertile plains, its great lakes, rivers and mountains. The area is 3,740,253 square miles; it is greater than that of the United States, excluding Alaska, and within 329,747 square miles of being as large as the whole of Europe. I venture the statement that the fact of the area of Canada being larger than that of the United States proper, or being very nearly as large as the whole of Europe, is not generally realized even in Canada. It most certainly is not outside of Canada, either in the United States or in England, and this too after losing a considerable slice of a most valuable territory down by the sea. The Ashburton Treaty did that. American diplomacy is certainly more successful than English diplomacy, at all events as regards this continent, and more recently we lost the Island of San Juan on the Pacific Coast, that was left to the arbitration of a great king, the Emperor of Germany, and his decision was in favor of American contentions and then diplomacy was again triumphant.

The fertile belt of our North West was described in the deed of surrender by the Hudson Bay Company at the time that country was transferred to Canada, as bounded on the south by the International Boundry, on the west by the Rocky Mountains, and on the north by the North Saskatchewan, and on the east by Lake Winnipeg, Lake of the Woods, and waters connecting them; but it is now established beyond a doubt that the fertile belt extends an average of one hundred miles north of the North Saskatchewan along its whole length, and that as we proceed westward along the River the fertile agricultural area extends much farther in a northerly direction, reaching the Peace River and the Athabasca valley as the mountains are approached; an area sufficient to support a farming and pastoral population vastly greater than the whole of the present population of Canada. It contains within it no less than two hundred and seventy million acres of land susceptible of cultivation and with a propitious climate.

There is nothing in the known world to equal the marvelous chain of great lakes which are either wholly within our own territory or lying along its borders. They are: Lakes Ontario, Erie, Huron, Superior, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Great Slave, Great Bear and Mistassini, besides numerous smaller ones. The four first named lie along our borders, and of these Lake Superior is the greatest, its area is 32,000 square miles, and Lake Ontario is the most beautiful (Ontario is its Indian name and means "beautiful water"), its area is 7,300 square miles or about the same area as that of the Island of Jamaica. The other lakes, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Great Slave, Great Bear, are within our Northwest Territory, and Lake Mistassini in our Northeast Territory. This latter lake may be said to be of recent discovery; public attention was first drawn to it when the members of the British Association visited Canada in 1888. The Chairman of the Geographical Section, Sir Henry Lefroy, alluded to it in his address. It is worthy of mention that the water of these lakes are singularly pure and clear.

The rivers are: The St. Lawrence, the St. John, the Restigonche and Miramichi in the East; the two Saskatchewans, Assiniboine and Red River in the West, the Mackenzie, the Peace and the

Churchill in the North, the Kootenay, the Columbia and the Fraser in British Columbia. The Mountain Ranges, extending 3000 miles from north to south, are the Rockies, the Selkirks and the Cascades. The grandeur and scenery of these mountains are unsurpassed in any part of the world, the Canadian Pacific Railway crossing them on its way from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. These mountains, besides the regions at the head of Lake Superior, are known to abound in rich mines of silver, copper, nickel, iron and gold.

British Columbia, on the Pacific coast, possesses a considerable area of agricultural lands and valuable forests of timber, and its climate delightfully mild.

The Island of Vancouver contains rich mines of coal of a superior quality. San Francisco and other cities in California on the Pacific coast get their supplies of coal mainly from these mines.

To make the sketch of the physical features of our country more complete I should also take a rapid glance at old Canada. At Ontario with its temperate climate, its fertile soil producing wheat and every kind of cereals as well as fruits, peaches, apples, grapes, etc., growing in the open fields in great abundance. At Quebec with its great manufacturing possibilities, as well as its agricultural and mining resources. At the Maritime Provinces with their rich mines of coal, iron and gold. And lastly at Newfoundland with its great fishery interests. It is the oldest of British colonies, and its importance can hardly be over rated as the nursery of colonial and British seamen from its discovery down to the present time. These vast possessions are the inheritance of Canadian British freemen, under the aegis of one of the most powerful and greatest of nations, with the most perfect freedom to mould their own destinies. Surely no people could be blessed with greater opportunities, and if true to their own past history and achievements, it requires no prophet to foresee that they must make of this vast domain a great and powerful Canadian British nation, and that within the lives of men now living.

It should be remembered that in 1820 Canada and the Australias were only geographical expressions with a population of about half a million; they now contain ten millions. The people of the United States then numbered less than ten millions and are now over sixty millions.

This magnificent country which I have endeavored to describe was a *terra incognita* to the nations of Europe until the discovery of Labrador and the Island of Newfoundland by John Cabot in 1497, and the beginnings of its colonization and settlement under French rule were laid in the 16th and 17th centuries. Columbus who steered a southerly course touched at San Salvador in the Bahamas in 1492, five years prior to Cabot's discoveries in the north.

A brief reference to the condition of European nations at the period under review, the various courses pursued by them regarding new discoveries and acquisitions on this continent, the motives which actuated them and the trend of the events which followed will be more clearly understood and appreciated. Indeed, the history of Canada is so interwoven with that of European nations that in order to make the narrative properly understood and clear a continual reference to the explorations, discoveries and conquests by the Spanish, Portuguese and French in South America as well as the explorations, discoveries and settlements by the English in that portion of North America which has since become United States territory, is necessary.

With the revival of learning and the invention of the compass there was a general awakening of the western nations. About the 15th century Spain, Portugal and Holland, envious of the enormous wealth of the Italian republics, strove to take away their monopoly. This could only be done by finding a new way to the east by the open sea; they could not compete with the Italian merchants in the close waters of the Mediterranean. Christopher Columbus, a citizen of Genoa, who was doubtless well versed in all that was then known in science and geography, and as his own countrymen naturally did not wish him to engage in adventures which would open the western route to the Indies to the destruction of their own trade monopoly, offered his services to Ferdinand and Isabella. He was entrusted with a vessel and crew mostly convicts and criminals. They set sail from the harbour of Palos in Portugal, their friends taking a sad farewell of them never expecting to see them again. When he touched first at San Salvador October 12th 1492 he thought that he had reached India, the Japanese and Malayan archipelagoes of the far east. In thus thinking he altogether miscalculated the earth's size. The great Pacific Ocean and the enormous continent of America were never known to Columbus. On this voyage he visited Cuba and some of the neighbouring islands, and sailed back to Europe

To the Spaniards the returning discoverer seemed as one risen from the dead, and a most enthusiastic reception was given to him by the Queen and the nation. The spell was now broken and mariner after mariner followed Columbus' track and course westward.

Newfoundland, as has been already observed, is the oldest of British colonies. The events which have recently transpired and the misunderstandings which are taking place between the Government of the Island, the Mother Country and France, are of the greatest importance and are especially interesting to us. These misunderstandings appear to be reaching a crisis at the present time, but Great Britain, who may rightly be termed *Pax Britannica*, will doubtless arrive at a peaceful settlement and understanding with the Islanders themselves and with the French nation. The bait required by the fishermen in the Newfoundland fisheries enters largely into these disputes. I take the liberty, as it is germain to the subject of my paper, to quote the following extract from a most interesting article on Newfoundland by Lady Blake—published in one of the periodicals of the day—after describing how stringent laws had been passed to prevent permanent settlement being made on the Island, with a view to prevent the formation of family ties in a land which England then sought to keep merely as a fishery station and a nursery for her seamen, Lady Blake writes:

Fishing is the staff of life in Newfoundland, and cod is the only denizen of the deep acknowledged to be fish in the Island. In a conversation with a fisherman one day we enquired as to his luck so far that year. I have taken a sight o' salmon, was his answer, 'but no fish yet this season. When the capelin (a small fish used for bait) strikes the coast it is a gay and picturesque sight to see the shores of the various bays thronged with an eager crowd ladling the glittering mass of little silver fish about the size of sprats into carts and baskets. The sea is alive with capelin swimming in headlong haste and heedless of the destruction which awaits them on land—whence they come and whither they go is unknown; possibly they resolve on committing suicide on the first land they encounter rather than fall into the jaws of the relentless whales that follow in their wake. They are a very delicate fish to eat and a bait irresistible to cod. When the capelin have disappeared their place as bait is supplied by herrings, and after these arrive the squid. The latter are in great shoals, and they individually measure about six inches when the shoals are first seen and attain almost a foot and a half in length when like the capelin they disappear and are no more seen.

John Cabot, to whom allusion has been already made as the discoverer of Newfoundland, 1497 emulated by the example of Columbus obtained a charter from Henry VII conferring privileges on himself and his three sons, Lewis, Sebastien and Sancius. I think it worth while to quote what was written by an Italian named Soncinus to the Duke of Milan concerning Cabot's intentions and objects. He writes: "The Englishmen, Cabot's partners, say that they can bring so many fish that this kingdom will have no more business with Iceland, and that from this country there will be a great trade in fish but John Cabot has his thoughts directed to a greater undertaking for he thinks of going after the place is occupied along the coast further to the East, till he is opposite the Island called Cipango (Japan) situate in the equinoctial region where he believes all the spices grow and where there are also gems and in the spring he says His Majesty will arm some ships and will give him all the convicts so that he may go to this country and plant a colony there, and in this way he hopes to make London a greater place for spices than Alexandria and the principals of this business are citizens of Bristol great mariners who now know where to go. They say that the voyage will not take more than fifteen days if fortune favors them after leaving Hernia (Ireland) and I believe some poor Italian friars will go on this voyage who have the promise of being made bishops, and I, being a friend of the Admiral if I wished to go could have an archbishopric!

Cabot evidently designed to reach the far East; the land of Cipango (Japan) had a marvelous fascination on the minds of all geographers and explorers, for here was the El Dorado, the treasure house of the world but in the absence of maps or exact knowledge of geography they all miscalculated the distance. John Cabot was not destined to discover this golden region of Cipango but coasting along the shores of Labrador he came to Newfoundland here fisheries were discovered infinitely richer than those of Iceland, here was opened up a new world of enterprise to the sailors of Great Britain, which has lasted from the date of Cabot's discovery to the present time—a gold or a diamond mine may be exhausted but the harvest of the sea goes on forever—such was the substantial El

Dorado which Cabot and the British adventurers chanced upon, with them also rests the honor of first seeing the American continent. He returned to England, got a second charter from Henry VII in 1498, giving him authority to trade and colonize, and on his voyage he went in his search for the Northwest passage as far as Hudson's Straits where he was turned back by the ice. In Henry the Eighth's reign his son Sebastian procured a royal charter, and, with Sir Thomas Pest again attempted the Northwest passage to India by Hudson Straits. It remained for the Canadian Pacific Railway to solve this problem. That company by its steamers on the Pacific Ocean and its railway across the American Continent, through Canada, is enabled to transport mails and passengers in twenty one days from China to London.

Cabot after his return to England became the governor of a company of merchant adventurers, received a pension from the Crown, and died at a ripe old age. Purchas, a writer of works of travel and himself a noted traveler of that era, says that America should not be so called from Americus Vespucius, but rather Cabotiana or Sebastiana, after John and Sebastian Cabot.

MacGregor, the historian of British America, has written thus concerning Newfoundland — For two centuries and a half after its discovery by Cabot Newfoundland was of more mighty importance to Great Britain than any other colony, and it is doubtful if the British Empire could have risen to its great and superior rank among the nations of the earth, if any other power held Newfoundland. It undoubtedly occupies a strategic point as the outpost of America, and the key to the St. Lawrence, and the nursery of the colonial marine.

Cabot, by his discovery of Newfoundland in 1497, had given England a prior claim by right of discovery to the continent of North America. In 1540 Francis de la Roque, Lord of Roberval, obtained from the French king a commission as Lord and Viceroy with full authority over the immense territories and islands which were in the Gulf and along the River St. Lawrence. This clashed with the charter of the Cabots, given them by Henry VII and VIII, assigning to them all lands that might be discovered, with sole right to trade.

In June 1578 a royal charter was given to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, with license to discover such remote lands as were not actually possessed by any christian king or people, and to hold and occupy the same for himself and his heirs But it was not till 1583 that he unfolded the flag of England in the Island of Newfoundland and exacted homage from the fishing fleet. In 1655 New France meant according to French claims, Newfoundland, Labrador Acadia, Canada and the country to the west A continual rivalry was thus kept up between the English and the French for the possession and control of Newfoundland and its fisheries

The first attempt at organized settlement was made in 1624 when Lord Baltimore (Sir George Calvert) obtained a special patent for the southern promontory of the Island, to which it is said he gave the name of "Avalon" after the hallowed spot in the west of England, where according to legend, Joseph of Arimathea took refuge carrying with him the holy grail

Sir David Kirk (of whom we shall hear more) became grantee of the Newfoundland settlement and lived and died there During the civil war he offered King Charles an asylum in Newfoundland, of which he might have availed himself and like King Arthur in the Island valley of Avalon healed himself of his grevious wounds if Cromwell had spared his head Prince Rupert, upon Kirke's invitation set sail for Avalon to recruit his fleet there from amongst the hardy fisherman but he was compelled to abandon his intention as a fleet of the commonwealth was sent to intercept him

The first appointment of a regular Governor was made in 1728 prior to that there was no regular Government. Power was vested in a class of sea captains styled Admirals and who according to the order of the arrival of their ships in any harbor were admiral vice admiral and rear admiral of the port. They were servants of the merchants who sent them out and were coarse and illiterate In 1715 a representation to the Home Government was made, asking for the appointmt of a regular Governor which was done as stated in 1728.

By the Treaty of Ryswick in 1702 various places on the south coast of which Placentia was the French capital were kept in possession of the French and in 1702 they held nearly the whole of the Island in their possession. The Treaty of Utrechet 1713 secured the complete sovereignty of England but it conceded certain fishery rights which have been a continual source of trouble ever since, down to the present day

If the great English minister Pitt had been in office at the period of the Treaty of Paris in 1762, these rivalries about Newfoundland and the fisheries, and the troubles and disputes arising therefrom, in place of being living issues, would have been then set at rest and would in all probability only be past history to the present generation.

In 1761, during the negotiations for peace between England and France, the French minister, while negotiating with Pitt who was then in power, had made a secret treaty with Spain, known as the family compact, having for its object the union of the various members of the House of Bourbon in common resistance to the then growing power of England. Pitt divined the secret treaty and soon found evidence of it. He resolved at once to demand a full explanation from Spain, and failing to receive a satisfactory reply attack her at home and abroad before she was prepared. He laid his plans before a Cabinet council, there being present Earl Bute, Duke of Newcastle, Earl Greenville, Earl Temple and others of the ministry. Pitt urged his views with great warmth. "This," he exclaimed, "was the time for humbling the whole House of Bourbon." His recommendations did not prevail and he resigned.

Power fell to Bute, and great was the fall. The mass of the nation were with the defeated minister. The financial condition of France was desperate, her people were crushed with taxation. The French minister Choiseul felt the need of immediate peace, and George III and Bute were hardly less eager for it to avert the danger of Pitt's return to power, and give free scope to their schemes for strengthening the prerogative of the crown, concerning which they were more anxious than for the welfare and prosperity of the nation.

In September 1762 negotiations for peace were resumed. In November the plenipotentiaries of England, France and Spain agreed on the preliminaries of peace. The points interesting to us are that France ceded to Great Britain all her possessions on the North American continent east of the River Mississippi, except the city of New Orleans and a small adjacent district. She renounced her claims to Acadia, the Island of Cape Breton and all other islands in the Gulf and River St. Lawrence subject to certain restrictions. France was left free to fish in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and off a part of Newfoundland, and two little islands, St. Pierre and Miquelon, were given her as fishing stations on condition that she should not fortify or garrison them. The effect of their concession has been to furnish a bone of contention and to perpetuate the troubles and disputes about Newfoundland and its fisheries down to this day and generation. In December, when the question of approving the preliminaries came up before both Houses of Parliament, Pitt, confined by gout, was not present till late in the day, when the House was startled by repeated cheers from outside. The doors opened and the fallen minister entered carried in the arms of his servants and followed by an applauding crowd. He spoke for about three hours, sometimes with a burst of power, sometimes with the accents of pain and exhaustion. He highly commended the retention of Canada, but denounced the leaving to France a share of the fisheries. Had Britain's greatest statesman been at the helm at that period, it is safe to say that all cause for future trouble and disputes concerning them would then have been swept away.

I think it will be interesting, and clear the ground as it were, if we take a rapid glance at the explorations and easy conquests in South America by the Spanish and Portuguese, before recounting the story of the struggles, difficulties and hardships encountered by the English and French to found colonial empires in the North.

We are apt to forget that England as a European power in the 15th and 16th centuries held a secondary place as compared with other European powers, notably Spain and Portugal and even Holland. Spain and Portugal were the most powerful, and their American possessions were vastly greater than those of any other nation.

In the early history of America charters and concessions were granted to favored individuals and companies with a lavish hand.

In May, 1493, the year succeeding Columbus' discovery of the Bahamas, Pope Alexander issued a *Bull* in which with a grand simplicity he drew an imaginary line from the north to the south pole, one hundred leagues west of the Azores, assigning to Spain all that lay west of the boundary, while all to the east of it was confined to Portugal. This imaginary geographical definition was not accepted by other nations. Frances I. of France exclaimed, "*What* shall the Kings of Spain and Portugal divide all America between them without suffering me to take a share as their brother? I would fain see the article in Adam's will that bequeathed this vast inheritance to them."

Sir Edward Creasy in his fifteen decisive battles, has pointed out that prior to the dispersion of the Great Armada it was hard to realize the weakness of England as compared with Spain. England then had no Indian or Colonial empire, save the feeble germs of North American settlement which Raleigh and others had planted recently, concerning which we shall learn later on.

Scotland was then a separate kingdom and Ireland in rebellion. Queen Elizabeth had found and encumbered revenue, a divided people, and an unsuccessful foreign war; she had also a pretender to her throne favored by all Roman Catholic powers. France and Spain were about this time planting colonies on the American continent. In 1564 Coligny planted a French Protestant colony in Florida. Coligny had long wished to establish a Protestant French Empire in America and obtained an ample concession from Charles IX. It proved a disastrous failure.

This attempt of French Protestants to found colonies in America, occurring as it does 58 years before the exodus of the Pilgrim Fathers and the beginning of New England, has sometimes been contrasted with it, but Coligny's expedition differed widely from the Puritan exodus. Coligny's object was to encourage French emigration to the new world assisted by the State, while the Puritan exodus was expatriation caused by religious persecutions. It incurred the hostility of the Spaniards, and an expedition under the cruel Pedro Menendez was sent out and the French colony was ruthlessly destroyed, and Philip II, of Spain, proclaimed monarch of all North America. The Spanish power was firmly established around Hespanola. Porto Rico was the centre and the Gulf of Mexico their "mare clausum," from the furthest cape of the Caribbean along the shores of the Cape of Florida she was undisputed mistress by sea and land.

The progress of Spain to the south as can be learned from their annals was one of rapid conquest. The prizes of victory were prodigiously great, the wealth of despoiled Mexico and Peru was almost fabulous; broken adventurers and bankrupt noblemen went to South America to recruit their broken fortunes. Ferdinand Cortez, 1518, marched into Mexico, pillaged the rich capital of the Aztecs and treacherously laid hands on the aged monarch Montezuma. Further south Pizarro, 1527-32, conquered the rich empire of the Incas. The American continent from Mexico to the Straits of Magellan was at their feet and Pope Alexander's Bull which gave all the world west of the Azores to Spain was about to be fulfilled

When Balboa a Spaniard crossed the Isthmus of Panama and saw the waters of the Pacific Ocean he rushed forward and plunging into the waters took possession of the ocean in the king's name Spain and Portugal after gaining an American colonial empire lost it by their corruption and ignorance in the art of governing But there remains a splendid series of free states from Chili to Mexico and from the Argentine Republic to Brazil South American republics have sprung from Spain and Portugal Brazil from Portugal their populations are to a large extent of Indian blood Together with the first conquests of Spain came the triumphs of geographical discovery Juan Ponce de Leon an adventurous Spaniard searching for the fabled fountain of youth discovered Florida on Easter Day 1513 Francisco Fernandez of Cordova, sailing from Havana discovered the peninsula of Yucatan and the Bay of Campeachy 1517 and next year his pilot explored the whole coast of Yucatan towards Panuco, bringing back much gold and rumors of the empire of Montezuma In 1519 Francisco de Gama, a companion of Columbus on his second voyage and Governor of Jamaica explored the west of Florida and discovered the Mississippi called el Rio Espiritu Santo From the Bahamas northward to Carolina and to the Bay of Delaware called in Spanish geography St Christopher the Spaniards pushed their explorations and in January 1525 Stephen Gomez a Portuguese explorer sailed as far north as the Hudson in an attempt to find the northern passage to Cathay But the Spaniards were content to leave the frozen regions of the north to the French and British whilst they carried on their exploration for the treasures of the kingdoms of the warm south

One of their most intrepid pioneers was Cabeza de Vacca who, like the great Frenchman Champlain, whose deeds and heroism we shall find recorded in the story of Canadian explorations, lived amongst the natives learned their ways, and became a skilful pathfinder He reached Texas, travelled as far north as lat 3d long. 104 west and wandered on westward till he drew near to the Pacific Ocean in May 1536. The narrative of Ferdinand de Zote of Zeres Pizarro's favorite comrade, who after terrible sufferings in his explorations in the valley of the Mississippi died and was buried in the waters of the mighty river itself, bequeathing the honor of discovery to the Spaniards.

In the north the story of exploration, conquest and colonization reads differently. The native tribes, such as the Iroquois or the Five Nations were made of sterner stuff than the Mexicans in the south. The annals of northern explorations are full of never ceasing conflict with the natives, unlike those of the ravaging bands of Pizarro who had only to put out their hands and keep.

In both instances the course of conquest had its moral effects. In the north every energy of body and mind were called into requisition to subdue the natives and to till the soil; its history is a record of fierce struggles and great hardships. The moral effects are apparent down to the present time; in the one case instability and uncertainty prevail, governments are overturned, revolution after revolution follow each other, while in the north there is stability of government, law and order prevail, civil and religious liberty, as well as security to life and property—blessings inestimable, worthy to be guarded at all hazards.

JACQUES CARTIER AND THE FRENCH EXPLORERS.

It was during Henry VIII's reign in 1553-5, while Francis I was reigning in France, that North American exploration was boldly carried on by Jacques Cartier. The French king thinking that his country should have some share in the world's riches, sent out his noted navigator on voyages of discovery. He sailed three times from France making new explorations on each occasion. He first visited Newfoundland, sailing through the Straits of Belle Isle, entered Bay Chaleur and landed in Gaspe. While at Gaspe he heard from the Indians a wonderful account of the St. Lawrence. The next year he fitted out a second expedition, and sailing up the river discovered Stadacona, an Indian village, on the site where Quebec now stands. Donacona, the chief who ruled over the Algonquins, welcomed him and treated him very kindly. Further up the river he found the Indian town of Hochelaga, belonging to the Hurons; here also he was kindly treated by the natives who had never seen Europeans before and believed them to possess supernatural gifts. Cartier spent the winter at Stadacona, and in the spring he sailed to Europe taking Donacona and many Indian warriors with him, 1536. Cartier did not revisit the St. Lawrence for five years, when he returned for the third time. He was associated with Sieur de Roberval, who was nominated Vice Regent of Canada and of the colonies to be established there, but Cartier and Roberval were unable to agree. The natives were less friendly than they had been before. Cartier and the little band of colonists led a miserable existence at Cape Rouge and they returned to France. It was nearly fifty years before the French again made any serious attempt to colonize.

We will leave the narrative of French explorations with this preliminary sketch and take it up and follow them continuously later, and in the meantime it will be both interesting and instructive to follow the course of English adventures which finally led to the founding of an American Colonial Empire—a Greater Britain. England, during the greater part of the 16th century, made no attempt to colonize the great valley of the St. Lawrence, although the French may be said to have abandoned it for about half a century after Jacques Cartier's third and last return to France from the small settlement which he had established at Cape Rogue.

The apathy of the English may be traced to various causes. English sailors were too much engrossed with the fisheries of Newfoundland and Cape Breton to undertake the settlement of the country inland, and the climate of the portion of the Gulf of St. Lawrence then known to them they considered unfavorable for the beginning of an infant colony; and moreover during the 16th century English mariners were more specially interested in the search for the northwest and northeast passages. Robert Thorne, of Bristol, who accompanied the Cabots on their first voyage, expressed the general feeling. He said: "If I had the faculty to my will the first thing I would undertake even to attempt would be to ascertain if our seas northward be navigable to the Pole or not." Sir Frances Drake, the first Englishman to pass the Straits of Magellan, sailed up the west coast of the American continent as far as latitude 43 north, purposing to return east by the way of the northeast and northwest passage, but was stopped at what appeared to him after the tropics, the intolerable cold of the Californian climate. Sir Martin Frobisher, one of the boldest of the Elizabethan captains, regarded this northwest passage as the only great thing left undone and made three voyages in search of it.

Geographers then took for granted the strait connecting the

North Atlantic and North Pacific, and in old maps it is delineated and made to correspond with the Straits of Magellan and on the far side lay Cathay separated only by the narrow Straits of Anian, and there was a mythical rumour that the Greek sailor, San Juan de Fuca, after whom the straits of that name on the Pacific Coast are named, thirteen years after Drake's voyage wished to go there to fortify it against the possible inroads of the English.

In 1587 Davis, under the patronage of secretary Walsingham, made three voyages in search of the Northwest passage and reached the high latitude called after his name. The idea was a life project with Henry Hudson—after whom Hudson Straits were named. This passion for Northwest passages helped to withdraw the eyes of the English from the St. Lawrence and set them in the direction of Hudson Bay.

English colonization in North America began first of all with private enterprise; individuals set out on voyages of discovery at their own cost.

Raleigh devoted his life to schemes of North American colonization and sacrificed to his faith in them his property and then his life. He was the brightest star of that galaxy of great men who lived in the stormy times of Queen Elizabeth. In addition to commanding courage he possessed in a more than ordinary degree light, knowledge and enthusiasm. Had he turned his attention to the great St. Lawrence valley and to the great inland lakes of North America as eagerly as he did towards Virginia and Guiana, English colonists would probably have cultivated the fertile lands bordering them, explored the Mississippi and opened up the Northwest regions long before the French who for so many years seemed to halt at the gateway of the continent.

The reign of Charles II. stands out in the history of Great Britain as a period of remarkable progress. It was then especially that the American colonies took the character which they had when they attracted so much attention in the next century of an uninterrupted series of settlements extending from south to north along the Atlantic coast, for it was then that the Carolinas and Pennsylvania were founded and the Dutch were expelled from New York and Delaware. Considered as a whole and judged by the standard of the time, this American settlement begins now to be imposing. Its distinction is that it has a population which is at once large and almost purely European. The row of English colonies on the Atlantic was perhaps already the most solid achievement in the way of colonization that any European state could boast, though it would seem insignificant enough if judged by a modern standard.

The population of the twelve oldest colonies,—the two Carolinas and Georgia, Virginia and Maryland, Pennsylvania and Delaware, New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Providence, and Massachusetts,—are calculated at about 207,000.

We learn from the history of the New England colonies that from their commencement in 1620, for twenty years there was, until the meeting of the long Parliament, a steady exodus from England, but for a special reason, viz., because the Anglican Church was then harsh, and New England offered a refuge for Puritanism, Brownism, or independence. Parliament met, the exodus ceased, and afterwards for a hundred years there was so little emigration into New England from old England that it was believed to balance the counter movement of colonists quitting the country. The steady stream of emigration to the New World did not begin till the peace of 1815.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

MR. GEORGE H. MILLS

Read at the open meeting for the season of 1890-91, Tuesday evening, November 18th, 1890.

IT has become an established precedent that the President of every organization or Association shall some time during his incumbency deliver some sort of an address. Whether such an address shall be edifying or an infliction upon his audience is rarely or never considered. It is in compliance with this inexorable rule that I purpose speaking to you very briefly this evening.

I may say at the outset that the inception of all Associations with objects and aspirations similar to ours has been the legitimate offspring of what may be properly designated "patriotic sentiment." That where these Associations have proved successful the spread of this sentiment has been the chief cause of success, and where they have ended in failure, a decline of that sentiment has been apparent. Assuming this to be substantially true it may be asked, what then is patriotism? Our language thus defines it: "Love of one's country; the passion which aims to serve one's country, either by defending it from invasion or protecting its rights and maintaining its laws and institutions in vigor and purity; patriotism is the characteristic of a good citizen; the noblest passion that animates a man in the character of a citizen." Historical societies formed and fighting under such a banner can be no discredit to any country. They know no party; they simply love their country. They are free institutions and as such their submission to the authority of government is no more than a compliance with laws which they themselves have helped to enact, and while the national honor is firmly maintained, and while justice is impartially administered, their obedience will be voluntary and cheerful, possibly unlimited.

The influence of such Associations ought to promote manhood, furnish strength to the arm raised in defence of right, and paralyze the designs of traitors. It should nurture power to protect the weak, guard the innocent and punish the guilty. Nations draw their stability from the patriotism of their subjects. It is indeed the keystone to the arch of national construction, and in a free country the greatest safeguard to liberty, independence and progress, its decline a prelude to national degeneracy, its spread an indication of national vigor. Without patriotism, Canada, with all her wealth of resource and her almost boundless territory may never hope to take a prominent place among nations; with it that destiny would seem inevitable.

The Roman Empire fell because patriotism declined and cupidity flourished. So it was with other nationalties whose histories tell of perished grandeur and decaying patriotism. If what I have stated be true or even faintly approaching the truth, why should popular patriotic histories of this grand Dominion not be encouraged? Why should our common schools and our universities be comparatively destitute of them? Why should full knowledge of this priceless inheritance manfully acquired and heroically defended by our forefathers be withheld from their children? Why, in a word, should Canadian history take any but a foremost place in all our educational institutions?

There can be no rational answer to negative the demand. It is indeed gratifying to have observed during the past two years the increasing interest taken in the demand for a larger representation of Canadian literature in our schools, as indicated by letters and leading articles in our newspapers, and it may not be speaking beyond the fact to say, that the Historical and Pioneer Societies throughout the Dominion—becoming daily more influential—have had something to do with the existing popularity of the subject. The good work in this direction already accomplished by the Pioneer and Historical Society in Toronto, so ably presided over by the venerable Dr. Scadding, and the Lundy's Lane Association, with its energetic president, Canon Bull, entitles these organizations to the highest regards of thoughtful and cultivated men. But while they as united bodies are attracting public attention, individual interest and energy are not wanting. Only a few days since I noticed in the papers that a patriotic gentleman in Ontario had offered $2000 as a reward for the production of a Canadian history suitable for our schools. Whoever the gentleman may be, I think you will endorse the opinion that the country at large will appreciate his laudable proposal His money could scarcely be better applied, while the subject for which he has so generously offered this prize is sufficiently interesting to attract the attention of the most capable writers in the Dominion

If I have rightly understood their motives the many historical societies throughout the Dominion have a common object, and that is to assist with all the power of their influence, in laying broad and deep the foundations upon which the future of this larger part of the continent of North America may assuredly and safely rest, and this they believe may be attained by encouraging patriotic sentiment United, their efforts will certainly be crowned with success separated the result may be doubtful I am, therefore impressed that no time should be lost in calling a convention of delegates from all of these associations, and that such convention shall arrange for a united membership, and adopt rules to direct and govern the entire combination. Such a confederation would attract to itself enlarged membership and enhanced resources sufficient to enable it to propagate its principles and extend its influence to the utmost borders of the Dominion

The rugged manhood of this Canada of ours has *so far* overcome every obstacle in the way of progress from the first French colonies planted in Quebec, only to be decimated by starvation and the rigor of the climate to the war of 1812-14, when the total population of the two provinces barely reaching 275,000 successfully resisted the invasion of a nation at the time possessing a population of 8,000,000 In no boastful spirit should all this be remembered but still it should be remembered

To-day we are in the full enjoyment of peace, plenty and prosperity governed and protected by laws and institutions unsurpassed for their purity equity and intelligence Let us do our best to transmit these blessings to those who come after us, and we will have accomplished a work that we shall never be ashamed of But patriotism must be guided by freedom of thought to promote progress to be effective in the accomplishment of great designs and lasting results

Freedom of thought is healthful to the mind as exercise to the body yet the clashing of thoughts, unlike the forcible collision of material bodies is followed not by disaster and destruction but by increased vigor clearer conceptions and a nearer approach to truth

The brilliant achievements of the latter half of this century are clearly the outcome of unhampered thought. The new era now spread before us, indicating still grander developments, is a product of the same agency, and far more astounding results will hereafter be reached at lessened intervals.

If absolute truth be desirable, there can be no possible argument in favor of thrusting obstacles in the way of its attainment. Yet until very recently he who ventured an opinion at variance with preconceived dogmas, at once became the object of scorn and derision. Not so now; liberty of thought after centuries of bondage, has struggled on, and is to-day a recognised prerogative. Its gems of beauty and truth are treasured up, its dross and tinsel repudiated. The incubus of restraint is passing away, while mental activity is encouraged. The world grows in wisdom and morality as the knowledge of right is dispensed, and wrong disproved, by that marvellous agency, unhampered thought. It is the strong grasp of unrestrained intelligence, that draws from the darkest recesses of nature proofs of an over-ruling providence; it is the same force that accelerates the progress, and assures the amelioration of mankind.

Wonderful events have happened in this busy, ever-changing world, within or nearly within my memory. In 1819 the first steamship, the "Savannah," crossed the Atlantic. The "Savannah" was an American vessel, fitted as well with sailing as with steam appliances. It is now however stated—with what degree of accuracy I do not know—"that she did not steam across the ocean at all, that her paddles were safely stowed away in her hold until she entered the British channel." She was twenty-six days going from New York to Liverpool. Previous to that date efforts had been made in England and Scotland to propel boats by steam, but partial success only had attended their efforts; canals and rivers had been navigated by steam, but the rate of speed had only reached from five to eight miles an hour, and the discovery had attracted little public attention.

It has been generally claimed in the United States that Robert Fulton, an American engineer, was the first to propel vessels by steam, but this, as in the case of the Atlantic cable, is an error. Fulton obtained his idea of boat propulsion by steam from William Symington, a Scotch engineer, who in 1802 had constructed a steam boat the "Charlotte Dundas" for Lord Dundas and who ran it on the Clyde and Forth Canal.

Fulton examined this boat with great care, took copious notes of its construction and applied his knowledge thus obtained in constructing the "Clermont," which in 1807 commenced running for accommodation of passengers between Albany and New York. Symington's boat ran at a speed of six miles an hour, Fulton's at less than five. Even after the trial trip of the "Savannah," scientific men declared that the ocean could never be successfully navigated by steam, but their predictions were disproved seventeen years after. For on the 4th day of April, 1838, the "Sirius," an English vessel with a tonnage of about seven hundred tons and three hundred and twenty horse power, started from London with 94 passengers and arrived at New York on the 22nd, having been seventeen days clear on the passage. She was followed by the "Great Western" from Bristol where the latter was built; she left on the 7th April, and arrived at New York on the 23rd having been but 15 days. The average speed of the "Great Western" was 9 knots; she was 212 feet long, twenty-five feet six inch beam, and twenty-three feet six inches in depth, drawing from sixteen to eighteen feet of water; her engines 440 horse power. The success of these two boats established the practicability of transatlantic steam navigation. Now from twenty to twenty four miles an hour are made by ocean steamers, and three are being constructed averaging over six hundred feet in length, each with engines of 30,000 horse power. These mammoth vessels will probably cross the Atlantic Ocean in less than five days, with perfect security and comfort to those who embark in them.

The first passenger railway served by steam was opened for traffic, 27th September, 1825. George Stephenson was the construction engineer. Edward Pease, a quaker, was the chief promoter. It ran from Darlington to Stockton. The second railway served by steam, to carry passengers, ran from Liverpool and Manchester. It was opened in 1829. George Stephenson designed the engine. Its rate of speed was from fourteen to seventeen miles an hour. Now the world is covered with a network of railways, some of their trains running at a rate of a mile in less than a minute. By these we may travel in days where before their introduction months were required for the journey. Our most gracious sovereign Queen Victoria was crowned in 1838. The American nation has grown from less than ten to sixty-three millions in my time, but fifty-one years before, this mighty republic was a colony of Great Britain with a population less than half that of Canada to-day. Since my recollection nearly every kind of industry required for the support and luxury of mankind was performed by the hand of man. Now machinery and steam and electricity do all this, and each succeeding year adds to their power and efficiency. The electric telegraph came into existence less than fifty years ago. The year 1858 was rendered memorable in the annals of the world by the successful laying of the Atlantic cable. This magnificent design to unite the continents of Europe and America was conceived by Frederick Newton Gisborne, an Englishman and for a time a resident of Canada, who was ably seconded by Cyrus W. Field, an American. The latter with unparalled energy and perseverance secured sufficient capital for the enterprise, and patiently watched its progress to completion. These two names will pervade all future history. I quote from a writer who thus describes the event: "On the 17th of July 1858, the 'Niagara' and 'Agamemnon' with the 'Valorous' and 'Gorgon' as tenders, bearing the Atlantic cable, put to sea and on the 29th met in mid ocean, joined the ends of the cable between the two ships bearing it, and commenced laying it in 240 fathoms (14,400 feet) water. The Niagara continuing westward, and the Agamemnon returning to the east. On the 5th of August the two ships cut the cable, and left the ends on shore on the two sides of the Atlantic: the telegraph was thus established between Valencia and Trinity Bay. But this magnificent work was doomed to failure. For a time messages were read; one was sent by Queen Victoria to the President of the United States, and an answer from him received. But the days of the first Atlantic cable were numbered. On the 1st of September it conveyed two military messages, on the following day it conveyed one congratulatory message for a public meeting in New York, addressed to Cyrus W. Field, but on the same day it failed to convey a similar message. From that time till its death struggle on the 20th October it was silent, but human enterprise was not to be baffled by this failure; the principle was established." The revolution of the world had commenced, yet the first connecting link uniting the old and the new world was lying useless at the bottom of the ocean, and has never been recovered. Another cable with additional scientific appliances was laid, and this has never been silent. The telephone, a child of the telegraph, is of still more recent date; you have witnessed its coming. Every day new developments are appearing from the application of this marvellous electrical power. We have scarcely time to stop and wonder before our attention is attracted to some new achievement through this agency, far surpassing all marvels of the past. While we think the telegraph has been carried to the possible limit of its application, we are astonished with the intelligence that messages can readily be exchanged from moving railway trains. While we are arguing that the telephone can be a success only in a limited way, we hear that people are conversing with each other who are separated a thousand miles. What will the end of all this be? Who can tell? Will communication by electrical signals yet be possible with other planets? Will the space above be yet controlled as the waters below have already been? Fanciful as the idea seems, as much opposed to existing scientific knowledge as it certainly is, these achievements would be scarcely more astounding to the coming generation than the first introduction of the electric telegraph was to me. The knowledge and control of electricity is as yet but feeble. If forty years have produced such wonders, what may not be expected within the coming twenty, when the lever is already in the hand of genius? Still improvement and amelioration in the condition of mankind have kept pace with the onward progress of steam and electricity. Education and culture have spread over the world; science has removed doubtful and speculative theories, and established immutable principles. Human life has been sensibly prolonged by sanitary provisions, a result of the profounder knowledge of nature's laws. Telegraphs, tunnels and canals have joined continents, spanned oceans, and pierced mountains; new planets and new worlds have been discovered; superstitious fears and imaginings have been allayed by a more comprehensive understanding of the universe. The bible has been carried to every land and printed in every language. All these things and far more have I witnessed. What wonders are in store for those who are now in the spring time of youth. Old England and her enterprising offspring, the United States, aided by German mental activity, have been the prime movers in these intellectual conquests. Still, without the religion of the Reformation this generation would not have been dazzled with their brilliancy, as thrift and progress have ever followed the standard of protestantism. Skepticism and doubt, social and labor theories, are now apparently making great advances, and claiming many adherents in the world, but learned and thoughtful attention are directed towards, and master minds are investigating these with the view of understanding the difficulties that surround them, exposing their fallacies and removing their grievances. The development of a wider intelligence, and a closer study of the designs of Providence will, as surely as a Providence exists, find ample remedy for every evil, and ultimately remove the cause. Copernicus and Newton, Columbus and Darwin, Savonarola and Bruno and many others have done magnificent work towards disenthralling a cramped and darkened intelligence. Those who shall come after them will still further extend the good work, until *hope* not *despair* shall dominate the human mind. May this with kindred societies do something to strengthen the forces now combining to reach that end.

I know there are no errors
  In the great eternal plan
And all things work together
  For the final good of man
And I know when my soul speeds onward
  In its grand eternal quest,
I shall say as I look back earthward
  Whatever is—is best.

THE UNITED EMPIRE LOYALISTS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY AS IMPERIAL FEDERATIONISTS.

BY THE REV. E. J. FESSENDEN, RECTOR OF CHIPPAWA

THE American Revolutionary struggle had a *two-fold* result—the birth of Canada, as well as the independence of the Thirteen Colonies, and the last word of history will never say that the cause which created Canada failed, in the centuries, to be triumphant.

A fair and intelligent statement of the origin and progress of the American Revolution, so far from pointing, as is sometimes held, to the eventual independence of all the colonies as the natural goal of their growth and development, reveals the fact that nothing but a sinister combination of adverse circumstances such as can never occur again in the Empire made the separation that then took place possible.

A true analysis of that conflict, which has in the past and must in the future so dominate our Canadian destiny, gives the most incontestable evidence that the principle and sentiment of loyalty and devotion to the Mother Country and the United Empire, is all powerful in Colonial national life, and best conserves that life's highest interests. Let us make that analysis.

Like our present, the Peace of Paris in 1763 marks a turning point in English history, brought on then by the growth and position of the American Colonies.

Three classes in the Empire had taken part in the creation of her Colonies. The Home Government sought by colonizing to extend England's power; English merchants and manufacturers promoted colonization for the enrichment of their trade, while the Colonists left the Home Land to improve their own condition and that of their posterity.

The problem given English statesmanship to solve was, by her Colonial legislation to harmonize this threefold interest of the public weal, to bring all three into cordial co-operation in advancing the one Imperial object of growing greatness and well being. In the past this had been fairly well done without any perilous conflicts of rights and interests.

But the Colonial legislation following upon the Peace of Paris was conceived in the impolitic design of strengthening the parent state in the Empire by weakening the Colonies. Each act of this ill starred policy robbed the Englishmen on the western shores of the Atlantic of some birth right or privilege sacred to them under the constitution.

The Colonies, with an irrefragable unity of public conviction and purpose, stoutly resisted these measures, and the whole Empire was plunged into the throes of a great constitutional struggle in which an appeal to arms was made.*

But such a struggle was no new thing in English history; it had more than one parallel in the past.

It has ever been through such struggles that England's constitution has broadened its freedom and deepened its rights.

While the issues that inspired the victors in the past, however great they had been, could not touch the heart and move the judgment with such brilliancy of sentiment and force of conviction as those then at stake; the Colonists, like the Barons of Runnymede, were contending not for their Magna Charta, but the Magna Charta of the Greater Britain. They would be unworthy of their ancestry and unfaithful to their cause, not only in the Colonies but in the whole commonwealth [illegible] by renouncing their citizenship in the Empire, they gave up as hopeless their maintenance of the constitutional rights and liberties of Englishmen on the American shore. And however much the conflict had deepened their cause was anything but hopeless to English force of will, when Franklin and his fellow leaders created the Independence party and out of the "blue" of those secret sessions of the Continental Congress, confounded the friends of the Colonial rights throughout the Empire, by the rebel bolt of American Independence.*

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*The Congress of 1775 declared the Colonies to be a unity in their determination to defend their rights and John Adams stated at the same time, "All America is united in sentiment every colony county city town and hundred upon the whole continent. One understanding governs, one heart animates the whole." Quoted by Bancroft, History of the United States, vol VII, chapter XXV, p 284.

Sabine, an American historian, gives in his "Loyalists of the American Revolution" repeated instances of leading Loyalists defending the constitutional rights of the Colonies and taking the lead in this defence till the declaration of Independence made such defence no longer possible. Evidence of this is given in Ryerson's "Loyalists and their Times," vol I, p. 479; Frothingham's "Rise of the Republic of the United States," pp. 438 9. "The first opposition in 1765 to the infringement of Colonial rights proceeded from the General Assembly of New York." The majority of which Assembly were afterwards of the Loyalists.

Bancroft (Museum Edition), vol III, p. 368. The same edition, vol IV, p. 582. We are told that Dickinson, the Loyalist, in the second petition of congress to the King, drawn up by him, did not ask merely for relief from Parliamentary taxation—he required security against the encroachment of Parliament on charters and laws, etc., and he was included in the King's proclamation, issued upon the receipt of the petition, among "the dangerous and designing men," whom, together with every member of Congress, as rebels and traitors, the civil and military officers were ordered to bring to justice.—Bancroft.

Up to that fateful moment the Thirteen Colonies were as one man in the defence of their rights. Only a few Imperial office holders and their retainers had dreamed for an instant of yielding to Lord North's Ministry, and they were too insignificant to breathe even the semblance of a dissentient public voice.†

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*John Adams, in nominating Washington Commander in Chief before the question of independence had been broached in Congress, said:— "Millions in England think it unrighteous to make war upon us. The City of London has bound her members under their hands to assist. Bristol has chosen two known friends of America. Many of the most virtuous of the nobility and gentry are with us, among them a St. Asaph, a Camden and a Chatham—the best bishop, as great a judge as the nation can boast and the greatest statesman I ever saw." Bancroft VII, p. 235. Bancroft in the IV vol. of his history (The British Museum Edition) says of the debate in the House of Lords of January 1775 that it went forth to the Colonies as an assurance that the inevitable war "would be a war with a Ministry and not with the British people—it took from the contest the character of internecine hatred—showed that the true spirit of England which had grown great by freedom was on the side of America."

Congress and Washington called the army they were fighting before the declaration of Independence not the Royal or English, but the Ministerial army. Life and Correspondence of President Reed by his grandson, vol. I, pp. 166 and 176. Lord Mahon's History, vol. VI, p. 32.

Washington to Reed, March 9th, 1776.

Dear Sir,— Cambridge.

We have at length got the ministerial troops in this quarter on shipboard, etc.

†President Dwight of Yale College says, (in his Travels, vol. I, p. 159) "In July 1775 I urged in conversation with several gentlemen of great respectability and my intimate friends the importance and even necessity of a declaration of Independence on the part of the Colonies, but found them disposed to give me and my arguments a hostile and contemptuous instead of a cordial reception, and these gentlemen may be considered as the representatives of the great body of thinking men of this country."

Jefferson says in his Memoirs vol. I, p. 8: "I took the ground that our emigration from England gave her no more rights over us than the emigration of the Saxons gave to the present authorities of the mother country over England. In this doctrine I have never been able to get any one to agree with me but Mr. Wythe; our other patriots stopped at the half way house of John Dickinson."

The party in opposition in the Imperial Parliament had made Colonial rights the burning question of the hour. Chatham and Camden and Richmond, and Burke and Fox, and Cavendish with their splendid following were chivalrously and brilliantly vindicating the action of the Colonies.

And these great statesmen found their supporters in and out of Parliament daily increasing. The merchants of London and of all the large towns of England were sending up petitions asking for the repeal of the trade regulations and duties rejected as illegal by the Colonies.

The party in power at home began to feel themselves caught in the fateful draw of their impending overthrow.

They had staked their existence as a Ministry upon the accomplishment of their Colonial measures and upon the truth of the statement that there was a party in the Colonies in their favor.

Their statements had been falsified and their measures had utterly miscarried, and they were discredited accordingly.

Though they put forth every effort to divide it, the solid phalanx of Colonial indignation remained unbroken, and picked English troops with no heart to fight against Englishmen defending their liberties, were everywhere repulsed by half armed Colonial volunteers.*

Tottering to their fall they made their last venture. They charged the Colonies with the political crime of hiding under their contention for constitutional rights, a sinister purpose of separation from the Empire.

And this last accusation would have been proved false had the Congress of 1776 adhered to its own declaration of principles and avowal of purposes—principles and purposes for the furtherance of which alone it had been created and convened. But for its surrepitous declaration of Independence, 1777 would have seen the friends of Colonial rights triumph in England—would have seen the unity of her Empire and the vindication of her constitution firmly secured beyond reasonable chance of future miscarriage. There is strong evidence that Lord North felt this—had ceased to believe in his own declarations and policy—had decided to yield, and was opening up negotiations through which he hoped to carry out his purpose.*

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*In the debate in Parliament upon the motion to enforce the Stamp Act, "I shudder at the motion," cried General Howard, while the crowded House listened as if awed into silence. "I hope I will not succeed lest I should be ordered to execute it. Before I would imbrue my hands in the blood of my countrymen I would, if ordered, draw my sword, but would sooner sheathe it in my own body."—Bancroft, vol. III, pp. 568-9.

Bancroft tells us, vol. IV, p. 25:

"Many of the best officers in the English army would not willingly bear arms against their kindred in America."

He has also recorded, vol. V, p. 26:

That in July 1775 the merchants of Dublin applauded the Earl of Effingham for refusing to draw his sword against the laws and liberties of his fellow subjects in America.

With such a victory within measurable distance the declaration of Independence was sprung upon the Loyalists. That declaration brought to them not only the pain of their own confusion but the bitter shame of the betrayal of their friends in England who had fought their battle there confiding in their good faith, repeatedly pledged.†

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*Bancroft, vol V p 244

Letters patent were issued on the 6th May 1776 conferring power on Lord Howe to offer terms of reconciliation to the Colonies in arms. Lord Howe was one of the leaders of the party of constitutional rights of the Colonies. He was at the time on the most friendly relations with Lord Chatham and he caused it to be stated on his authority that he would not go on this mission to America unless he had power to offer the Colonies their constitutional rights and liberties, and proclaim pardon to those who had taken up arms. (Dr Reed's correspondence vol I pp. 195 6.)

On the very day that the declaration of Independence was read in the camp of Washington at New York the English fleet bearing Lord Howe stood off the harbor. (Bancroft vol. V pp. 243-4.)

Upon landing Lord Howe wrote to Dr Franklin with whom he had been on terms of closest intimacy in England telling him that "he had really powers to negotiate with the Colonies as *friends* for terms of lasting peace, and Franklin would know that this from Lord Howe meant the Colonies would be assured their liberties. Franklin's harsh answer given in the name of Congress was, No peace except America be independent. When Howe read this his countenance grew more sombre, tears glistened in his eyes. He looked within himself and was conscious of aiming at a reconciliation on terms of honor and advantage to both parties." Dr Reed's correspondence, vol I.

†Bancroft vol IV (Museum Edition) p 107 admits that "the question was looked upon in England not as a narrow Colonial one, but as involving the reality of representative government the cause of the people—everywhere the same." He tells us "that under the leadership of Yorkshire societies were formed in England and public meetings held to defend the liberties of England and America alike from being trampled upon by a venal parliament."

Again vol III p 576 "After the repeal of the Stamp Act the crowd pressed on Grenville with hisses and reverently pulled off their hats to Pitt and applauded. During the debate the lobbies were crammed with men trembling and anxious."

Bancroft says, vol III pp 443 4 5, Grenville was in favor of an American representation and was resolved on proposing it and Jackson joined him in this

The Earl of Chatham, before he delivered his famous speech which electrified all England, sought a personal interview with Dr. Franklin, as a distinguished representative of the Colonies, and ascertained from him distinctly, that there was neither "tendency nor danger of the Colonies separating from the Mother country, but that they were universally loyal to her," and with this assurance the noble Earl warmly eulogised the American Congress, not only for its loyalty, but for its generous recognition of England's rights under strong provocation to deny them.

But while his words were still on every one's lips in England, the news came that the Congress so warmly eulogised, had renounced all connection with England, had repudiated her authority and the principles of her government.

And it was not known that the Congress had done this, proclaimed to the world as its unanimous action, by a catch majority, and with no commission from the Colonies to do anything of the kind.

The political effect was to gibbet the friends of Colonial rights in England at the cross-roads of public opinion as either deceivers or dupes, and to turn the impending defeat of the Ministerial policy in Parliament into triumphant victory.

From the Loyalist point of view, not only was the declaration of Independence an ignoble surrender in sight of victory and a most unwarranted desertion and misleading of friends who were generously risking much for their sake, but it was a *coup d'etat* more violently unconstitutional than the Revenue Acts of Lord North's Ministry the Colonies were resisting.*

The Congress that passed this declaration had been elected as stated in the credentials given to its members, as delegates from the several Colonies, to obtain redress of their grievances, and to restore harmony between them and their Mother Country which it was said all good men desired. And it was hoped this could be secured through a Bill of Rights in which the powers of the Mother Country and the Colonies might be defined.

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*Bancroft, vol. IV, p. 567.

The Congress that passed the declaration of Independence formed no confederacy; they were not an executive government; they were not even a legislative body. They were committees from twelve Colonies, deputed to consult on measures of conciliation, and held by explicit and implicit instructions.

And when the second petition of Congress had been rejected and the King's proclamation declaring all to be rebels who resisted the acts of the Imperial Parliament had been received and the delegates of Pennsylvania were asking for further instructions the Legislature of that Colony being then in session Dr Dickenson the immortal farmer whose masterly letters had done so much to enlighten the public mind in England and America on the rights of the Colonies, reported and carried in the Pennsylvania Legislature, the following instructions to its delegation —

"We direct that you exert your utmost endeavors to agree upon and recommend such measures as you shall judge to afford the best prospect of obtaining redress of American grievances and restoring that union and harmony between England and her Colonies so essential to the welfare and happiness of both Though the oppressive measures of the English Parliament and Administration have compelled us to resist their violence by force of arms, yet we strongly enjoin you that you, in behalf of this Colony dissent from and utterly reject any propositions should such be made, that may cause or lead to a separation from our Mother Country or a change of the form of this Government "*

Upon the meeting of their several Legislatures, Pennsylvania's example was followed by, among others, Delaware Maryland, New Jersey and New York.

The Congress created and empowered under this mutual understanding and good faith between the Colonies passed its declaration of Independence in utter contravention of the purpose for which it was created and in opposition to the repeated instructions sent up from many of the Colonies †

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*Of the nine delegates Pennsylvania had elected to Congress in November 1775 Franklin stood alone as an advocate of Independence Bancroft vol V p 86

The Pennsylvania Legislature gave these instructions to her representatives when all the resentment awakened by the odious measures of Parliament and the King's answer to their petition and all the enthusiasm awakened by the recent victories of Bunker's Hill and Lexington were at their highest pitch and at the same time that it called upon the people to take up arms and voted £80,000 to the war expenditure

† The Independence resolution of the Virginia Legislature was not presented to Congress till June 6th. Life and Correspondence of President Reed vol I. Dr Reed says "That the action was taken in Congress without a single imprimatur from any Colony" He is speaking of the introduction of Lee's Independence resolutions in May and of Adams' resolutions advising the Colonies to re model their governmental organizations.

This Congress revolted from England in the face also of its own proclamation, issued when it appointed Washington commander in chief and organized the higher departments of the army, and issued bills of credit for £3 000 000 to defray the expenses of war, and after the battles of Lexington and Bunker's Hill, and when the English army was shut up in Boston by the Provincial Volunteers—a proclamation in which they say: "We are reduced to the alternative of choosing an unconstitutional submission to an irritated Imperial Ministry or resistance by force of arms. This last is our choice. Honor, justice and humanity, forbid us tamely to surrender that freedom we received from our gallant ancestors, and which our innocent posterity had a right to receive from us."

And they go on to say: "Lest this declaration should unquiet the minds of our friends and fellow subjects in any part of the Empire, we assure them that we mean not to dissever that union which has so happily subsisted between us and our Mother Country, and which we sincerely wish to see restored. We have not raised arms with ambitious designs of separation from England."

The sessions of Congress were held with closed doors and their proceedings, except such part as the majority chose to reveal, were kept inviolably secret. Three members—Jefferson in his Memoirs and Dr. Reed in his Correspondence, edited by his grandson, and Joseph Galloway—have given us most conflicting statements of what took place. As to the majority in Congress in favor of Independence, Jefferson says in his Memoirs, note B, appendix vol. I: "It appeared in the course of the debates that took place in May 1776 upon Lee's resolution of Independence that the Colonies of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland and South Carolina were not yet matured for falling from the parent stem;" that means that the Legislatures and Representatives in Congress of these Colonies were Loyalists. Only twelve Colonies were at that time represented in Congress. Jefferson says that finding the vote would be a tie, the Independence party did not divide the House but adjourned the debate.

It is clear the debate was adjourned that the gerrymandering measures the Independence party were taking to change the character of the recognized institutions of government in the Colonies might have time to take effect in their favor.

"The Life and Correspondence of President Reed," vol. I, pp.

1845, tells us that Jack Adams immediately upon the adjournment of the debate May 10th, 1776, introduced his resolution recommending the Colonists to re-model their governments. Lee introduced a preamble which, after *earnest debate*, says Dr. Reed, was passed which denied the necessity or reasonableness, while the King's present proclamation was not withdrawn, of allegiance to any Government under the Crown and that the exercise of all authority under the Crown should be discontinued.

Strengthened by this action of Congress, the Independence party changed the character and *personnel* of the Colonial Legislatures so as to obtain control of the Loyalist Colonies.

The institutions of government then existing under the Colonial charters in the Loyalist Colonies, such as the Pennsylvanian Legislature of which Mr. Dickenson and his fellow Loyalists were members, contended that all that Congress professed to desire by its resolution could be effected by the existing representation of the people, that there was a Government in every Colony sufficient to the exigencies of affairs, and the Loyalists refused to sit in any Legislature where no oath to the King was taken of its members. But the new Legislatures, where organized, and the new delegates chosen by them, were the only ones of the Colonies recognized by Congress.

If we accept Jefferson's statement, followed in the main by Bancroft, without the gloss of either, it was the Independence resolutions and delegates sent up to Congress from the new Legislatures sprung upon the country as a Home Rule Policy in a crisis of greatest confusion and perplexity that enabled the separatist party to force their declaration of Independence upon the Colonies. "The true inwardness" of the Independence movement is very much the same whether in unravelling its history we follow a Jefferson, a Galloway, or a Reed.*

By a master stroke of policy on the part of the Independence party it had been agreed upon before hand to take the vote by Colonies and that the decision on the question, whatever might be the state of the vote, should appear to the world as the unanimous vote of the Congress. By this means the signatures of those who opposed as well as those who voted for it, were affixed to the declaration

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*Mr. Sabin, vol. I, Introduction, shows that the large majority of the patriot press of the country, up to 1776, was in favor of maintaining at all costs the connection with England.

By such devices after such a struggle did the Independence party carry its resolutions in Congress

But when they had carried them there they never ventured to submit them to the people A popular vote upon the American Independence was never taken The statement that the Loyalists took the side of England *against America* is utterly misleading. America was never given her plebiscite, never was permitted to choose her own destiny never was allowed to tell us whether she looked upon the Loyalists or the Independents as her children and the defenders of her cause On the contrary the Independence party having obtained control of Congress in the manner above described and by this control possession of all the resources of political and military power in the Colonies, denied to their fellow subjects all liberty of Loyalist speech and opinion. They outlawed as traitors and followed with confiscation, imprisonment and death, all who refused to renounce their allegiance to England and make their oath to the Congress *

The result was that by the most vigorous pressure they could bring to bear upon popular opinion enforced by the infliction of the most extreme Legislative and mob violence upon the citizens, the party was only able to secure the adherence passive and active, of possibly something more than half the population.

The unauthorized and tyrannous action of the Independence party in Congress changed all the issues of the conflict with those in power at home, and compelled the Loyalists to choose one of two alternatives, not at all of their making or to their liking. If they fought for the unity of the Empire in its great peril they must take up arms against their fellow Colonists, who, up to that moment, had been their trusted compatriots. They must put off for a more convenient season their defence of Colonial Rights, and they must join hands for the time, with the odious faction of office holders, the hated minions of Lord North's Ministry

But if they accepted the declaration of Independence they must turn their hand against the Mother Country dearer to them than life, and bid adieu to all their cherished hopes of the ever broadening England of their Colonial homes they must seek an unnatural alliance against England with France the hated ogre of their Colonial life the France who for a century had mercilessly sought their utter extermination by fire and sword had filled the encircling forests of their frontiers for those hundred years with the spectre and horror of the Indian's tomahawk and scalping knife and France would form the alliance that she might wreak her vengeance on England for delivering them out of her hands *

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*As to the inhuman cruelties inflicted upon the Loyalists see introduction of Sabine's American Loyalists, vol I

Amid this craft of friends and breaking up of old issues, hunted to the death by the Independence party looked upon coldly and askance by Lord North whose tyrannous Colonial policy they had effectively opposed, the cause of England in the war misdirected and suffering through the contempt of those in power for them and their councils amid all this the founders of Canada remained steadfast and unmovable in their loyalty

> "Abdiel faithful found,
> Unshaken, unsubdued, unterrified
> His loyalty he kept

The declaration of Independence has been portrayed for us as the spontaneous uprising of an oppressed people As a matter of fact it was if we may adopt a Lincolnian illustration a forced swapping of horses in mid-stream that divided the Colonies, up to this time enthusiastically one, into two bitterly hostile and enraged camps

The declaration of American Independence has been proclaimed the birth of a nation for those who became the Canadian Loyalists it was the breaking up of the oneness of the Anglo Saxon race in the unity of an Empire, which carried in the ark of her destinies all that is worthiest in the present and future of the world.

The declaration has been held up to a peoples gaze as an heroic venture for liberty

It was unquestionably an heroic venture, but it was risked for American Independence. It was anything but the free, constitutional action of the people in whose name it was made and it was an

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*Bancroft tells us, vol IV p. 105 that Samuel Adams, from September 1768, struggled deliberately and unremittingly for Independence And the same historian also tells us that Samuel Adams long after this, prepared the instructions sent by Massachusetts to Dr Franklin as her agent in England commissioning him to assure the English Government that the people of Massachusetts wished for nothing more than a permanent union with England on a constitutional basis.

abandonment of their "rational ordered English freedom that through centuries has advanced from stage to stage of progress, deliberate, calm, never breaking with her past, but making every fresh gain the basis of a new success, enlarging her people's liberty while bating nothing of the height and force of individual development."

I shall speak very briefly of the part taken by the Loyalists in the war after it became one of Independence.

The American historian Sabine is my authority for saying that probably the Loyalists in the King's army exceeded in number the army enlisted under the Continental Congress.*

But probably the Loyalists did not number more than half the population, and if not, then they were more ready to defend their principles with their lives than were the so-called Liberty men, and the fortunes and interests which the Loyalists sacrificed to take the side of the Empire were far greater than those of their opponents. We have evidence of the soldierly qualities and patriotism of the Loyalists in the changed fortunes of the war upon their leaving the Provincial forces after the declaration of Independence. The brilliant and all important victories gained in 1775 and the early part of 1776 by the United Colony army, unprepared and deficient in arms as it was, upon the Loyalists leaving were turned into the disastrous defeats of 1777 and 1778. And even when France and Spain came to the rescue of the Independence Congress, nothing but the unparalleled skill and courage of Washington, opposed to the no less unparalleled incapacity of the English Generals, turned the fortunes of the war against the Loyalists.

As to the inhuman cruelties practiced in the war, it makes all the difference who began them as to the relative guilt of the contending parties, and the Independence men were the first offenders.

Upon the Loyalists refusing to be torn from their inheritance with its memories of the past and hopes of the future, when they would not consent to have the ragged ends of their lives spliced by Congress surgery upon whatever might be left dangling for them in its new world of American Independence, Congress pursued them with its legislative violence, outlawed them as traitors, and sent the Indians upon the war path against them, voted £40 000 at once as bounties to the Indians, not indeed for scalps, but for every King's man who might have fled to them for protection, or might have his home on their frontiers.

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*Sabine's American Loyalists, vol. I., p. 48.

In nearly every Loyalist letter or other paper that I have examined and in which the subject is referred to, it is either assumed or stated in terms that the Loyalists were the majority, and this opinion, I am satisfied, was very generally entertained by those who professed to have a knowlege of public sentiment. And p. 72 of above: In an address of Loyalists in 1779, presented to the King, it is said that their countrymen in His Majesty's army exceeded in number those enlisted by Congress.

The Massachusetts Legislature in one of its acts designated by name and occupation and residence 380 of her people and denounced against them death without benefit of clergy and without judge, jury or opportunity of defence simply because they were reported to be Loyalists, and similar measures were passed in other Colonies.

In political brutality the little finger of the Independence party was thicker than the loins of Lord North's Ministry. Instigated by this legislative violence the party blackened its cause still further by their "mob violence," their brutal tarring and feathering of their Loyalist neighbors, hissing and hooting them, burning down their houses and maiming their flocks. These things they did to such families as the Robinson's and Sewall's and Doane's, and many another.

Against this cruelty and tyranny the Loyalists aimed their revenge, and let him who thinks that under such provocation he would have been without sin cast the first stone at them.

Then the tales that have come down to us of what the Loyalists did were published by the Independence party for political effect, and were of the most exaggerated and inflammatory character, full of the grossest misrepresentations, and doing them the greatest injustice.

It is now known that Dr. Franklin went so far in political enterprise of this kind as to write a purely fictitious story of Indian and Loyalist massacre, and let it be published as true, that it might stimulate recruits for the army and apportionments from the people. And this story in many quarters was long supposed to be authentic, and passed into American history as such.

When Franklin did not think connivance in this sort of thing beneath his position and character, it can easily be imagined what a sorry trade may have been done by others.*

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*Ryerson's United Empire Loyalists. Chapter on the Wyoming Massacre and the authority he quotes.—

Ramsay's United States, vol. II, p. 321. Wyoming.

In this remote settlement whose government was feeble, the Tories

The Wyoming massacre is a striking instance of this picturing of Loyalists as inhuman monsters. Instead of Wyoming being the peaceful and innocent settlement described by the historians of Congress, and immortalized in Campbell's song, it was a virulent hot bed of the revolution.

It had sent several hundred volunteers to the Congress army, and the Royalists who planned its capture were its own people, who had been driven from the valley, whose property had been confiscated and whose families had been mobbed by the very settlers whom they attacked.

The settlement was not surprised. The first fort attacked had surrendered and the American commander, a Colonel Butler, sought by a quick movement of attack to surprise the Loyalists on their march against the remaining forts, but was discovered by an Indian scout, and found the Loyalists prepared to receive him, was defeated and fled into Fort Wyoming, and with the American regulars escaped. The local garrison then surrendered on condition that the settlers in the valley should not be molested, they stipulating that the Loyalists should be restored their property and allowed to return to their homes.

The Colonel Butler who commanded the English force did all in his power to fulfil these terms, but the Indians broke away from his control and entered upon a scene of plunder. The garrison however, escaped down the river and the people had already fled into the mountains. On this basis of fact, painful no doubt but not anything like a massacre, was built up the revolutionary myth of Wyoming with its burning houses filled with women and children and its army decoyed by a flag of truce into a deadly ambuscade of Indians. The employment of the Indians on either side makes one of the darkest pages in this cruel war. But we must remember, in defence of the Loyalists, that, driven from their homes, their property seized, their lives made a prey, there was no place for the soles of their feet but among the Indians,—and Congress followed them there. One of its first acts after the Declaration of Independence

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were under less control. Nevertheless twenty seven of them were taken and sent to Hartford, in Connecticut, but were afterwards released. These and others of the same description, instigated by revenge against the Americans, from whom some of them had suffered banishment and loss of property, made a common cause with the Indians and attacked the settlement.

offered large prize money for every Loyalist the Indians should betray to them. The Massachusetts Legislature wrote a secret letter to a missionary of great power among the Indians of Western New York entreating him to send the Indians on the war path against the Loyalists though this same legislature publicly expressed the greatest indignation against the English use of the Indians at a later period.*

The employment of the Indians by the English was brought about in this way. When the Indians who had given them refuge were attacked the Loyalists joined in the defence and they accepted the alliance of these Indians when in turn they sought to regain their homes. And what else as men were they likely to do?

The Indians themselves suffered at the hands of the Congress Army far greater cruelties than they inflicted. The stain of their tragic fate is on American history as indelible as the blood of murdered Duncan on the hand of Macbeth.

When at length negotiations looking to a recognition of American Independence were begun at Paris what should be the fate of the Loyalists proved to be one of the most difficult questions of the treaty.

England, after the custom of the civilized nations asked that the Loyalists should be restored to their property and civil rights.

But Franklin arrogantly and bitterly opposed this with all the resources of his ingenious and fertile diplomacy, and England yielded and left the Loyalists to the tender mercies, or as it proved the gauntlet of their implacable foes. In these negotiations one knows not at which most to marvel—the boldness and skill of the American Commissioner, or the subserviency and ignorance of the English. They were very unequally matched—Franklin, a man of remarkable parts and great public spirit; Mr. Oswald an ordinary merchant en gaged in the American trade and knowing nothing of the matter in hand except as it affected his private interests. The one was a palpable tool in the hands of the other. Franklin's plea that Congress had no power in granting amnesty to the Loyalists because it had no power over the action of the Colonial Legislatures, was manifestly a mere pretence.

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*Congress on June 3rd, 1776, passed a resolution to raise an army of 2,000 Indians for the Canada expedition. Washington advised Congress to engage the Indians on their side, in his letter of April 19th 1776. Doctor Andrews' History of the American War vol. II pp. 301 2 and the Ludlow's History of the War of Independence p. 126.

Lord Mahon in his history vol. VIII pp. 420 1 gives the letter of the Massachusetts Legislature to the Indian Missionary and gives as his authority the letter of Lafayette to Washington June the 12th 1779 and also Life of President Reed, etc. vol. II p. 18.

The Americans have never had the self respect to erase from the forefront of their Constitution the misleading charge against England—embodied in the Declaration of Independence—of endeavoring to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless savage.

If true, how could Congress agree as it did under the treaty that those Legislatures should make no more confiscations and conscriptions, and if the plea had been good, Congress had ample resources at hand for compensating the Loyalists in that vast territory comprising the present States of Ohio, Indiana, Michigan and the States west of them to the Rockies, a domain ceded to Congress by England in the treaty, and in which not one of the thirteen Colonies held any separate rights. Besides, there was no necessity as Mr. Oswald urged in defence of his surrender that England should continue the active prosecution of the war if she insisted upon Congress acknowledging the rights of the Loyalists. She was mistress of the seas; she had only to continue to hold the American forts on the Atlantic—New York, Charleston, Long Island—until Congress granted what England was in all honor bound to claim. And it made all the difference whether the rights of the Loyalists were secured to them under treaty from the American Government, or whether they were to come before an English Board of Commissioners *in forma pauperis* asking for help out of the pockets of English ratepayers, a thing which some who suffered most did not bring themselves to do. There were some 30,000 Loyalists who settled in what is now Canada, leaving out those who went to England, the West Indies and elsewhere, while only between 3000 and 4000 ever sent in their claims for compensation.

When the treaty was signed, England hastened to make all the amends possible by most generous treatment of her faithful subjects beyond seas, who had suffered the loss of all things in her cause. But do what she might, it was then impossible to prevent the untold sufferings and hardships the Loyalists had still to pass through in that noblest epic migration of modern times, their settlement of Canada.

"Why did you come here?" was asked of a distinguished Loyalist of New Brunswick, "when you were certain to endure all the sufferings and absolute want of food and shelter you have narrated?" "Why did we come here?" replied he, with emotions that could not keep back the tears, For our Loyalty. That was the clay baptized in their sufferings which the hands of the coming years were to mould into Canada. It was with no light heart the Loyalists set their faces northward, that once more their feet might find English soil. Canada, as reported to them, was a land of intense cold, wilderness and swamp, full of venomous reptiles, prowled by savage beasts and still more by the dreaded Indians.

The hardships, exposures and privations endured by the Loyalists in making their way from their confiscated homes to Canada, were longer and more severe than any Everett has been able to tell us of the New England Pilgrim Fathers, and the persecutions which sent these Fathers of New England voyaging to Plymouth Rock was but a morning shower when compared to the mobbings and imprisonments, confiscations and death, that fell in savage fury upon the faithful of Old England in the days of the American Revolution, and drove the remnant that was left into the wilderness of Canada. The Pilgrim Fathers could keep harvest home festival of a week's continuance at the end of the first year from their landing. But the Loyalists were in most instances forced to seek a home in Canada, without food or shelter, and at a season too late for any clearing of the forest and seed sowing, and the supply of food and other necessaries the English Government was endeavoring to send them, by some mismanagement, were frozen up in the River St. Lawrence.

While the New England Fathers were keeping harvest home the Loyalists of Canada were passing through all the rigors of famine. In some instances the cattle that were browsed upon felled trees in the forest were from time to time bled that the blood might be had for food, so fierce and close was the struggle for life.

On the Bay of Quinte and in the Niagara District ladies brought up in luxury and comfort might be seen in the early spring woods gathering in their aprons and baskets the swelling buds of the basswood for food for themselves and their children, and, later on, plucking the rye and barley heads as soon as the kernel began to form. No wonder that even to their brave hearts the swallows sang in those days,

Hard times in Canada.

The early Loyalist life that came to the Canadian forest is full of romantic interest, tragic and epic.

In it our poets may find more than a Miles Standish or an

Evangeline to enrich at once our literature and history. Such a theme some Canadian Wordsworth might find in the story of Robert Land, a Loyalist, whose home was in one of the loveliest vales of the Delaware, and whose knowledge of the country and known ability had enabled him to perform valuable services for the King's army, and placed him in the way of being intrusted with important missions.

While engaged upon one of these, and having upon his person valuable despatches, he was discovered by the enemy and fired upon and wounded. But, by heroic exertion and fertility of resource, he hid himself away from the foe in a dense undergrowth of bushes. The rebels, finding traces of his wound, which bled profusely, reported him slain. But he finally made good his escape and delivered his despatches. When at length he was able to visit his home, to his horror he found it in ashes, and, believing his family massacred, he finally escaped to Canada, and came first to Drummondville at Niagara Falls, and afterwards acquired a farm of 300 acres, in what is now East Hamilton. Here he built a log cabin with one window, having a wolf skin for glass, and became for several years its solitary occupant. Returning from the field and forest one day, to his great surprise he found a wearied and travel worn woman had crossed his threshold, accompanied by two grown up young men. His wife and two sons had come to him. His home by the Delaware had been fired by the rebels, but his wife had escaped with her children, and hearing the report that her husband had been slain, broken hearted and in despair she fled with her family to New Brunswick. But, ill at ease there, clinging to the fond hope that her husband was still alive, her widowed heart sent her, a Canadian Evangeline, with a happier fate, searching through the Loyalist settlements to Niagara Falls. Here she learned that a man named Robert Land had at one time, dwelt in the neighborhood, and now lived a *solitary* under the shadow of the mountain beyond Stony Creek. Thither she at once set out, and, accompanied by her two sons, walked the whole distance, some fifty miles, through the then forest, to restore to the arms of her husband the long lost wife of his youth, to gild that lonesome cabin between the mountain and the shore, with the glad halo of the joy and happiness of the united family.

Upon their settlement in Canada the Loyalists took an important and dominant part in shaping the history of the country. They included the cleverest and the most able of all classes, discharged

soldiers, lawyers, clergymen, merchants, farmers and mechanics, and all were in indigent circumstances, but willing to build their fortunes afresh and develop those of the country by honest toil.

They renewed at once, in the Canadian Colonies, their old endeavors after constitutional rights for Englishmen beyond seas, and this time there was no American Independence party to surprise and checkmate them. The Loyalists who settled in Nova Scotia asked for a larger representation of the people in the Colonial Government and then for a division of the Province, and both requests were finally granted. Those who settled in Old Canada objected to the Quebec Act of 1773, and obtained the Constitutional Act of 1791, and the creation of Upper Canada into a separate Province, more in accord with English institutions. This constitution of representative Government obtained for us by the Loyalists of the Maritime Provinces and of Old Canada, with enlarged application after the manner of English constitutional history, is the basis of the British North American Act of the Canadian Dominion. The Dominion is the splendid monument of the Loyalists' constitutional victory won in the Greater Britain. The country steadily prospered from its settlement up to 1812. The government was satisfied, the Colonial parliaments held short sessions, devoted to making provision for the building of roads, the establishment of schools, the making, in short, such necessary improvements as the public need required, and when this was done the Loyalist members of Parliament gave very little time or heed to what occupies so largely the party politics of to-day. They gave their time and energies to the enlargement of their farms and mills, and of this action of theirs we, to-day, reap large advantage. They kept themselves from that besetting temptation of English colonists, the running heavily into debt, handicapping their future with the necessity of an exorbitant public revenue. No civilized country was less burdened with taxes than was Canada West during that period of its history. £3,500 met its annual expenditure.

During the closing years of the last century and the first of the present, France, now with her anarchy and now with her despotism, threatened the overthrow of civilization with all its rights and liberties, and England stood between her and victory. In 1812 the United States strengthened the hand of the French despot by declaring war against England, and Canada became at once involved in the struggle. The spirit of the Loyalists shone out again in all its

ancient splendor; they gave the strongest example in this century of the attachment of a people to their Mother Country, and of their determination at whatever sacrifice, and against whatever disparity, to maintain their connection with her. The Loyalists were the larger part of the population, and gave to the public spirit of the country its tone and sentiment. That sentiment found fitting expression in the address of the House of Assembly to the people of Upper Canada, made in response to the noble appeal of General Brock. Its tone may be seen in the following extracts:—

"That the Government of the United States, while professing to be the friend of man and the supporter of his liberties, should, bribed by the tyrant of France, light the torch of war against England, the last pillar of true liberty and last refuge of oppressed humanity, is a madness altogether incomprehensible. * * * Our enemies in this war are they who once drove us from our homes and possessions, to this province. Their lands are manured with the blood of our friends and kinsmen. They drove our wives and children into the woods, or threw them into dungeons. Remember, when you go forth to combat, that you fight not for yourselves alone, but for the parent State contending for the oppressed of the nations."

There were Canadian boys of ten years in Brock's army which captured Detroit, and they volunteered out of families like the Ryersons. The Loyalists formed the greater part of the English forces, while their wives and daughters ennobled Canada with the heroism and daring of her Secords:

A race
Of manly hero heart
In all high venture.

The Canadian Loyalists were ready at every crisis in their history to imperil life and fortune, personal and national, that they might secure for themselves and their children their home in the United Empire under her constitution. Their history gives abundant proof that England has the power to make us all, everywhere in her world wide home, Abdiels of her cause—that she can take us Canadians, Australasians, or whatever we may be, and make us all one in our common fealty.

The Loyalist devotion of Canadian life for the United Empire, as shown in the American Revolution, the epic migration of Canada and the war of 1812, gives its eloquent answer to the question—

Will not Imperial Federation prove a broken reed to lean upon for purposes of statesmanship in critical moments, when the more immediate and local interests and patriotisms may have such perilous tendency to become the *demons* of all centrifugal organization and life in the constitution and cosmos of the Empire?

Though holding the geographical position Canada does to the American Republic, one with her to a large extent in race and speech, no part of the Greater Britain can ever have its loyalty to the Empire put to a severer test than is ours, and yet no colony is more loyal. Canada, in any "dark forest" of popular despair or passion tempted by any annexation "Stanley's handkerchief," however brilliantly dyed in any "Commercial Union," bartering her Loyalist inheritance of a United Empire with all its possibilities of material greatness, its coming "days of King Solomon" within measurable distance—an Empire the crowning growth of time and nature, and that great impersonal artist, the English constitution—an Empire dowered by the ages with poetry and beauty, all that can charm the imagination and win the loving loyalty of the better feeling and higher intelligence of mankind, and hallowed in Canadian eyes by our Loyalist past—Canada parting with all this for American machine politics would be the most dismal performance ever enacted by man. Whatever surprises the future may have in store, it certainly cannot give us this. Canada at her birth was consecrated by her Loyalist martyrs and confessors a Nazarite of their cause. As the Silurian and Devonian rocks of England re-appear across the Atlantic in Canada, so the Loyalists made Canada in all that creates a people's heart one with England. They gave to Canada her English nationality to be our Canadian sentiment and instinct made up of memory and hope, to be our national spirit which swells every Canadian's heart—makes what else would be common earth, or the Indian's land, his Fatherland of loyal English life sacred and dear, sending up to him brave messages from her loyal past, and bright prophecies of her future—a future ever revealing the lofty secret of our parentage and destiny—a future that, issuing forth from our Loyalists' heights, and broadening our Canadian Dominion like our St. Lawrence, shall merge into the world-wide Imperial responsibilities, powers and glories of the United Empire, enthroned amid her encircling seas and sceptered with the never-setting sun.

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

A paper read before the Wentworth Historical Society
November 18, 1891

BY MRS. S. A. CURZON

WHEN your president, through Mr. Fearman, conveyed to me your kind invitation to read a paper before you, the honor came to me with all the force of novelty. I did not hope that anything I could say would be of sufficient value to arrest the attention of your honorable society, seeing that I am but a dabbler as it were in historic records; nor did I think that you had sufficiently understood that I was one of a sex that had never been recognized as in its right place when found upon a platform, even the very modest platform of the essayist. So that at first I felt compelled to decline your courteous invitation lest I might offend some whom I would be sorry to displease, or place my sex at a disadvantage in the eyes of others whose good word we shall always desire to deserve.

There was, however, two considerations which presented themselves as a set off to the first objections, and by right of authority naturally overruled them and imposed a due respect for themselves upon me. These were that for twenty years I have been upholding the doctrine of the equal rights of woman as a human being, and again that your society had tacitly admitted, if it had not ever intentionally encouraged the doctrine, by throwing open your roll of membership to my sex from the first. Under these circumstances the aspect of matters changed. You had considered the question of sex, and in full knowledge of what you were doing had honored me by your invitation, and I had no option but to accept the honor. In the name of my sex I thank you to-night, rejoicing that a subject so full of rich and valuable material as that which this society has undertaken for its object has been placed in the hands of both sexes. Together men and women built up this noble country by whose name we call ourselves, together they must preserve and develop it, and together they will stand or fall by it.

It is a matter of history that three times, one of the thirteen

Colonies—I think it was Rhode Island—was settled by men only, and that three times the settlement ignominiously failed. And why? Because a man alone cannot make a home, and without homes there can be no country. Home is the incentive, the anchor, the object of nation-building; and hard, rough and discouraging though the pioneer's task be, woman has never shrunk from her share in it.

Fitting indeed, then, it is, that women should be members of societies like this, and that in their hands as well as in those of men shall be placed the holy task of rescuing from oblivion the deeds of our forefathers, whether they be deeds of peace or war. For I ask you, who suffers the more, the husband and father or the wife and mother, when the red hand of conflict lifts its fiery torch on high? And who contributes the most to the public welfare in the piping times of peace, the man who develops the resources of nature or the woman who puts them to their proper uses?

Many of you present here to-night have personal recollections which will reply with vivacity and feeling to questions like these. But I must proceed more directly to my subject—"The value to the National Life of the Historical Society."

In considering a special subject, therefore, on which to speak, it occurred to me that the old but ever new sentiment of patriotism would serve our purpose best; and, as you know, one of the great lights of literature has lately, according to a custom of his, been decrying the sentiment, at least for Canadians, it may be well to look at this his last public utterance.

In the Toronto *Empire* of November 10, Professor Goldwin Smith is reported to have said to the Young Liberal Club, whose members he was addressing, that he "agreed with the movement to erect a monument to the heroes of Lundy's *Lane*, but desired that it should be a monument of reconciliation rather than to perpetuate the enmities which had existed between the two nations taking part in that event." Mr. Smith concluded his address by stating that annexation was the inevitable destiny of Canada.

Certainly if Canada's people consisted of Goldwin Smiths, annexation to the United States would be inevitable; it might, however, even in that case be impossible, for no astute and patriotic Government would be anxious to admit into the national life a people that did not believe in itself, thus confessing that it knew not

even the very first element of progress. As Canada has not yet arrived at such an emasculated condition, we may safely leave Professor Goldwin Smith's opinion to work out its own destiny.

It is, however, the same bloodless, timid condition of mind that would carry Canada into annexation that dictates Mr. Smith's objection to national monuments. He would have them international, like the statue of "Liberty Enlightening the World" at New York harbor—for which, however, no American would admit that any other proper site could be found than one furnished by American soil.

A statue of Jupiter or Venus would serve Professor Goldwin Smith's idea of the character that ought to mark our national monuments just as well as a statue of Brant or Brock—nay, much better, since these heroes of our past have left traces upon our history which can never be dissociated from them. According to such a view never ought a memorial to the patriotic and loyal Tecumseh to arise in our valley of the Thames, nor another to De Salaberry on the field of Chateauguay. Laura Secord ought still to lie unnoticed and unknown in Drummondville Cemetery, and our monument to the men who fell at Ridgeway ought no longer to remain to affront the sensibilities of any stray Fenian sympathizer who may find his way into the Queen's Park at Toronto.

But the ground on which Professor Goldwin Smith bases his approval of his nondescript monuments requires our attention, and is found on examination to be wholly untenable. He speaks of "perpetuating the enmities that had existed between the two nations taking part in the event."

Here Mr. Smith joins Canada and England as *one*, to which we do not object, as Canada *is* part and parcel of England. But what does he mean by "the enmities which had existed between the two nations"? If he goes back to the period of the thirteen colonies—there were then no enmities—the nation was as one, and the revolution sprung out of a disagreement which, irritated and inflamed by the interference of meddlesome interlopers, became at the last a bitter quarrel, out of which indeed enmities sprang. But those enmities were limited entirely to the two sections of the disagreeing colonists. England had no part in them, as her forbearance, generosity and self sacrifice plainly show, study subsequent events which way we will. Thus, therefore, it only remains to charge enmity on the United Empire Loyalists who, with bitter feelings in their hearts born of the persecutions, losses and evictions that had been inflicted on them by their fellow colonists had sadly forsaken the land of their birth or adoption and had retired to the shelter of the flag they loved, though it waved over a virgin forest, where they whose hands had already built up a country, its government, judiciary, commerce, universities, churches and homes in the land they had left should have to begin again at the very A B C of life, take again the axe, the plough and the spinning wheel and once more lay the foundations of a new England, a new Britain to be the boast, the pride of all time to come.

Enmity? yes, no doubt there was enmity in many a Loyalist breast as he contemplated the losses he had endured, as he looked at his wife driven to the roughest toil, at his children ill-clad and untaught. But did it make the Loyalist a guerilla's bandit? No, he was content to toil, to strive, to suffer, to hope. All he asked was to be let alone. All he expected was to be allowed to work out his future unmolested. Not his the hand that took the sword, not his the foot that invaded another's territory. The war of 1812 was no collision of angry neighbors burning to be at each other's throats. It was an assault of the weak by the strong. It was a deliberate invasion of peaceful territory by an inimical government. It was an expression of enmity to England by an attack upon her defenceless offspring.

God defend the right! British pluck and bull-dog tenacity won the day. Canada was saved. But she dyed her soil with her own blood. She gave her sons and her daughters as a sacrifice for her freedom. She fought for every foot of ground she holds. And when the invaders were driven ignominiously back to their own territory she set her house once more in order and turned again to her task of providing for her children and opening out a future for them.

But we are not to remember all this lest our neighbors be offended, lest our memorials of that heroic time remind them unpleasantly of their sins. Do we think they will respect us any the more for our subserviency?

Why, they themselves are erecting monuments to their heroes of 1812 and are we going to be offended? Why should they not if it pleases them? They often gave us "foemen worthy of our steel," and we gave one of them to-day a quiet and not unhonored resting-place upon the field where his country was worsted—Capt. Abram Hull, United States infantry, who was killed at the Battle of Lundy's Lane, and lies buried near to where he fell. His countrymen marked his grave by a low headstone, and the Lundy's Lane Historical Society keeps the grave in order, and where we hope yet to place a monument commemorative of our victory in our own defence.

During the last summer a friend sent me a little newspaper called the *Creston Commonwealth* for July 31, 1891, published in Creston, Iowa, and in it I find under the heading, "Some Historic Spots," an account of a local movement for the erection of national monuments at various points. The article opens thus: "The national movements to mark by appropriate monuments points of historical interest have suggested to the citizens of North-western Ohio and North-eastern Indiana the preservation of the sites of the battle-fields and forts along the Maumee River rendered conspicuous in the early history of the North West Territory by the memorable campaign of General Wayne against the Indians, and the subsequent campaigns of the war of 1812."

Wayne's career is so sketched as to show the points about to be commemorated, all uncertain or unpleasant memories of broken treaties, a few whippings, etc., being conveniently dropped. The cost of sites, monuments, etc., is liberally named. That of the Battle of Fallen Timbers, where Wayne scattered a few Indians, is cited at about $5,000, and others at similar rates.

"The two other points determined upon for commemoration," the article goes on to say, "Fort Meigs and the Put-in-Bay burial ground, belong to the period of the war of 1812, when the Maumee Valley became again the scene of military operations."

The writer of the article has a pretty sketchy style, and combines Fort Meigs, the battle of the Thames and Tecumseh with General Harrison in a most captivating way. The British arms and Colonel Procter have no place within his horizon. "The victory," he airily remarks, "was with General Harrison, and Tecumseh was killed during the war."

At Fort Meigs fifty-five acres of land, embracing the fort and the burial ground, are to be purchased for $100 per acre. One large monument is to be erected at Fort Meigs, at a cost of $10,000; three others at $5,000 each to mark the burial places make up a total of $25,000 at one spot.

At Put-in Bay, the scene of poor Barclay's disaster, the burial ground upon the island where Perry is said to have buried his dead, a granite shaft at a cost of $2,500, is to be erected to mark the graves,—the site being already enclosed and in the possession of the corporation in trust for the public,—having been given under a conveyance by Mr. J. D. Rivera, which assured the spot against obliteration.

"The Maumee Valley Monumental Association," with headquarters at Toledo, Ohio, and with Rutherford B. Hayes as President, has introduced a Bill into the United States Senate by Senator Sherman, calling for an appropriation sufficient to preserve these old landmarks of the early history of the country as indicated above. The total cost would be $60,000."

I have quoted the above account, as constituting an all-sufficient answer to Professor Goldwin Smith. If Canadians want an incentive to keep the memory of their own history green beyond that warm love of country that distinguishes every patriot heart they may find it in the action and example of the very people we are to be so careful lest we offend by the erection of monuments to our victories. Victories over them, to be sure, but that we cannot help.

Why, what a country would Canada be if she followed the lead of Professor Goldwin Smith! Loyalty dead, patriotism smothered, she would be a spectacle to the world.

But that loyalty is not dead, nor patriotism smothered, witness this society. If the past were nothing to us we should not be here. Nor could we cast our eyes on every side only to have them rest on other societies all bent on the same generous end as ourselves! Our hearts are strengthened, our hands cheered when we know that every Province in this wide Dominion boasts an historical society that is gathering and has gathered from our past, records of enduring value, and has laid them up in our archives for further service as guides, beacons, and land-marks,—records which are the food of loyalty and the drink of patriotism.

What a land would Canada be with no historic points to which we might direct the eyes of our children! Where would be the source of our honor? With what face should we look to the faces of other nations?

Is there a spot on this wide earth where patriotism does not find a home? No island in the warm Pacific but gives its quota to patriots—men ignorant, rude, of strange habits, if you will—but they will fight for the land they love like the heroes of Lacedæmon—or shall we say—of Queenston. Not an icy peninsula within the Arctic or Antarctic circles but will furnish a patriot if it furnishes an inhabitant.

Patriotism is the soul of national life, and we are not to be told by any philosopher whose liberality is so exalted that he recognizes no nation as distinct from another that we are not and never can be a nation. *We are a nation.* Of that nation that is at the head of the power, the civilization, the piety of the world. England is Canada and Canada is England, and our youth may not forget that Canada will be whatever they like to make it.

Nor does there seem to me any means by which the high sentiment of patriotism may receive fuller exposition than these societies of ours, the Historical Societies of the Dominion of Canada. The last issue (Nov. 14) of our excellent periodical, the *Dominion Illustrated*, contains matter that is sufficiently demonstrative of the work that such societies can do, because it shows what has been done in one or two notable instances. The sketch of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, the president being Sir Adam Archibald, gives a list of papers of a most important character that have by its means been added to the historical literature of the country.

And another sketch in the same issue of one of whom we are all proud as a cultivated and patriotic young Canadian, the compiler of "Songs of the Great Dominion" and the author of "The Young Seigneur," William Douw Lighthall, who I am sure you will be glad to hear was born in this young commercial city of Hamilton, gives another list of equally valuable papers contributed to the Society for Historical Studies of Montreal. I believe Mr. Lighthall is sponsor to that Society, which, however, was not the first of its kind in that literary centre. The Ormstown and Chateauguay Historical Society owes its inception very much to the same patriotic spirit. Nor will we overlook the Leeds and Grenville Historical Society in the eastern part of the Province, where a rich mine of historic memories has yet to be worked.

I need hardly cite to you the highly valuable lectures by Captain Ernest Cruikshank on the various battlefields of 1812 in the Niagara Peninsula, that were delivered before the Lundy's Lane Historical Society, and since published by them, together with some

other contributions made at various times to the anniversary occasions that that Society regularly celebrates. The transactions of the York Pioneer and Historical Society have long been known to you identified as they are with the names of Dr. Scadding, D. B. Read, Q. C., and others. The Canadian Institute, the Toronto National Club, are further examples of much important national and historical work being called for and done, which would otherwise have remained unaccomplished.

I am sure that new as your society is, you have already received and put on record much historical information that you would not lightly give up, and your members will not willingly be outstripped in ardor of research, industry of collection and careful preservation of the rich treasures of past times which lie so thickly around this historic district. There is much of interest only waiting to be recorded. I learned while at Grimsby for a day or two during the summer that the part of your beautiful mountain range that shadows that delightful little village was the site during the war of 1812 of a beacon signal between Niagara and York. What anticipations cluster about that bit of news! How we long to have a record of the messages flashed between those two great points during the war.

And I was told that Sir Allan MacNab and a number of Hamilton gentleman, members of a forgotten society, something like this, used to go to the mountain at Grimsby every 13th of October and commemorate the victory of Queenston Heights. Can nothing be done to put on record those events?

Then again from that small place I procured the loan of a treasure, a document faded and yellow, containing the names in their own handwriting of the first subscribers to the first English Church built there. The first of those names is that of Abraham Nelles, a name of note with us even to-day.

Thus I beg to indicate a little to your younger members whence history may be gathered. Patriotism is the key that will unlock these treasures, and I am happy to stand to-night among so many who already have taken that key to Canada's greatness into their hands.

For the love of country is like the love of kindred, it is a word of honor, an incentive to duty, a tie of affection. It urges us to live nobly, to work faithfully, to give our best, to serve gladly, to forego luxury, to love simplicity, to be honest, independent and fearless in short to be our best and do our best for the sake of the beloved. And it carries its own reward.

Thanking you, Mr President, and ladies and gentlemen, for the opportunity afforded me on this occasion, I beg also to be allowed to express my pleasure at being here to-night.

RECOLLECTIONS OF COL. TALBOT AND HIS TIMES.—SACRIFICE OF THE PUBLIC DOMAIN

BY THE HON. ARCH. MCKELLAR

THOMAS TALBOT was born at the ancient Baronial Castle of Malahide, in the county of Dublin, Ireland, in the year 1771. In accordance with the custom of the time, among noblemen's sons in Great Britain, young Talbot was early provided with a commission in the 24th Regiment, and in 1786, 1787 and 1788 was with Arthur Wellesly—afterwards Lord Wellington—aide-de-camp to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. In 1790 young Talbot came to Quebec with his regiment and in 1791 became attached to the suite of General John Graves Simcoe, the first Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, and remained in that capacity four years, when he was called home as Major of the 5th Regiment, then ordered to Flanders. While Col. Talbot was Governor Simcoe's aide-de-camp and private secretary he became acquainted with the fertile and picturesque belt of country along Lake Erie. After a few years service in the army Col. Talbot resigned, and for reasons unknown, other than what madam rumor reported, that it was a disappointment in a love affair, and his conduct would indicate that was the case, for he was a woman hater, and would have none in his house. Whatever were the reasons, he decided to leave the comforts of civilization in the old world and plant a new civilization in Upper Canada, which he did, and in a manner which shows the reckless way in which the public domain was managed or rather mismanaged in those days.

Governor Simcoe left Canada before Talbot's return. Col. Talbot, however, applied to the British Government for a grant of land, the nature of which can be best understood from ex-Governor Simcoe's letter, which is as follows:

"SOMERSET STREET, PORTMAN SQUARE,

"11th February, 1803.

"MY LORD,—Upon my arrival in Canada, to carry the constitution which had been granted to that colony into effect, Mr. Talbot

accompanied me as my private and confidential secretary into Upper Canada. He remained in my family four years, when he was called home as Major of the 5th Regiment, then ordered to Flanders. During that period he not only conducted many details and important duties incidental to the original establishment of a colony to my entire satisfaction, but was employed in the most confidential measures necessary to preserve that country in peace, without violating on the one hand the relations of amity with the United States, and on the other alienating the affections of the Indian nations, at that time in open war with them.

"I consider these circumstances, my Lord, as authorizing me in general terms to recommend Mr. Talbot to your consideration and protection. Mr. Talbot's specific application, which I beg leave to support to the utmost of my power, consists of two points; the first is the grant of 5,000 acres of land as a field officer, actually and bona fide, meaning to reside in the Province for the purpose of establishing himself therein. The King's bounty having been extended to the field-officers who had served during the American war in grants to a similar extent, it was judged expedient by myself, Mr. Chief Justice Osgoode and other confidential officers of the Crown in that colony to extend the provisions to any field officer of character who bona fide should become a settler there, it being obvious that it was for his Majesty's interest that a loyal set of European gentlemen should as speedily as possible be obtained to take the lead in the several districts. In consequence, my Lord, had Mr. Talbot been totally unknown to me except by his character and the high rank he has borne in the King's service, I should have thought him a most eligible acquisition to the Province, and on this public ground without hesitation have granted him 5,000 acres on the same principles that had been laid down and acted upon. This is the first part of Mr. Talbot's request.

"The second request is that these 5,000 acres may be granted in the township of Yarmouth on Lake Erie, and that the remainder of that township may be reserved for such a period as may appear adviseable to government for the purpose of his settling it on the following specific plan, namely: That 200 acres shall be alloted to him for every family he shall establish thereon, 50 acres thereof to be granted to each family in perpetuity and the remaining 150 acres of each lot to become his property for the expense and trouble in collecting and locating them. His plan is to introduce himself amongst a large body of Welch and Scotch families who arrived at New York in the summer of 1801 and who have temporarily fixed themselves in the interior of the state, many of whom are already disgusted with the dissolute principles of the people there and feel a strong inclination to return under the Government of England, but do not possess the means of purchasing land or paying the fees demanded by the Province on grants.

"It remains for me only to add that Mr. Talbot having been very successful in the cultivation of Hemp, is induced to prefer the distant township of Yarmouth, as the soil is well adapted to the growth of that valuable commodity. It is his object to extend this cultivation through the whole township, and by precept and example to enforce principles of loyalty, obedience and industry amongst those with whom he will be surrounded."

I have the honor to be, etc.,

To the Right Honorable
Lord Hobart.

J. Graves Simcoe.

The grants were made in accordance with the request, and such additions were afterwards made to them that they covered in all about 28 townships with 518,000 acres of land.

The township of Yarmouth, in which Talbot wanted his 5,000 acres, is on the shore of Lake Erie in the County of Elgin, and on the south west end of it stands the beautiful city of St. Thomas, so named in honor of Col. Thomas Talbot. Yarmouth, however, which the Colonel had thought so well adapted to the growth of hemp, was already beyond his reach, the south part of it having been sold at a nominal price to Colonel Baby, and the remaining portion of the township was sold to the Canada Company, a wealthy English company, who purchased from the British government two million five hundred thousand acres of the choicest lands in Upper Canada at 3s. 6d., or 70 cents per acre. For these same lands the hard working settler who made his living by the sweat of his brow paid from $5, $10, $12 and $15 per acre. By this improvident sale of our public domain, millions of money which should have been used to beautify and enrich our own country were sent out of the country to fill to overflowing the coffers of the millionaires of the mother country.

Colonel Talbot having failed to obtain his 5,000 acres in Yarmouth, went westward to the township of Dunwich, which is on the shore of Lake Erie, and the second township south west of Yarmouth. On the 21st May, 1803, he landed at the mouth of a winding creek in the said township of Dunwich, where he located the 5,000 acres on both sides of the creek and called it Port Talbot, a name it retains to the present day. At this time the Long Point region, 60 miles east, contained the nearest white settlement, chiefly made up of U. E. Loyalists, who settled there in 1783, and from whom the chief supply of the necessaries of life were obtained for

the settlers for a number of years. The progress of the settlement was slow, not more than twelve or fifteen families having settled in it during the first ten years, and these were in Dunwich. The township of Aldborough, which adjoins Dunwich, is bounded on the south by Lake Erie, and is the most westerly township in the county of Elgin, and its first settlers were named Ward, Fleming and Gibb, who located in 1812. In 1815 another settlement was located. In 1816 a number of Scotch families came from the States and became settlers.

In 1817 my father, mother and myself, then 15 months old, and two other families, came from Scotland, and with a number of Scotch families from the States settled in Aldborough. My father and the three men of his party selected their lands, and walked 17 miles through the woods on an Indian trail to Col. Talbot's, where they entered their names for 50 acres each, and for his trouble and expense in supplying them with pen and ink and a book in which to make the necessary entries, the Colonel received 600 acres. The Colonel transacted business in a room in his log house; he was curt and at times uncivil to applicants for land. A stalwart Highlander named Duncan Patterson called upon him to enter his name for a 50 acre farm. The Colonel said something that offended Patterson, who by way of punishment put his arms around the Colonel's waist, carried him out and laid him on his back on the lawn, where he left him. Ever after this incident the Colonel transacted his business with applicants for land through an open window. All the townships were withdrawn from settlement by Talbot except the townships of Aldborough and Dunwich, the most westerly in the County of Elgin. In 1818 and 1819 both townships were being filled up by the most desirable class of emigrants from the British Isles, men and women of intelligence, courage, bone and sinew, fully prepared to encounter and overcome the trials and hardships of pioneer life. In a few more years every lot in both townships would have been taken up by the same class of people, but alas, at the close of 1819, when less than one fourth of the lands in both townships was occupied, Col. Talbot ceased to make grants, and instead of keeping 150 out of 200 acres for his trouble and expense, he kept the whole 200 acres without either trouble or expense. And as a result the unsettled portions of both townships remained a wilderness until Talbot's death some forty years later. Colonel

Airey, a British officer who distinguished himself for skill, bravery and courage in his country's service, was a nephew of Col. Talbot and was to have been Talbot's heir. He came to Canada when a young man and spent some time at Port Talbot with his uncle, whose habits and surroundings he soon discovered were distasteful to him, and after a few months sojourn at Port Talbot he returned to Ireland. I have been told that the separation from his aged uncle was not of the most friendly nature, which accounts for the disposition Talbot made of his vast estate which cost him nothing. Instead of bequeathing his estate to Colonel Airey, his lawful heir, he bequeathed it to George McBeth, a son or grandson of one of the Highlanders that Lord Selkirk brought out to the Red River near Winnipeg in 1812, and who from boyhood was Col. Talbot's valet. Mr. McBeth was for some years M.P.P. for West Elgin. He died when a comparatively young man, but left a highly respected family who are managing his estate with prudence and care. In justice to Col. Talbott I beg to add that he was a member of the Provincial Executive Council from 1803 to 1840, when Responsible Government was established.

CANADIAN HISTORY.—(CONTINUED.)

BY THE HON. DONALD MACINNES.

PART II.

JACQUES CARTIER, after making three voyages from France, did not succeed in establishing any permanent settlement in Canada, and after his third and last voyage there is no further record of him in Canadian history (1540). He was a bold and intrepid navigator and explorer. He made a name for himself earlier than Drake or Frobisher. It was nearly fifty years before the French again made any serious attempt to colonize the great valley of the St. Lawrence. For the purposes of commerce, however, the connection between France and Canada never ceased. The trade in furs was a most lucrative one.

During the reign of Henry IV (1598) about fifty years after Cartier's last voyage, the Marquis de la Roche, a nobleman of Brittany received a commission from the king as Viceroy of Canada, Acadia and the adjoining territories, to colonize and with sole right to carry on the trade in furs with the Indians within the bounds of the domain granted to him. He made but one voyage, and his expedition was a most disastrous failure. In 1600 another expedition was organized by Chanvin, a naval officer of Ronen, and Pontgrave, a sailor merchant of St. Malo. They obtained a monoply of the fur trade from the king, with the condition to establish a colony of 500 persons. They failed in establishing a colony, and on a third voyage Chanvin was taken ill and died. In 1603, De Chastes, the Governor of Dieppe succeeded to this enterprise and Champlain now appears on the scene. He received an offer from De Chastes to take part in it.

It does not come within the scope of these papers to write the biography of the early explorers, but Champlain, who may rightly be termed the Father of French colonization in Canada, and who is otherwise exceptional from the nobility and probity of his character merits a fuller record of his life and achievements. The best record of him is in his own books; the books mark the man, and they bear on every page the palpable impress of truth. A manuscript was discovered within the last thirty years. It is contained in the Laval University edition of his works, and gives an account of an expedition of which he was Pilot General for explorations to what was then Spanish America, and extends over a period of twenty-six months. Champlain kept a diary, which was circulated in manuscript form and attracted the notice of Henry IV. The king allowed him a pension. This manuscript is the one contained in the Laval University edition. The first Canadian record of him is in 1603, and his name embraces the next thirty-two years of Canadian history, years of quiet and repose as compared with the next thirty years of struggle and discord which followed.

He was a true hero after the mediæval chivalrous type. He always held to his purpose with undaunted tenacity; where Champlain was present there was no room for despair; his dauntless courage was matched by unwearied patience. He was less statesman than soldier—he leant to the most direct and boldest policy. A soldier from his youth, in an age of unbridled license his life had answered to his maxims. It is recorded of him that when a generation had passed, after his visit to the Hurons, their elders remembered with astonishment the continence of the great French war chief. I quote a few lines from a recent Canadian poem on Champlain:—

> "He dwelt a winter among the guileful tribes
> Of Huron joining in their distant wars.
>
> * * * * *
>
> Sans peur et sans reproche. Thou blest of God,
> Thy name still dwells unsullied; never spot
> Of greed or cowardice or lust or hate
> Stained thy white scutcheon; worthy thou
> To be a nation's founder; and may we
> Be not unworthy of thee; may thy faith
> In our Dominion's fortunes and thy truth
> And love of duty guide us on our course.
> So shall our country flourish, thine as ours,
> So long, no longer."

Such was the manner of man whom De Chastes had enlisted in the enterprise. We shall see how he became the head and front of it, was left with a free hand to act as he pleased in Canada, and when the office of Vice Royalty was abolished was made Governor.

De Chastes had influence with the Court. He had rendered signal service to King Henry IV at the desperate battle of "Arques" in which, with less than half the number he defeated the Duke of Mayence. De Chastes, who was Governor of Dieppe undertook, without making any conditions, to admit King Henry and his army in case of necessity. The service was never forgotten, even after De Chastes' death a sum of money was given to the children. Champlain sailed with the expedition in 1603, ascended the St. Lawrence as far as the Sault St. Louis (Lachine) when he was stopped by the rapids. He thus followed in the wake of Cartier. He returned to France. De Chastes, the patron of the enterprise in the meantime had died, and the association was broken up. He was determined to pursue the enterprise, went to Paris and laid a chart of the country which he had traversed before the king. He was graciously received, and De Monts, a Calvinist gentleman of great wealth who was in favor with the Court, joined him taking Chastes' place.

De Monts' patent included all the country between the 40th and 46th degree of latitude, that is the country between Philadelphia and Montreal, with supreme governing powers. De Monts set sail with a larger expedition than had ever yet gone to Canada (March 1604). After examining the coast of Acadia (Nova Scotia) the expedition landed at St. Croix and wintered there. In 1605 it was removed to Port Royal. The country to the south was explored as far as Cape Cod but no French colony within the borders of what is now United States territory was founded until 1615. De Monts' object was to develop the resources of Nova Scotia, but Champlain's preference was for the St. Lawrence. There was an idea prevalent in the minds of navigators and explorers in that age that Asia could be reached by a short route across the American continent, and "La Chine" rapids were so named from a belief that beyond them was the way to China. They were right, the shortest way to China is across the American continent, but by land and not by water as they believed was possible. It was a problem which for centuries they labored to solve. We have very recently (July 1891) witnessed how China has been brought within twenty-one days of Europe across the North American continent *via* the Dominion of Canada.

With Champlain lies the honor of founding Quebec. On the 3rd of July 1608 he fixed upon a promontory not far from the spot where sixty-seven years before Cartier had erected a fort and passed a winter there. I quote again from Mr. Dawson's poems:—

> That wondrous strait where close th' opposing hills
> To build the stately Portal of the West
> There at the foot of that tremendous rock
> Which towers above a basin sheltered round
> By mountains slowly stooping from their height
> In terraces of verdure to the deep
> And ever tranquil water. In that charmed spot
> Of solemn beauty was the cradle placed
> Of our Canadian Empire. Grand the site
> And great the founder. Mark his forehead calm
> His serious eyes but prone to gleam with mirth
> As fit to gaze on danger—resolute mouth
> Adorned with grim moustache and courtly beard
> Showing a man as skilled and apt to tread
> The Gallant Bearnais' court as the slant deck
> Slippery with foam and ice when northern storm
> Sweeps on the treacherous gulf and through the dark
> Aloft demons hurtle through the air
> With hiss and shriek

In 1611 De Monts, on his appointment to the Governorship of Saintoge, abandoned the North American adventure. He committed everything to Champlain and advised him to seek some powerful patron. He found such in the Count de Soissons, who obtained the title of Lieutenant General of New France, and then delegated the functions of his high office to Champlain. The Count dying shortly afterwards, Champlain found a still more powerful patron in the Prince de Conde. Practically speaking Chaplain had a free hand to do as he pleased in North America.

To the South he explored and discovered Lake Champlain (so-called after himself) and Lake George and in 1613 he undertook exploration to the North. He was greatly assisted by the Algonkins whose friendship he had gained. Champlain, in his intercourse with the native races, by his judicious and generous kindness commanded their confidence and secured them as friendly allies. The feuds and enmities which existed between the various tribes, or more properly speaking nations, notably between the Algonkins and Iroquois or Five Nations, made it impossible at times to prevent conflicts from taking place. This expedition to the North was prompted chiefly by the report of one Vignau who lived among the Indians and had accompanied Champlain on his travels. Vignau represented that the Ottawa issued from a lake connected with the North Sea, and reported that on the shores of this sea he had seen the wreck of an English vessel, and that the crew, eighty in number, had been killed by the natives. He set out upon the expedition, and after great hardships was compelled to return with the conviction that he had been deceived by Vignau. The journey, however, was not without its results, and was the prelude to a far more fruitful and important one in 1615. In that year he followed the course of the Ottawa, taking advantage of numerous small lakes and portages, reached Lake Nipissing, from whence he followed the course of the French River to the Georgian Bay and entered Lake Huron, coasted it for several leagues, and turning about near its extremity struck into the interior, and found his way up to Lake and River St. Clair, near the site of the present city of Detroit, which was the furthest point of this exploration. The geographical results were important. He obtained the key to the far West, and after suffering great hardships and conflicts with the Indians, he was compelled to take part in the eternal feud between the Algonkins and Iroquois. He returned to Quebec in July of the following year, 1616. For ten years after this expedition he prosecuted his projects of Canadian exploration and colonization. He went every year to France, labouring with zeal and fortitude for the interests of the colony. The difficulties of his task were increased by the apathy or open opposition of his countrymen. There was no overflow of population from France, and towards the close of 1621 the European settlers of Canada were very few in number.

THE RULE OF THE ONE HUNDRED ASSOCIATES

In 1627 all former charters given by the kings of France were cancelled, chiefly through the advice of Cardinal Richelieu, and the fortunes of the French Empire in North America handed over to a company of a hundred associates, of which Champlain was the leading spirit. Among its members were not only Cardinal Richelieu and Champlain, but many noblemen and rich merchants were included. New France, according to the charter of Louis XIII, meant the basin of the St. Lawrence and of such other rivers as flowed into the sea. It also included Florida by virtue of Coligny's attempt to found a Huguenot colony there, 1564, and which, as we have seen, had been so ruthlessly destroyed by the Spaniards. The Association undertook definitely to send out 300 tradesmen first of all, and to find them with tools, food, and all the necessaries of life for three years

The French did not emigrate willingly—they did not follow in the wake of explorers. The Association was formed to inaugurate a guide to a national exodus. The office of Vice Royalty, which had existed for 36 years was abolished and Champlain was made Governor. Misfortunes overtook New France at the very beginning. In 1628 David Kirke with an English squadron captured the first ship laden with stores for the emigrants and in 1629 the English took Quebec and held Canada until 1632, when by the Treaty of St Germain *en laye* Canada—that is the valley of the St Lawrence, Acadia and Cape Breton—were restored to France. This was a time of domestic embarassment for England during the reign of Charles I, and France profited by it. The Commonwealth disposed of King Charles and set the Kings of England aside for a time. In New France Champlain was reinstated with full power as Governor of Canada, and it looked as if he was at last destined to carry out his life long projects and build up a French Colonial Empire in North America, and he began to address himself immediately to the work before him. In the following year he came to Quebec with stores and a number of settlers but on Christmas day, 1635, he died. The Colony could ill spare him for about thirty years he labored hard and ceaselessly for its welfare sacrificing fortune repose and domestic peace to a cause embraced with enthusiasm and pursued with intrepid persistency. With the life of the faithful soldier closes the opening period of New France, heroes of another stamp succeed, and it remains to tell the story of their lives, their faults, their follies and their virtues.

I think it will be interesting to pause in the narrative of the early pioneers in the basin of the St. Lawrence (then called Canada) and in Acadia (now Nova Scotia and New Brunswick) to contrast their position at Champlain's death with that of the English further south. It may here be remarked that Quebec was founded under the guidance of Champlain about the time of the voyage of the Mayflower 1608. The French population consisted of several small settlements extending from Tadusac to Lachine, the most important of which was Quebec and Three Rivers. In Acadia, which included Nova Scotia and New Brunswick there were only a few ports along the mouths of rivers. This was the extent of New France in 1635 exactly one hundred years after Cartier's expedition 1535, up the St Lawrence.

The settlements of the English further south were Virginia, first commenced by Sir Walter Raleigh off his own bat as it were, and notwithstanding many failures his faith never wavered. "I shall yet see it an English nation," were his prophetic words. Massachusetts, settled by the Pilgrim Fathers, 1620. New Hampshire 1623. Maine, 1625. Rhode Island settled from Massachusetts. Maryland settled by Lord Baltimore 1634. Connecticut, settled from Massachusetts 1635. of the others New York was settled by the Dutch in 1609 and New Jersey and Delaware founded by the Dutch and Swedes in 1627. This group of plantations was inhabited by a race who did not subsist by the chase or trading with the Indians but by the labor of their hands in tilling the soil. They had, however, the advantage in point of climate which was more temperate than that of the colder north. On the other hand the settlements along the margin of the St. Lawrence was like a camp where an army lay at rest ready for the march or the battle and where war and adventure, not labor and tillage, seemed the chief aims of life. The owners of the soil were petty nobles for the most part soldiers, or the sons of soldiers, proud and ostentatious, thriftless and poor, fond of the chase, rightful heirs to French valor they had an eager love of wandering and adventure. No sharper contrast could be found than that between the French and English colonists. The English colonist was strong in native vigor, grew yet more strong with conflict and with striving, patient and laborious and seeking for the solid comforts rather than the ornaments of life, no lover of war, yet if need were, fighting with a stubborn indomitable courage, then bending with stedfast energy to his farm or his merchandise.

By the zeal of the priests and daring enterprise of soldiers and explorers, Canada spread forts and missions through all the western wilderness, feebly rooted in the soil she thrust out branches which overshadowed half America, a magnificent object to the eye but one which the first whirlwind would prostrate in the dust. The enterprises pursued by the early French pioneers may properly be likened to those of a great trading company such as the Hudson Bay Company, but unlike the French pioneers. The Governor and Factors of that company did not attempt to convert the heathen or establish missions but devoted themselves to the work for which they were incorporated. The trade in furs with the Indians gaining their con fidence and making allies of them through the probity, the fairness and the integrity of their dealings, and we have the evidence of the moral effects produced on the Indian in the peaceful contentment, law and order which prevail among them to this day in the enormous territory over which they had rule.

NATIVE RACES.

The name "Indian" was given to the aborigines of North America by the early searchers after the kingdoms of the east by a northwest passage, believing that along the valley of the St. Lawrence they were skirting the fringe of some Asiatic empire and that the races whom they saw were those of the Indies, and the name has remained. The tribes with whom the European colonists were brought into contact include *first*, the Eskimo, always found near the coast; *second*, roving hunters and warriors from the shores of Hudson's Bay to the Gulf of Mexico, keeping the valley of the Mississippi as the western boundary, known as the Algonkins; *third*, the Iroquois and Mobilian groups. The Eskimo are exclusively maritime and Arctic race and rarely found south of 65 north latitude. They are supposed to number about 18,500 all told.

The North American tribes, best known in Canadian history as the Algonkins, Hurons and Iroquois; there is hardly a page of early records or an incident of Jesuit trade or adventure but contains some reference to these natives. The history of Canada has been simply a narrative of continual warfare with those tribes who guarded the gateway to the prairies. The Algonkins took the side of the French and the Iroquois that of the English, speaking generally, but the real nature of the warfare underlying all partisanship was civilization against barbarism, European rule and law against the untutored regime of the wild nomads. Not till Pontiac's conspiracy 1763 was crushed did the conflict cease. A lucid and interesting account of Pontiac's conspiracy will be found in Parkman's works.

The North American aborigines were never very numerous. According to Bancroft's history of the United States, two hundred years ago there were no more than 180,000 distributed over vast spaces of country reaching from the shores of Hudson Bay to the valley of the Mississippi. The Algonkins numbered about 90,000; it was an Algonkin that Cartier first met on the St. Lawrence; it was an Algonkin Chief whom he unceremoniously took back with him to

France on his first voyage. The Huron or Wyandot tribes spoke a kindred language with the Iroquois and inhabited the peninsula between Lakes Huron, Erie and Ontario; their numbers were about 20,000. They were conquered in 1649 by the Iroquois who invaded them in the depths of winter, and by attacks and surprises scattered their clans, some finding refuge with the French near Quebec where their descendants still live at Lorette. The Iroquois or Five Nations, viz., Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas, stretched from Lake Ontario to the Ohio, Susquehanna and the Delaware. We hear more of them now than any other native tribes in the conflicts between French and English. When the Tuscaroras, a tribe of North Carolina, became merged with them they were known as the Six Nations, 1714. An eternal fued raged between the Iroquois and the Algonkins. The Iroquois, according to Parkman, were foremost in eloquence and savage self. They were the conquering tribes of North America. They owed their triumphs partly to their advanced organization and partly to their indomitable courage and to their geographical position in their own country which was within the present limits of the State of New York, from whence there is easy access to any other parts by means of the lakes and rivers. Longfellow has described in Hiawatha the life, the ideas and romance of the race, their stern courage and occasional tenderness. They were cultivators of the soil; in 1696 Frontenac, the Governor of Canada, found miles of cultivated fields extending from their villages. Notwithstanding their victories and renown it is estimated that Iroquois warriors never exceeded 4,000. The regime of the Hundred Associates continued for twenty-five years after the death of Champlain; his immediate successor was M de Montenagny (1637). He commanded the respect and confidence of the colonists, the Indians and the French court. He was esteemed a model for colonial Governors; the limit of time assigned to the office was three years, and in the midst of his usefulness he was recalled.

M de Ailleboust followed. He had some knowledge of Canada, having been military commendant at Three Rivers. He conceived the idea of forming an alliance with the English colonists of New England, but one of the conditions being a combination against the Iroquois or Five Nations it was not carried out. This attempt to crush them aroused the wrath of the Iroquois and increased their enmity against the French. M de Lauson, M de Ar genson and M. de Avangour succeeded as Governors. M. de Avangour was the last appointed under the regime of the Hundred Associates. As a trading and colonizing company the Hundred Associates, in spite of good Governors and large concessions, was a failure. At the suggestion of Bishop Laval, the King of France cancelled the charter of the company. It had dwindled down to one-half its original members and the whole territory was brought under the direct rule of the Crown. Before their reign had expired, 1660, the English colonists proposed to the Governor of French Canada that the colonists of France and England should take no part in the quarrels of the mother countries, but should live in amity, Protestants and Catholics; but it was then urged that it would be impossible to dissociate colonial from imperial policy, and yet such an arrangement was subsequently agreed to between the parent countries. A treaty of neutrality, in the event of war in Europe, was made between France and England in 1686, but it was destined that Canada was to become one of the battle fields of England and France. Missionary enterprise and the conversion of the natives were the main features of the regime of the Hundred Associates. Champlain availed himself of the services of the Franciscans, an order noted for their austere and simple habits; he regarded them as the most fitting missionaries to send as pioneers into a new country, as they were free from ambition; but afterwards the task was entrusted solely to the Jesuits as being better instruments.

In 1640 Montreal, the site of which had already been indicated by Champlain in 1611, was founded, that there might be a rendezvous nearer than Quebec. In August of the year 1642 a general meeting of French settlers and Indians took place there; the new crusading spirit took full possession of the enthusiastic French people. The niece of Cardinal Richelieu founded a hospital for the natives. The French missionaries, much as they might desire it, could not keep outside the intertribal strifes of the natives around them, but succeeding to Champlain's policy they continued to aid the Algonkin Hurons against their inveterate enemies the Iroquois, who retaliated by the most revengeful cruelties; there was no peace, and missionaries and colonists carried their lives in their hands. The method of colonization and settlement pursued by the English to the south on the Atlantic coast were, as we have seen, in marked contrast with that pursued by the French in Canada. The French were first in the field but it was not until Champlain, who may be said to be the father of French colonisation, appeared on the scene that the colonization and settlement of French Canada may fairly be said to have commenced (1603.) Quebec, as we have seen, was founded by Champlain about the time of the voyage of the Mayflower—a brief reference to that famous voyage and the causes which led to it may here be interesting. The history of our own time records the stupendous consequences which flowed from it.

In April 1614 John Smith, a noted explorer and leader of colonists, when President of Virginia, had sailed on a voyage of discovery to the northern shores, examined the coast from Penobscot to Cape Cod and called it New England. The title was confirmed by Prince Charles. To this land the Pilgrims in the "Mayflower" and the "Speedwell" turned in 1620, leaving their native land as victims of religious persecution; they held no charter or concession and were simply adventurers. On the 9th November they cast anchor in the harbor of Cape Cod. Before landing, the following document and compact was drawn up affirming their loyalty to the King of England, covenanting together reverently to obey the laws which they might make for themselves:

"In the name of God, amen. We, whose names are under written, the loyal subjects of our dread King James, having undertaken for the glory of God and advancement of the Christian faith and honor of our King and Country a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do by these presents solemnly and mutually in the presence of God and of one another covenant ourselves together into a civic body politic for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid, and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions and officers from time to time as shall be thought most convenient for the good of the colony, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience."

This document was signed by forty one men, representing one hundred and two souls comprising the whole colony. They landed at New Plymouth at a spot still marked by posterity. Here was the beginning of New England. The main idea of these colonists was to secure for themselves a place in the world where they could worship God in the way that seemed best to them. They were not rebellious or disloyal. They trusted to themselves for success and leaned neither upon privileges or chartered rights. They had gone to Holland, where they heard there was toleration for all, and conducted themselves with piety and honesty while there. But they desired to live under the British flag and believed they could secure that best by crossing the Atlantic. The Council of Plymouth two months after the Mayflower had sailed obtained a charter from King James which gave them absolute power over all the territory between the 40th and 48th degrees of north latitude, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

New England was reinforced from time to time by fresh arrivals from the old country, who were driven out for political or religious opinions. In May, 1638, the Privy Council interfered to stay a squadron of eight ships which were in the Thames preparing to sail for the New World; both Hampden and Cromwell were said to have been on board. After the execution of King Charles and the establishing of the Protectorate the colonies were left free to do as they pleased for nearly twenty years. In 1614 the government of Massachusetts was established in its liberty and laws. Harvard College had been founded in 1638, public education was provided for all classes. In 1642 the colony of New Hampshire was incorporated with the earlier settlements on equal terms; in 1643 there was a union effected between Massachusetts, Connecticut, Plymouth and New Haven. Within the first fifteen years there came over to Puritan New England 21,000 persons or 4,000 families. Their descendants in 1834, about two hundred years afterwards, mustered about 4 or 5,000,000. The settlements from New Haven to Pemaquid were composed chiefly of agricultural communities planted along the sea. As early as 1675 it was an easy task for Massachusetts, Plymouth and Connecticut to raise a force of 1,000 troopers to deal with the Indians both to the north and south; from Virginia on the one hand and Massachusetts on the other. British colonists were growing and prosperous. Along the coast from Maine to South Carolina a young nation was growing. To their force of character and indomitable pluck, their fierce spirit of liberty, Edmund Burke in his great speech on "Conciliation with America" gave ample testimony. Adam Smith, in his estimate of the American character, lays stress on their inborn virtues and native hardihood. "In what way therefore has the policy of Europe contributed either to the first establishment or to the present grandeur of the colonies of America? In one way and in one way only it has contributed much *magnum virum mater* it bred and formed the men who were capable of achieving such great actions and of laying the foundation of so great an empire and there is no quarter of the world of which the policy is capable of forming or has ever actually formed such men. The colonies owe to the policy of Europe the education and the great views of their active and enterprising founders, and some of the greatest and most important of them so far as concern their internal government owe to it scarcely anything else." Such was Adam Smith's estimate of the New England colonists. Can we not claim this estimate to be equally applicable to the present generation of Canadian British men? Are they not capable of performing achievements equally great? It has been asserted by a writer who is an acknowledged master of the English language and who aims at moulding public opinion at the present time, that the existence of a Canadian British nationality on this continent alongside of the Republic to the south engenders a spirit of hostility on the part of that great country, that therefore it behooves the people of this Dominion to change their allegiance. If they allowed themselves to be influenced to such a course by a menace they would be exhibiting a spirit the reverse of Adam Smith's estimate of the New England colonists. It might rightly be called a spirit of poltroonery, and the hostility, if such exists on the part of the people of the United States, would assuredly be changed to that of contempt. Better a spirit of jingoism, whatever that may mean as applied to Canadians, than a spirit of pusillanimity or treasonable teaching. Canadians have always shown and may be trusted to show a proper spirit of self-reliance and manliness, and while duly respecting their neighbors maintain their own self respect.

It may be asked why French colonization to the north lagged so much behind that of the English to the south? A glance at the internal condition of France at this period will tend, partly at least, to reveal the cause. France, in the 17th century, was powerful and ambitious and aimed at keeping the supremacy amongst the nations of Europe and at consolidating a transatlantic Empire, but the internal religious wars and dissensions which prevailed between Roman Catholics and Protestants prevented the realization of its policy.

Henry IV, a wise and pacific king, granted the Edict of Nantes, 1598, which ushered in the principle of religious toleration, a great boon to Catholics as well Protestants. The King was assassinated by Ravaillac, 1608, and religious wars broke out again and much blood shed on both sides until the Edict of Nantes was confirmed, 1628. The evils of the internecine warfare were enormous. France became a nation divided against itself. It was estimated that the religious wars cost the country a million of lives and in treasure 150,000,000 livres besides causing the destruction of nine cities, four hundred villages, two thousand churches and two thousand monasteries; a serious hindrance to colonization was one of the consequences.

Cardinal Richelieu, during the reign of Louis XIII, and Colbert in that of Louis XIV, were fired with the ambition to extend the industries and commerce of France and to create a transatlantic empire, but the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 1685, was one of the chief causes of the ruin of their commercial and colonial policy. This relapse into religious intolerance rallied against them not only England but the powers of Europe, and William III became not only a champion of English nationality but of the territorial freedom of Europe, which appeared to be menaced. In her defence of Protestantism England could count, as we shall see later on, upon the co-operation and assistance of the New England colonists. Another result of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes was to drive skilled Huguenot artisans and mechanics into other countries; many sought an asylum in England and Holland, etc. In England a persecution for faith and principles did not make aliens of English exiles. The Pilgrim Fathers were always loyal to the crown and staunch supporters of the national cause in America. The tremendous struggle which was closed for a time, and only for a time as we shall see, by the Treaty of Utrecht, was a fight between England and France for commercial and colonial supremacy.

A brief review of English history at the period under review is necessary to a proper understanding and appreciation of that struggle and of the different wars which were waged between the two countries in all parts of the world during the 17th and 18th centuries, and which ended in the expansion and triumph of England—commencing with the revolution, 1688, and ending with the battle of Waterloo. England waged seven great wars, the shortest of which was seven years and the longest about twelve. Out of 126 years 64, more than half, were spent in war.

The great English navy first took definite shape in the wars of the Commonwealth, and the English army was founded on the mutiny bill and dates from the reign of William III. England had of course been at war before this period, but at the commencement of it her debt was less than one million, but at the end of the period (1817) it was £840 *millions*. If we pass these wars in review the first was the European war in which England was involved by the revolution of 1688; it lasted eight years until the Treaty of Ryswick, 1697; there was then the war of Marlborough's great victories called the Spanish succession, it lasted 11 years, 1702, till the Treaty of Utrecht, 1713. A truce of twenty-six years followed. The next war lasted nine years, 1739 to 1748, when the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle was made. Then comes the seven years war and the notable and interesting incident in it for us was the battle of the heights of Abraham, the death of Wolfe and the conquest of Canada. That victory was one of a long *series* which to contemporaries seemed fabulous, so that the English nation came out of the struggle intoxicated with glory, and England stood upon a pinnacle of greatness which she had never reached before. This is the fourth war and is in striking contrast to the *fifth*, the American war, which from the first outbreak of hostilities to the peace of Paris lasted eight years, 1775 to 1783. This war, the American part of it had been as inglorious not to say ignominious as the previous war had been splendid and triumphant, but its latter part became a great naval war in which England stood at bay against all the world, and through Rodney's victories ended creditably. The sixth was the war with revolutionary France lasting nine years, 1793, till the Treaty of Amiens, 1802, and the seventh the Napoleonic wars, the war with France under the empire of Napoleon which continued for twelve years, 1803, and ended with the peace of 1815 and abdication of Napoleon. Then followed the battle of Waterloo, when he fled to the sea coast, surrendered himself to a British naval commander, and he who had lorded it over the nations expired six years afterwards a captive on a rock of the Atlantic.

On examination it will be found that all these wars or nearly all of them may be traced mainly to this struggle for commercial and colonial supremacy; although the ground of quarrel may seem quite accidental, hostilities may break out in the low countries or in the heart of Germany, but the war is waged everywhere and anywhere, at Madras, or at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, or on the banks of the Ohio. Macaulay says in speaking of Frederick's invasion of Silesia, "In order that he might rob a neighbor whom he had promised to defend, black men fought on the coast of Coromandel and red men scalped each other by the great lakes of North America."

A truce of twenty-seven years followed the peace of Utrecht, which was but the natural effect of the exhaustion of Europe. When this truce was over all the wars which followed may be regarded as constituting one war with occasional pauses; at any rate the three wars between 1744 and 1783; those three wars make one grand and decisive struggle between England and France. Nominally the first of these three wars was ended by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, 1748; nominally there followed eight years of peace between England and France, but in reality it was not so at all; whatever virtue that treaty may have had towards settling the quarrels of other European powers concerned in the war, it scarcely interrupted for a moment the conflict in America between England and France, for the question of the boundaries of the English and French settlements in Acadia and Canada was disputed with as much bitterness after the treaty as before it, and not in words only but by arms just the same as if a war was going on. This was equally true of another frontier along which the English and French met each other, namely in India, and some of the most memorable encounters which have ever taken place between English and French in the course of their long rivalry took place in these eight years when nominally England and France were at peace. We learn how the French built Fort Duquesne on the Ohio, how the English colony of Virginia sent a body of 400 men under command of General Washington, then a young man, to attack it, how he was surrounded and forced to capitulate, and also of the defeat and death of General Braddock, and the struggle between Dupleix and Clive in India, and the deeds which led to the founding of England's Indian empire. All these were parts of a desperate struggle between France and England for supremacy. The most of them took place after the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, 1748, and before the commencement of the second war in 1758.

This great conflict lasted from 1744 to the peace of Paris, 1763, for a period of twenty years; it ended in the most disastrous defeat that has ever, in modern times, been suffered by France, except in 1870; but fifteen years later England and France were again at war by land and by sea for five years. It was not for a moment dissembled that France now, in the hour of England's distress, avenged herself for what she had suffered from England. This was her revenge for the loss of Canada, mainly to create the United States, in the words which on a latter occasion became so celebrated, "she called a new world into existence to redress the old."

During the American war France lost all her possessions in India, and as the result of that war England lost all her American possessions except Canada. The French were first in the field in India as they had been first in America. The great Colbert in 1664 had formed a French India Company; their principal settlements were at Pondicherry, on the coast of Coromandel. The Portuguese, (1580 to 1595) made rapid conquests more than three-quarters of a century before; they possessed the Moluccas, the coast of Ceylon, the Isles of Sunda and the trade of China and Japan, and were all powerful on the coast of India. The Dutch (1595) had also formed a company; their first settlements were in Java, Banda, Amboya and Polerm. The English appeared in India a few years after the Dutch. These three powers Portugal, France, and Holland, were far more powerful at this period (1600) than the English. Sir Edwin Arnold, in an able and most interesting article recently published in the North American Review, which will reward perusal, has given an amusing account of the first beginnings of the English settlements in India. He says: "In point of fact our Indian empire was forced upon us by the irresistible logic of events. It began in the utmost simplicity with a merchant's charter and with a doctor's perscription. Some London traders got a monopoly of buying and selling goods at the mouth of the Ganges as well as at Bombay and Surat, and were doing a quiet wholesale and retail business, when one of their doctors cured the great Mogul Ferozeshah of a boil on his back, and the princess, his daughter, of a fever. For a fee he received the land where Calcutta now stands and sold it cheap to the Company, who erected a factory there called Fort William. After this the merchants became princes in spite of their earnest effort to remain brokers."

A stupendous and fierce struggle, continuing for about a century, ensued until it ended by England's gaining the golden prize, the

sovereignty of India, from the aspirants who had disputed it, from the French, the Portuguese, the Dutch, the Mogul, the Mahratta, the Madras Islamites and the Punjaub Sikhs—"thus fell to that band of respectable merchants who started an empire with a physician's prescription and established a commerce of one hundred million sterling with an original order to their agent at Calcutta for a dozen pounds of the best tay you can get."

And as between France and England this struggle was world wide, in the east and in the west, in America and in India, in the end victory declared itself for England. We thus see the relevancy of Macaulay's saying that in consequence of European disputes, black men fought in Coromandel and red men scalped each other by the great lakes of North America. The loss by England of her American colonies, now the United States, was at the time doubtless felt to be most grievous, but was it not in the interests of succeeding generations, in the interest of human progress and civilization? Is it not better for England herself that another great English speaking nation, composed of men of her own race, should have grown up and flourished in a manner to command the wonder and admiration of the world? Is it not a blessing to India to be brought under the benign rule of the Empress of India? Is not England vastly benefited, if in no other way, by the duty imposed upon her by the noble task of governing and doing the right by these hundreds of millions? And is not the decree of Providence visible in the mighty events which I have thus briefly related?

We shall now resume the story of the French pioneers in Canada, and perhaps this dip into English history may help to increase its interest for all of us. In 1665 the Hundred Associates abandoned their charter to the King, and Canada became a part of the royal domain, an integral part of France. About the same time the history of Acadia (Nova Scotia) became intermingled with that of Canada. We have already seen that De Monts and Champlain in their second expedition from France landed at St. Croix, and wintered there, from whence they afterwards moved to Port Royal (the Annapolis of to-day). De Monts' preference was for Acadia, but Champlain elected to explore and colonize the great basin of the St. Lawrence, then designated as Canada. While Champlain was engaged in opening up and developing the basin of St. Lawrence and the country inland and founding Quebec, De Monts and his successors were developing Nova Scotia and the adjacent main land, but they were not successful in carrying out any practical scheme of settlement. Some Indians were converted and the fur trade pursued but without much energy or success. Rivals at home who had the king's ear caused the recall of De Monts, and he was deprived of his office and charter.

In 1621 during the reign of James I Englishmen succeeded to French attempts. Sir William Alexander a Scottish knight, favorably known at court, obtained from the king a charter granting him the Peninsula of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and the Gaspe Peninsula. Four years after this charter was granted Charles I succeeded to James I created an order of knights called "Knights Baronets of Nova Scotia" to the number of 150 each of them to receive a large grant of land on condition of bringing out emigrants and settling the country. The experiment was interrupted by European complication—under the Treaty of St Germain en Laye 1632 Canada, Nova Scotia and Cape Breton were ceded back to France. Much disappointment was created on the part of English. Under Sir David Kirke they had practically expelled the French from Nova Scotia conquered Port Royal, and even destroyed the trading station of Tedousac and held Quebec. The French held possession for twenty-two years, 1632-1654, undisturbed. England was then in the throes of civil war and her distinct settlements were entirely neglected. In 1654, Oliver Cromwell held the reins of government, under him England's foreign and colonial policy were administered with a firm hand. The Puritans of New England recognizing their danger from raids by the French in Acadia backed as they were by the power of the French nation protested against the surrender of Acadia, and urged the Protector to retake it. The Protector with his usual energy determined to retake the country and it was retaken accordingly, and the English flag was hoisted on Port Royal. Sir Thomas Temple was appointed Governor and ruled the settlement for thirteen years 1654-1667.

In 1667 Nova Scotia again changed hands under the Treaty of Breda. A long truce between France and England followed but the French and English settlers from this date until the Treaty of Utrecht 1713 and after the Treaty as we shall see did not live together in amity, there were constant feuds and disputes about the fisheries, the fur trade, as well as intrigues with the Indians and continual petty strifes—at one time the colonists formally waged war with each other. A night raid in midwinter by French and Indians on the New England colonies made them rise as one man: two expeditions, one by sea against Port Royal and Quebec; the attack on Port Royal succeeded, that on Quebec and Montreal failed. A desultory warfare followed which was carried on by both sides in a barbarous manner, and the most ghastly cruelties inflicted. Villebon, the French Governor of Port Royal, left his post as being too exposed, and intrenched himself in a forest at the mouth of the St. John River. He kept a large pack of bloodhounds with which he hunted down his enemies, and with him lived a pirate, Baptiste by name, who plundered all who came in his way.

The English were destined to win the day in North America, and they won it here in the island and peninsulas first of all. Subercase, the brave French commander, was compelled to surrender Port Royal after a gallant resistance in September, 1710, when the French flag was hauled down, one of the greatest and most important bulwarks of French power was destroyed, and in honor of Queen Anne its name was changed to Annapolis. Shortly after the Treaty of Utrecht the French built Louisburg, in Cape Breton, which was still left to them, and made it the centre of their power; many of the French colonists from Newfoundland and Nova Scotia removed thither. It occupied a commanding position with regard to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and was for many years a menace to the British colonists.

One of the most notable exploits of New England colonists was the capture of Louisburg in 1745. Colonel Pepperell took command of 4000 volunteers, and early in the spring reached Canso. Here he was joined by Commodore Warren and several British men of war. After an interval of three weeks the combined forces approached Louisburg. The landing was difficult, the Massachusetts men had to struggle through the surf to a precarious beach, the French disputing every inch of ground. The defenders had a great superiority in artillery. The garrison consisted of 600 Regulars and 1000 Breton militia. The attacking colonists exhibited great daring and courage, though as a body they knew little of discipline. The "Vigilant," a French ship of 64 guns, laden with supplies, was decoyed into the harbor and captured by the English fleet after some hours fighting, the hearts of the beseiged failed them, and on the 17th June the city, fort and batteries, constituting the strongest fortress in North America, capitulated to the New England levies, consisting chiefly of mechanics, farmers and fishermen. The French soldiers were sent home on condition that they would not bear arms against Great Britain for twelve months. The news of the fall of Louisburg, the Dunkirk of America, was received with the greatest joy in Boston and London, 1745. In 1746 the French determined to revenge the fall of Louisburg. D'Anville sailed from Rochelle with the greatest fleet that had ever sailed for the New World, but its fate was like that of the Spanish Armada. D'Anville reached Chebucto harbor (now Halifax) with a miserable remnant of his fleet, and in a frenzy fell upon his sword.

A body of French soldiers under Ramezey was sent from Quebec to co-operate with D'Anville's squadron—they distinguished themselves by a murderous and treacherous attack upon a body of New England colonists under Colonel North. French and Indians advancing quickly over the snow burst unexpectedly on the Massachusetts men, who were quartered at Grand Pre, and killed eighty of them in their sleep. In 1748, Cape Breton, by the terms of the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle, was restored to the French in exchange for Madras.

Attention has already been directed to the world-wide contest between France and England—we see here an exchange of territories taking place between them according to the fortunes of war in regions so far apart as Cape Breton and Madras, and that not only in America but in Asia also France and England in that age advanced side by side, one region having been laid open by the discoveries of Vasco de Gama and the other by those of Columbus and Cabot followed by Cartier and Champlain. As a consequence of this exchange, Cape Breton for Madras, England was impelled to consolidate her power in Acadia by two means, one of colonization, and the other of expatriation. It was perceived that the possession of Louisburg, which the French at once made very formidable in strength and power, would constitute a source of great danger and anxiety to the English settlements, and it was determined as a precautionary measure to found another place equally strong by means of immigration, and Chedabucto (now Halifax) was selected.

In 1749 a British fleet lay at anchor where what remained of D'Anville's shattered vessels sought refuge three years before. It had on board more than 2,500 emigrants, who had been tempted with offers of free land grants, a year's provisions, farming implements and other tools. In addition to Halifax the town of Dartmouth was founded the following year 1763. No fewer than 2,000 Germans came out and settled at Lunenburg. Expatriation, the other measure, was made necessary and forced upon the English government by the policy which may rightly be termed a policy of deceit and untruth pursued by the French towards the French Acadians who had become English subjects under the Treaty of Utrecht. At this time their number was about 15,000. They were credulous and easily influenced, and under malign influences had been prevented from taking the oath of allegiance required of them as subjects of the English crown, and their loyalty was questionable, although when left to themselves they were peaceable and law abiding. It must be borne in mind that the struggle between the French and English was of a desperate character, and that as has already been observed, notwithstanding the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle, when peace was declared between the countries, forts were captured and recaptured many times over. Frontier disputes respecting the fur trade were continued, and boundary difficulties, whether in the peninsula of Nova Scotia or in the valley of the Ohio were never really settled, and it was felt that the English and French could not live together as neighbors under the same government.

Expatriation has been made pathetic by Longfellow's poem of "Evangeline," which is founded on poetical imagination rather than on the facts of history. It is an episode in the history of Acadia on which it is interesting to dwell.

But the true facts of history are as follows, chiefly gathered from Parkman's works. Acadia, the peninsula of Nova Scotia, with the addition of the present province of New Brunswick and some adjacent country, was conquered by General Nicholson in 1710, and transferred by France to England three years later under the Treaty of Utrecht. By that treaty it was expressly provided that such of the French inhabitants as were willing to remain were to be subject to Great Britain and to enjoy the free exercise of their religion according to the usages of the Church of Rome as far as the laws of Great Britain allow the same, but that any who choose might remove with their effects if they did so within a year. Very few availed themselves of the right, and after the end of the year those who remained were to take the oath of allegiance. They would doubtless have soon complied if left to them, but the French authorities of Cape Breton did their utmost to prevent them and employed agents to keep them hostile to England; of these the most efficient were the French priests, who, in spite of the treaty persuaded their flocks that they were still subjects of King Louis.

It was not till seventeen years after the treaty that the Acadians could be brought to take the oath without some qualification which made it useless. The English authorities seemed to have shown throughout unusual patience and forbearance; at length, about 1730, nearly all the inhabitants signed by crosses as few of them could write an oath recognizing George II as sovereign of Acadia. This restored comparative quiet till the war of 1745 when some of them remained neutral while some took up arms against England. The Fortress of Louisburg taken by the English (New England colonists) during the war had been restored by treaty.* The French at once prepared to make it a military and naval station more formidable than ever; upon this the British ministry resolved to establish another station as a counterpoise. The harbor of Chedabucto on the south coast of Acadia, was chosen as the site for it. Thither in June 1749 came a fleet of transports with emigrants, composed of mechanics, tradesmen, farmers, laborers also sailors, soldiers and subaltern officers thrown out of employment by the peace. Edward Cornwallis, uncle of Lord Cornwallis of the revolutionary war, was made Governor and Commander-in-chief. Wolfe called him a man of approved courage and fidelity. Before summer was over the streets were laid out and the building lots of each settler assigned to him; before winter closed the whole were under shelter. Succeeding years brought more emigrants, till 1752 the population was four thousand. Thus was founded the city of Halifax of our day. The French, who never reconciled themselves to the loss of Acadia, were resolved by diplomacy or force to win it back. The Acadians were therefore kept in a state of disaffection towards the English; it was not that they had been ill-used by the English, the reverse was the case. Constant efforts were made to stimulate Acadian emigration to French territory—Cape Breton and

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* The Society is now in possession of copies of this treaty.

Prince Edward Islands—and thus strengthen the French frontiers. Some 2,100 are reported to have left by the end of 1751.

The English governor, Cornwallis, appears to have been a man of good judgment and temper. His attitude towards the Acadians remained patient and conciliatory. It is interesting to read what he said to a deputation of them asking a general permission to leave the Province: "My friends," he said, "I am not ignorant of the fact that every means has been used to alienate the hearts of the French subjects of his Britannic Majesty. Great advantages have been promised to you elsewhere, and you have been made to imagine that your religion is in danger. Threats even have been resorted to in order to induce you to remove to French territory. The savages are made use of to molest you; they are to cut the throats of all who remain in their native country attached to their own interests and faithful to the government. You know that certain officers and missionaries who came from Canada last autumn have been the cause of all our trouble during the winter. Their conduct has been terrible without honor or conscience; their aim is to embroil you with the government. I will not believe they are authorized to do so by the Court of France, that being contrary to good faith and the friendship established between the two crowns. When you declared your desire to submit yourselves to another government our determination was to hinder nobody from following what he imagined to be his interest. We know that a forced service is worth nothing, and that a subject compelled to be so against his will is not far from being an enemy. We confess however that your determination to go gives us pain. We are aware of your industry and temperance and that you are not addicted to vice or debauchery. This province is your country; you and your fathers have cultivated it; naturally you ought yourselves to enjoy the fruits of your labors; such was the design of the king and master. You know that we have followed his orders; you know that we have done everything to secure to you not only the occupation of your lands but the ownership of them forever. We have given you also every possible assurance of the free public exercise of the Roman Catholic religion, but I declare to you frankly that according to our laws nobody can possess lands or houses in the province who shall refuse to take the oath of allegiance to the king when required to do so. You know very well there are evil disposed and mischievous persons among you who corrupt others. Your inexperience, your ignorance of the affairs of government, and your habit of following the counsels of those who have not your interests at heart, make it an easy matter to seduce you. In your petition you ask for a general leave to quit the province; the only manner in which you can do so is to follow the regulations already established and provide yourselves with our passports; and we declare that nothing shall prevent us from giving such passports to all who ask for them the moment peace and tranquility are established." He declares as his reason for not giving them at once, "that in crossing the frontier you will have to pass the French detachment and savages assembled there, and that they compel all inhabitants who go there to take up arms against the English."

The continued disaffection of the Acadians and their stubborn refusal to take the oath of allegiance required of them at last caused their removal from Acadia. It was resolved to distribute them among the various English colonies along the Atlantic coast, New England, Virginia, etc., and to hire vessels to carry out that purpose.

Our New England humanitarianism, melting into sentimentality at a tale of woe, has been unjust to its own. Whatever judgment may be passed on the cruel measure of wholesale exportation, it was not put in execution till every resource of patience and persuasion has been tried in vain. The agents of the French Court, civil, military and ecclesiastical, had made some sort of force a necessity. We have seen by what vile practices they produced on Acadia a state of things intolerable and impossible of continuance. They conjured up the tempest, and when it burst on the heads of the unhappy people they gave no help. The government of Louis XV began by making the Acadians its tools and ended with making them its victims. At Grand Pre 418 unarmed Acadians were summoned to church to hear an official order—Winslow, the New England commander, stood in the centre and said:

"You are convened together to manifest to you His Majesty's final resolution to the French inhabitants of this Province. Your lands and tenements, cattle of all kinds and live stock of all sorts are forfeited to the Crown, and you yourselves are to be removed from this Province. I am, through His Majesty's goodness, directed to allow you liberty to carry off your money and household goods as many as you can without incommoding the vessels you go in." The men were then made prisoners and the stern order of expatriation carried out, 7000 in all being sent on board ship to be taken southward and scattered among the New England colonies from Hampshire to Georgia, where under different influences and surroundings some of their descendants live and flourish. It may not be generally known or remembered that Louis XIV, without any other provocation or pretence than the ambition of conquest, gave orders that the whole population of the colony of New York, numbering about 18,000, should be seized, despoiled of their property, placed on board his ships and dispersed among the other British colonies in such a way that they could not reunite. Want of power alone prevented the execution of the order.

PATERNAL GOVERNMENT

In 1665, as has already been observed, the Company of One Hundred Associates abandoned their charter rights and privileges to the king, Louis XIV, and Canada became henceforth a Crown colony. The government was formed mainly on the model of a French province. In France the government of provinces had long been held by great nobles; the power of these nobles in a former age, the age of feudalism, was co-equal with that of the Crown and at times controlled it. They formed an aristocratic republic and the king was one of their number whom they chose to be their chief, but in the course of many succeeding reigns the power of the king became greater and that of the nobles declined. The triumph of royalty culminated in Louis XIV. The feudal nobles were still governors of provinces, but their power ceased to be dangerous; it was no longer co-equal with that of the Crown; titles, honors and ceremonials, they still had in abundance, but they were deprived of real power. Another official, the Royal Intendant, was associated with them; he was the king's agent, of modest birth, springing from the legal class, learned in the law and trained to administration, and in the name of the king holding the reins of government. It was by such means that the centralization of the monarchy enforced itself throughout the kingdom and, penetrating beneath the crust of old usages and privileges, supplanted without seeming to supplant them. The Governor looked down with the pride of rank on the busy man in black with a troop of officials at his beck, controlled finance, the courts, public works, and all the administrative business of the province.

It may here be of interest to make some reference to Canadian feudalism known as the seigniorial tenure which was an offshoot of the feudalism of France. The seigniorial tenure continued to exist down to our own times and was finally abolished in 1854, the seigniors receiving compensation from the government of the Dominion. It was Richelieu who first planted feudalism in Canada. As the feudal tenure prevailed in old France it was natural it should prevail in the new. Canadian feudalism was meant to serve a double end, to produce a faint and harmless reflection of French aristocracy and simply and practically to supply agencies for distributing land among the settlers. The seigniors were denied any voice whatever in the directing of government. The seignior usually received his land gratuitously from the Crown. In a few cases he made grants to other seigniors inferior in the feudal scale and they in turn to the habitants or cultivators of the soil. Sometimes the habitant held directly from the Crown. The seignior held by the tenure of faith and homage the habitant by the inferior tenure—*en censive*—one condition was imposed upon him which may be said to form the distinctive feature of Canadian feudalism, that of clearing his land within a limited time on pain of forfeiting it. The object was an excellent one of preventing the lands of the colony from laying waste, and he was forbidden to sell any part of it which he had not cleared. He must grant it without price on condition of a small perpetual rent. This brings us to the cultivator of the soil the censitaire, the broad base of the feudal pyramid.

The tenure *en censive* by which the censitaire (habitant) held of the seignior consisted in the allegiance to make annual payments in money or produce, or both. These payments known as *cens et rente* were strangely diverse in amount and kind, but in the early period of the colony were ludicrously small. The rents were commonly paid on St. Martin's Day when there was a general muster of tenants at the seigniorial mansion, when the consumption of tobacco was prodigious with a corresponding retail of neighboring gossip. The seignior had judicial powers, which however were carefully curbed and controlled. His jurisdiction when exercised at all extended in most cases to trivial ones. So long as the censitaire brought in on St. Martin's Day his yearly capons and handful of copper his title against the seignior was perfect and farms have thus passed from father to son for a period of [illegible] years.

The question of these seigniories or the seigniorial tenure as they were properly called furnished a topic for public discussion and controversy for many years in the history of Canada down to our own day, until it was finally settled in 1854 by an agreement for compensation between the seigniors and the government as already stated.

The organization appointed for the government of Canada in its main points resembled that of a French province. It consisted of a Governor General, Intendant and a Supreme Council or Court who were absolute masters of Canada under the pleasure of the King—legislative, judicial, and executive power all centered in them. In 1675 the number of councillors was increased to seven and again in 1703 to twelve. The councillors were rarely changed and they usually held office for life. It was a post of honor mainly; the salaries were very small and coupled with a prohibition to receive fees. The Governor General was a military noble; the Intendant, as in France, was usually drawn from the bar, the legal profession. The Governor General was superior in rank; he commanded the troops and conducted relations with foreign colonies and Indian tribes; unlike a Provincial Governor in France he had great and substantial powers. The Intendant was required to make a report to the King on the Governor General's proceedings and all that took place. The relations of the Governor and the Intendant to each other were so critical and perfect harmony so rare, that they might almost be described as natural enemies. There were as a matter of course Judicial Courts with their judges and other officers for the administration of justice.

This brief summary will tend to convey a general idea of the organization adopted for the government of Canada from the date of its being made a Crown colony under Louis XIV down to the conquest in September 1759.

DELEGATES' REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

Of the Celebrations held to Commemorate the Centennial of Upper Canada, at Niagara Falls, July 16th, 1892.

RESOLUTION of the Wentworth Historical Society relative to the Centennial Celebration.

Resolved, That the Wentworth Historical Society hereby endorses the patriotic sentiment that has prompted the celebration of the 100th anniversary of the first Parliament of Upper Canada, the establishment of which by the wisdom of our Mother Country is in the judgment of this Association the primary source whence we are this day in the full enjoyment of a constitution and laws conferring liberty and protection to the subject, unsurpassed by any nation or country in the world.

Carried 17th Sept., 1892. GEO. H. MILLS, *President*.

Taking action on the foregoing resolution, and desiring to place on record its quota of contemporary and corroborative testimony of historic current events, the delegates, sent as your representatives to take part in the various centennial and annual commemorative ceremonies which have taken place during the past summer, beg leave to return the following report.

Niagara-on-the-Lake may be well called the Alma Mater of all historic associations connected with the early establishment of the Province of Ontario. Traditions of the past cluster round the old town, St. Mark's and St. Andrew's churches, old records and burial places, and seem to breathe even from the rocky sides of the rapid river which here mingles with our own beautiful lake. On this historic spot (1784) the United Empire Loyalists planted our Canadian constitution and sowed the seeds of a patriotism which has sprung up and developed into a nationality which stretches from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and claims as its heritage of loyalty the greater half of the continent of North America.

By Constitutional Act, July 16th, 1792, Upper Canada, now the Province of Ontario, was formed into a separate Province, and granted from the Mother Country certain powers of self-government. Col. J. Graves Simcoe was appointed first Governor of the new Province, established in the old town of Niagara his headquarters, and there met his first Parliament on the 17th Sept. 1792. The writs were issued in Kingston, the session lasting four weeks. The Upper House or Legislative Council consisted of seven members, and a Lower House or Legislative Assembly consisting of sixteen members. Niagara-on-the-Lake can date historic memories farther back than one century of time. Nearly two centuries ago Champlain discovered Lake Ontario, but the marked hostility of the Iroquois, the most powerful confederation of native tribes, in its opposition to French exploration rendered navigation on Lake Ontario very dangerous, and not until 1675 do we read of the bold and intrepid Robert Cavelier de La Salle, Seignior of the Seigniory of Cataraqui, in his enthusiastic search after fame and fortune constructing and launching from Fort Frontenac, now Kingston, the first decked and rigged vessels which floated on Lake Ontario. To extend French power another fort had to be constructed to shut off if possible the attempts of the New England colonists from western trade possessions. In 1678, in the month of November, La Salle, Tonti and the celebrated Father Hennepin started from Fort Frontenac in full sail for Niagara, or the head of the lake. Here they were met by a large number of Indians hastily gathered together to witness the marvellous white winged visitant approaching the shore with all the calm and dignity of a relentless fate'—the French upon their part as profoundly astonished at the majestic spectacle of a river a mile in width precipitating itself from a height of 160 feet into a fathomless abyss.

La Salle immediately set himself to constructing the first despite the indignant protests of the Iroquois, and in midwinter began to build "Le Griffon" on a dock-yard which he had constructed at Cayuga Creek, a short distance above the Falls. This was the first vessel constructed on Lake Erie, and called "Le Griffon" as a compliment to Count Frontenac, who carried two Griffins on his coat of arms. "Le Griffon" was at last launched early in the month of August, 1679, amid volleys of artillery—the chaunting of the Te Deum by the rejoicing Frenchmen mingling with the symphonies of the rushing rapids and reverberating roar of the Falls, while the mist, jewelled by nature's crowns of rainbow, rose from the milky "chaudron" as incense on high.

During the reign of terror instituted by Dennonville, which lasted until the beginning of the eighteenth century, Dennonville in spite of the remonstrances of Governor Dongan of New York built at Niagara a stone fort capable of garrisoning from 400 to 500 men thus making Canada mistress of the lakes but during the war of "Retaliation" carried on between Indian and French and French and English which culminated in the terrible massacres of Lachine and Schenectady the French garrison at Fort Niagara was cut to pieces and the fort razed to the ground by the infuriated Senecas in 1687 In 1721 a block house, to which, in 1726 bastions were added was built and last of all in 1749 a stone fort erected garrisoned and maintained by the French in pursuance of the Home Government's determination to check the New England colonists in their efforts to secure the peltry trade of the North and North West, and to confine English colonization to the Atlantic sea board Thus passed the century of French possession of the Niagara peninsula, followed by forty years tenure of England In 1796, by Jay's treaty, Fort Niagara passed to the United States During the war of 1812 13 our forces regained the coveted heritage which they only held for the space of one year the treaty of Ghent restoring Fort Niagara to the United States *

The severance of the New England colonies from the Mother Land by the Declaration of Independence gave back to Britain a new nation—but a nation sown in the bitter yet sacred tears of the exile

You will ask wherein lies the connection between the early discoveries, migrations and struggles of the seventeenth century and Canada of 1892? Strange as it may seem the descendants of the contending French and British hereditary and rival powers on land and sea of the seventeenth century through the cosmopolitanism of their heredity and eclectic force of unprecedented environments by following after selecting from and finally uniting of the Best, in each mother land have evolved the true Canadian of the nineteenth century It is no longer as French Canadian or British Canadian that we compete as a young nation in almost every avenue of development with the old emporiums of the world but take rank by the more inclusive term—Canadian

For a century and a half the fleur de lys of France floated

from primitive Fort Niagara and claimed homage from the native tribes of our own Province. The "Common" at old Niagara served as a regular Indian encampment, upon which wigwams were set, the shores of the river being strewn with bark canoes, while councils were held, gifts distributed and strings of wampum exchanged, the pipe of peace smoked and the "war dance" danced for the edification of the pale faces gathered to witness the scene. The Duke of Kent witnessed such a scene when Brant, in full regalia as Chief of the Mohawks, led off the dance in the presence of the father of our beloved Queen. And all this a century and less than a century ago!

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* Niagara-on the Lake in 1812 when the United States sent armies to invade Canada was destroyed by fire by the Americans Many valuable records of historical importance perished in the flames at the then prosperous town

By Constitutional Act, 1791, Upper Canada was formed into a separate government.

The Centennial celebration of this event took place on July 16th, 1892. The Niagara, Lundy's Lane, York Rangers and Wentworth Historical Societies, by members and delegates, all took part in this provincial demonstration. At old Fort George Lieutenant-Governor Kirkpatrick read a synopsis of the first Proclamation of 1792. Prayers were read by the chaplain, Rev. Canon Bull of Lundy's Lane Society, who, upon the occasion, used the Common Prayer Book (1774) which had belonged to Mohawk Chief Brant, whose Indian name was Tyendenega. The book was printed on one page in English, on the opposite in the Mohawk tongue, and had been prepared and translated by Brant himself, printed and illustrated in English. Each Gospel lesson is illustrated by a quaint wood cut. In some of these the Devil is to be seen fleeing before Christ. These illustrations no doubt having been used as object lessons in teaching the Indians the truths of Christianity. Most patriotic addresses were delivered by Sir Oliver Mowat, Premier, Dr. Ferguson, Col. Dennison, Dr. Tyendienega (Mohawk Chief and lineal descendant of Brant) and Sheriff McKellar of Hamilton. The delegates from the W. H. S. were Sheriff McKellar, Alex. McKay, Esq., M. P., and Mrs. J. Rose Holden.

Sunday, July 17th, on nearly all of the churches on the Niagara peninsula the national flags were raised on the steeples and memorial services held suitable to the occasion.

ANNIVERSARY OF THE BATTLE OF LUNDY'S LANE, 25TH JULY, 1814.

Owing to the recent celebration of various Historical Societies at Niagara-on-the-Lake, there was no general public demonstration at Lundy's Lane as in former years. The anniversary this year (1892) of the famous battle which took place there seventy-eight years ago, the event, however, was suitably commemorated on the immediate scene of the never-to-be-forgotten contest.

The Lundy's Lane Historical Society, together with a number of delegates from sister organizations, assembled on the old battlefield to decorate the graves of the dead who fell on the memorable 25th of July, 1814. Rev. Canon Bull, President of the L. L. H. S., addressed the assembly at length on the subject of the work of the Society during past years. The delegate from W. H. S. presented, in the name of the Society, wreaths to be laid on the graves of Laura Secord and Capt. Hull, of the 9th Regulars, United States army, the latter bearing the inscription "Entente cordiale entre Canada et Etats Unis." Captain Hull was the son of General Hull, who surrendered to the British forces at Detroit early in the war of 1812-14. The graves and trenches wherein rest the remains of the fallen heroes were lavishly decorated with flowers.

Reference must be also made to the general celebrations, more particularly in the United States, of the 400th anniversary of the landing of Christopher Columbus on one of the West India Islands.

America had of course been known to the barbarous tribes of eastern Asia for thousands of years, but it is singular that it should have been visited by one of the most enterprising nations of Europe five centuries before the time of Columbus without awakening the attention of either statesmen or philosophers. Iceland was discovered in 860, and colonized by Norwegians in 874. About fifty, or according to other accounts one hundred, years later, the same people planted colonies in Greenland. Into the disputes respecting the situation of these colonies we have not room to enter. Sir Charles Giesecke, a good authority, states that their ruins exist near the southern part of the peninsula. It is obvious that the same adventurous spirit which enabled these northern mariners to discover the southern extremity of the country would not permit them to stop short without visiting what is now known to be the most habitable part of it, the western coast; and the fact has been established by an inscription in *runic* characters found on a stone four miles from Upernavik, at the 73rd parallel, intimating that "Erling, son of Sigvat, and Eindride Oddsoen had cleared that place and raised a hillock on Friday after Rogation day." The marking of the date is indistinct, but it is supposed by Professor Rask the translator, to be either 1135 or 1170; and the rune characters show at any rate that it was anterior to the Reformation, when this mode of writing was prohibited. Whoever looks at the map of Greenland and reflects on the fact that the Norwegians must have been ascending through Davis' Straits as high as the latitude mentioned annually perhaps for two or three centuries, will admit that with half the spirit of enterprise which had carried them so far the discovery of some portions of the west coast of those straits was almost unavoidable. Now the position and direction of this coast once known it required no great effort to trace it southward to Labrador and Newfoundland. We mention these particulars because Mr. Murray one of the few who grounded his disbelief chiefly on the hypothesis that the colonies and navigation of that people at the period alluded to were confined to the east coast of Greenland. In 1001 an Icelander sailing to Greenland was driven away by tempest far to the southwest, where he saw a level country covered with wood. The wind abating, he turned his course homeward and on his arrival gave such a flattering account of the country he had seen as induced Lief the son of the founder of the Greenland colony, to undertake a voyage thither. Lief and Bjorn, who sailed together, first reached a rocky island, to which they gave the name of Hellwland, then a low country thickly wooded, which they called Markland; and some days afterwards they found trees, loaded with fruits, on the banks of the river. They spent the winter in the country; and one of them, who was a German having found wild vines growing, they called it Vineland. They had some intercourse and traded for furs with a people who came in leathern boats and were called Skroelings, from their dwarfish size. A colony was planted, and remained for many years in the country, the situation of which is indicated by a fact casually mentioned that the sun remained nine hours above the horizon at the shortest day. This indicates the 41st parallel of latitude; and the actual latitude of Rhode Island, the country which every collateral circumstance would lead us to fix as the seat of the colony is from 41° to 42°. The Skraelings were of course the Esquimaux. The vine appears to be the fox grape (Vitis Valpina) which grows wild in that part of America. Only a few unimportant particulars respecting the settlement are preserved, but it was probably abandoned or destroyed like the Greenland colony of which it was an offset. The account, though meager, is distinct and consistent. Its authenticity can scarcely be disputed, and it is almost equally obvious that the country referred to under the name of Vinland is in the vicinity of Rhode Island. A conclusion resting on such strong ground scarcely requires to be supported by the high authority of Humbolt and Malte-Brun. That the colony disappeared and that the discoveries were not prosecuted farther, are not circumstances which will shake the credit of the narrative in the minds of those who know the numerous reverses which befell the early colonies in New England and other parts of America, the hostilities of the Skraelings no doubt being the principal cause of the abandonment of the colony. The Norsemen described Vinland as a rich country with a delightful climate. Helluland, Markland and Vinland, were no doubt regarded as countries either connected with or similar to Greenland, the flattering descriptions of which given by the first discoverers were sadly belied by later experience.* The interest excited by the obscure account of these countries was probably such as the announcement of a new island eastward of Spitsbergen would produce at the present day. No reasonable doubt can exist however that the north eastern portion of America (considering Greenland a distinct country), was familiar to the Norwegians in the eleventh century.

Christopher Columbus deserves to be remembered as a great man, in that he *restored* the lost knowledge of the American continent to Europe, and from the enterprise shown in landing to seek the lost "Atlantes."

John Cabot discovered Newfoundland and coast of main land 25th June, 1497.

Columbus first saw America on 30th May, 1498.

Respectfully submitted,

MARY E. HOLDEN,
ARCHIBALD MCKELLAR,
ALEXANDER MCKAY.

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*NOTE.—M. Rafn, a Dane, who at one time was much engaged in researches respecting these early voyages, announced that he had ascertained from original documents various facts previously unknown, among others that America (first discovered in 985) was repeatedly visited by the Icelanders in the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries, that the embouchure of the St Lawrence, and in particular the Bay of Gaspe, were their principal stations, and that they penetrated along the coast as far as Carolina.

THE CRUSADE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Historical Sketch prepared for the Wentworth Historical Society

BY MRS. JOHN ROSE HOLDEN

THE epoch of Canadian history immediately following the death of Champlain, dating from 1635 to 1666, when the charter of the Hundred Associates was abolished in Canada, tells of a continuous struggle for existence on the part of the French colonists. The form of Christianity which had taken root among the wild inhabitants of the woods now seemed to wither and die. The internecine wars of the savage aborigines forshadowed the annihilation of all that had tended towards civilization and threatened to a return of the barbaric pall of superstition which had brooded originally over the continent of North America.

The Iroquois or Five Nations not only had sworn to extirpate the Hurons, Algonkins and Montagnais Indians who lived on the north shore of the St. Lawrence, but had also determined with unrelenting hatred to drive the new ally of these tribes (the French) from Canada, and to free the country from the foreigners rule and sway.

The colonization of Canada by the Europeans at this time seemed futile. We read now not so much of the influence of kingly power and patronage, leading too often to colossal frauds in monopoly. For a time the riches and mimic pomp of vice-regal authority and the cupidity of the money maker seemed to have flown from the country. Commercial monopoly and even national glory having failed so disastrously in the undertaking—what motive power could prevail? An irresistible and sacred impulse, felt by many pious and devout men and women to be the direct influence and inspiration of the Holy Spirit of God, gave rise to the formation of a company called "Les Associes de Montreal" with the noble aim of extending the glory of God to the savage tribes of Canada. The dark and terrible deeds of the aborigines, recorded on this page of history, throw into startling splendor the daily lives of a consecrated band of men and women.—Sprung of the Saint and Chevalier"—the forlorn hope of the Roman Catholic church—but a "hope" composed of those who with holy enthusiasm devoted their possessions, talents and lives in carrying Christ's salvation and message of "good will towards men" to the most cruel and ferocious of savage tribes. A distinctive feature and powerful factor in what may be called the crusade of the seventeenth century portrays to us the beneficence of woman's influence when embodied into living action. A class of women endowed with the true womanly personality which influences the higher natures of all with whom they were thrown into contact, whose finely organized and perfected womanhood did so much towards shaping with royal power the times they lived in—not by the clamorous assertion of "Woman's Rights," but through the more potent and powerful benediction of their daily lives consecrated upon the altars of religion, loyalty and patriotism—missionary zeal supported by individual philanthropy supplied the necessary means, and crucifixion of self became the medium for undertaking and sustaining the chivalric crusade of the seventeenth century in North America.

The Jesuit martyrs, who devoted themselves to this cause, suffered such inhuman persecutions and martyrdom from the malignant Mohawk, that recital of the slow and fiendish tortures they endured with steadfast courage, sublime and glorious faith, yielding up their lives with rejoicing that they were thought worthy to wear the martyr's crown for Christ's sake, take us back to the cruel martyrdoms of Nero. This crusade was the power that saved Canada to France and the greater half of the continent of America to Christianity and civilization.

Canada is not the outcome of ambitious and despotic personalisms or aggrandizing power, and if true to the heredity and tradition of her Cosmos in the evolution of the future, must rank high among the nations of the world.

The aims of the "Associes de Montreal" are distinctly laid down in the charter of the company, and cover a comprehensive field of aggressive Christian work. Christianizing the savages was not to lead to pauperizing them, but rather to educating and training the converts to habits of industry and independence. Schools were established for the manual training of Indian children, girls and boys—the adults were taught practical agriculture—an hospital was built for the sick, infirm, aged and wounded. The company made tained clergy, who were specially educated as priests and teachers among the Indians. Translations of prayers and of portions of Scripture were made into the Indian tongue, and every effort was put forth to convert the savages to the truths of Christianity. The company stood pledged to observe the Common Law of Paris in civil matters and in suits of justice to recognize the authority of the King's Court already established at Quebec. Trading in furs with the Indians was strictly prohibited, except what was absolutely needed for private use and comfort. Forty men chosen with great care of good character and thoroughly equipped with all necessaries for such an undertaking, were to be sent as an advance guard to settle in the country; two gunboats were to run between Quebec and Montreal to carry supplies and colonists to the new home in the lone wilderness, and fortified protection was to be given and provided to the settlers against the savage foe. For the first four or five years necessary supplies, ammunition, seed and cattle, were to be sent out from France, as time and labor would be necessary in clearing the land and building. All expenses were to be defrayed by the Associates, no assistance having been promised by the King or home government.

To act as leader and commander of such an expedition, the Associates were most fortunate in securing the services of Paul de Chomedy, Sieur de Maisonneuve. Taught from his earliest infancy that the fulfilment of his destiny in life lay in the performance of his duty to God, king and country, he at the early age of 13 entered the army. During the war in Holland he gave signal proof of his courage and bravery, and amid all the social temptations which for so many years surrounded him he retained and cherished the love of God in his heart, his highest ambition being that of serving God as a soldier in some distant land, where he would be free from the worldly influences by which he felt himself environed. When the command of the crusade was offered him he replied: "I gladly devote my purse and my life in this enterprise, satisfied with the honor bestowed upon me of thus being able to serve God and king in my profession."

Recruits were selected with great care, skilled mechanics and artisans, and as far as possible men trained as soldiers, yet equally fitted to handle the axe and hoe. Several noble ladies of France interesting themselves in the aims of "Les Associes," gave generously of their means to support the work, and selected Melle

Mance to carry on Christian woman's influence and Christian woman's work to the inhuman inhabitants of Canadian wilds. Melle. accompanied the expedition and became the foundress of the Hotel Dieu of Montreal. A *hospitalière* nurse and the wives of two of the colonists were the only women who accompanied the flotilla, which consisted of three vessels.

On the 8th of August, 1641, Melle Mance, after a long and tedious voyage, arrived at Quebec, and M. de Maisonneuve twelve days after, to the great joy and delight of the feeble colony stationed at Quebec. Governor M. de Montmagny entreated the expedition not to proceed higher up the river. The colony stationed at Quebec at this time consisting of only two or three hundred persons, this reinforcement of new life, means and supplies would very much have increased the strength of Stadacona, and strong pressure was brought to bear upon the commander to remain in the vicinity of Quebec, and as a last inducement to join forces the island of Orleans was offered to these soldiers of the Cross as a desirable site for a new settlement, while in the hope of intimidating the party from proceeding on to the intended destination, terrible tales of the ferocity of the dreaded Iroquois were told,—tales of the triumphant savages now victorious over the once powerful Huron and Algonkin races.

Maisonneuve's reply was characteristic and worthy of himself. "Sir," said he, "I am not come to deliberate but to execute. If there were as many Iroquois as trees at Montreal, it is my duty and a matter of honor that I go there and establish a colony."

As the season was late he determined to winter if possible at Quebec, and proceed with the colonists to Montreal early the following spring. During the month of October M. de Maisonneuve, accompanied by a party of his men, sailed up the river to reconnoitre the approaches of the new home and select a favorable spot on the island on which to land his followers. Upon landing M. de Maisonneuve claimed possession of the isle in the name of God, the King of France, and the "Associés de Montreal," and set at once to erect a fort, which was nearly completed before the party returned to Quebec for the winter. At St. Foy accommodation was obtained for all the party, and during the winter months of waiting the band employed itself in making boats, furniture and portable material to be in readiness for the spring movement.

The 9th of May 1642 the crusade started by boat for Montreal and after nine days sailing and rowing sighted Mt. Royal, when the company burst forth into hymns of grateful praise to God, for safe conduct and guidance to their new home. For more than half a league before landing they found the meadow lands skirting the bank of the river clad in pristine beauty of spring verdure, enamelled with loveliest flowers, which by their luxuriance of growth, variety of species and exquisite colors presented a most enchanting scene, and seemed by their beauty and brilliancy to breathe a welcome to the longing pilgrims.

A unique scene in the world's history unfolds to our view. The site and environments of Ville Marie looked their fairest and loveliest that natal May day. Mt Royal, decked in shaded varied greens and fragrant blossoms, moved by the gentle southern winds wafted her tribute of sympathy and gladness upon the scene, while between her feet and the mighty rushing river stretched leagues of thickly wooded plains and smiling prairies. St. Helene, like an emerald jewel sparkled in the sunshine embosomed on the sweeping waters which had just received new life and fresh impetus from the dashing frolicking rapids of Lachine. Boucherville, Rougemont and St Hilaire purple in the distance stood like giant sentinels, emblems of protecting power, and all nature seemed to throb in unison with the high aims and aspirations of the devoted band.

Upon landing M. de Maisonneuve and his followers fell upon their knees and thanked God for all His mercies bestowed upon the expedition. Surrounded by M. de Montmagny, the Governor General of Canada, Melle. Mance and Madame La Peltrie who at Quebec had joined the party, priests, soldiers and followers, M. de Maisonneuve erected a large cross on "La Pointe a Callieres." A portable altar was speedily set up and all things being now ready the Crusaders sang the "Veni Creator," which was immediately followed by the celebration of "la grand Messe." All was simple — solemn old Gregorian chaunts, echoes from Solomon's temple rose and fell in sad but glorious antiphonal cadence on the breeze, and heralded to the new world the approach of a greater power than that of the many ferocious and powerful savage tribes which for so many ages had ruled the continent of America.

Thus was forged on the 18th May, 1642, the first link in the

subtle and indestructible power of religion which binds Europe, Asia, Africa and America together.

Not having oil with which to fill a lamp to burn before the altar, a number of a very curious and brilliant kind of fire-fly was caught and enclosed in a clear glass vial, the scintillations of which kept up a bright and shining light and since that day nearly 250 years ago, the lamp before the altar of "Notre Dame," in Ville Marie now Montreal has been kept burning night and day. Tents were set up for shelter from the weather and the next day trees were hewn down to form intrenchments and a moat was dug round the encampment. The honor of felling the first tree used in the fortifications was awarded to M. de Maisonneuve who claimed this right as Governor of Ville Marie. A chapel of bark was erected to use until such time as a proper and suitable church could be built.

The new colonists fortunately were able to accomplish a good deal in the way of fortifications, storing supplies and making clearings before the Iroquois became aware of their presence on the island. D'Aillebout, a man of high rank and great wealth, accompanied by his wife and sister, came out from France the same year bringing fresh supplies, necessaries, ammunition, church and altar ornaments, and twelve new colonists; being practically conversant in the art of fortification he was especially charged with the duty of preparing the defences necessary for protection against the Iroquois.

December 1642 the colonists witnessed one of the great inundations to which the St. Lawrence is yet at intervals subject. The waters seem to rise from the bed of the river and overflow its banks. The fort was soon surrounded by the angry flood, the waves rolled in one upon another until the moat overflowed and the waters reached the threshold of the fort. During this time of anxiety and trial the community devoted itself to fasting and prayer to God for deliverance from this unexpected danger. M. de Maisonneuve vowed a vow that if deliverance were granted to the colony he would, as a memorial of that deliverance, plant a Cross on the summit of Mt. Royal. At the hour of midnight, on the day of our Lord's Nativity, the waters began to abate and soon the colony was free from danger. With a heart full of gratitude, M. de Maisonneuve set all the inmates, and assisted himself in the necessary preparations to perform his vow; a road was cut and

cleared from the fort to the mountain top, and a large cross made.

The 6th of January, 1643, dawned clear and bright. Ville Marie now lay under winter's spell. The keen and bitter cold of January had followed swiftly on December's supreme effort to resist her icy spell, and the waters of St. Lawrence lay still and steel bound under the influences of the arctic blast. The woods and mountain slopes, now shorn of autumn's blaze of gorgeous color, stood grim and desolate. The stately pine and luxuriant sweeping hemlock alone reflected glittering sheets of fleecy snow in the dazzling sunshine. Nature's pale and unsullied mantle of rest and repose covered the country and lay in unbroken stretches save where the processional path from the fort to the mountain wound, which patient hands and loyal hearts had cut through the brushwood and snow the day before. The Cross was blessed in the presence of the assembled garrison. Pere du Perron led the way, followed by Mlle. Mance and Madame de Peltrie, "chapelets en main," the whole community following, and as they marched reciting a litany of praise. Maisonneuve bearing the cross on his shoulders brought up the rear. The pilgrims slowly walked their way through the bleak forest on to the mountain height, where the brave commandant, in pursuance of his vow, planted the cross which for years stood and became a shrine to the many devout pilgrims of Ville Marie.

The Crusaders adopted the earliest Christian church as the prototype of the community. For eleven years the colonists lived as one family within the fort, having all things in common. The fort in addition to forming a haven of defence afforded a home to seventy persons who lived harmoniously together under the direction of two Jesuit priests. Race, religion and language, each so often now a days looked upon as an ephemeral sentiment, in this instance welded together, formed a band of iron which could not be broken.

It was the spring of the same year before the Iroquois discovered the presence of the French on the island, and now sure of their prey they prowled in fierce and sullen bands of rage through the country between Montreal, Three Rivers and Quebec.

For a quarter of a century afterwards, the inhabitants of the settlement were subject to continual surprise and attack from these inhuman savages. The stealthy and treacherous Iroquois infested

the woods, always watching to kill or carry off into horrible captivity the laborers while at work inside the fort, or to seize and capture them while hunting or fishing. This scourge of the infant colony of Ville Marie stopped the passages of the rivers, upon checking the commerce of the company, waylaid the Huron and Algonkin pelletrie traders as they brought their loads of furs to Quebec and Three Rivers, and determined by every means in its power to exterminate the French from the country and grasp the trade out of the hands of the French to divert it over to the Dutch settlements on the Hudson river. During 1643-44 the colonists lived in an uninterrupted state of siege, and many gallant and precious lives were lost to the French. In spite of the discontent and dissatisfaction of his followers Maisonneuve persisted in remaining on the defensive; though a brave and fearless commander he was a provident general who felt the responsibilities of his position, yet this laid him open to the charge of cowardice from his followers. Maisonneuve had brought with him from France several famous watch dogs, a species of blood hound; one of the most celebrated of these was named "Pilotte." Instinctively these creatures hated the Iroquois and from their marvellous gift of scent, from afar off, recognized the presence of the enemy in ambuscade, and notified the inmates of the fort by their furious barking that danger was near. Daily these hounds acted as scouts and sentinels, scouring the neighborhood of Ville Marie in search of the wily lurking foe. On the 30th March, 1644, the deep and furious baying and howling of the hounds impelled the garrison to again urge the commandant to sally forth in quest of the enemy.

"Sir," said one of the venturesome soldiers, "the Iroquois are in the woods; are we never to see them?" "Yes, you shall see them," was the reply of Maisonneuve. "See you follow where I lead." At the head of thirty men, some on snow shoes, some floundering through the deep snow, Maisonneuve led his sortie forth, leaving M. D'Aillbout in charge of the fort, to whom he gave parting orders in case of meeting death in the encounter before him. The enemy numbered 200; perceiving the French advance, they at once divided into bands, placed themselves in ambush and sheltered themselves behind trees. As soon as the French entered the woods on all sides they were attacked. Imitating the tactics of the Indians, M. de Maisonneuve ordered his followers to seek shelter behind the trees, when the attack again was renewed with fresh vigor and was kept up, until the supply of ammunition failing them, three of their number slain and two taken captive, Maisonneuve ordered a slow retreat to the fort by way of a road which had been cut from the woods to the fort, from whence they had drawn the necessary lumber for the building of the Hotel Dieu. This road was firm and well beaten and enabled those of the party without snowshoes to retreat with greater safety. The order to retire was obeyed so precipitously that M. de Maisonneuve was left alone to face the pursuing enemy. Armed with a pistol in each hand he covered his retreating soldiers at the peril of his own life by an act of valor that stands unequalled in heroic history. In this single-handed conflict he shot dead the Iroquois leader, then deliberately backed into the fort. Pistolets aux poings! The enemy seeing their chief fall, instantly ran towards his body and lifting it on their shoulders retreated to the woods, where like angry wolves balked of their prey they wreaked their disappointment and rage upon the hapless prisoners whom they tortured in the most barbarous manner. This gallant action took place a little east of the present "Place D'Armes."

The next decade of years proved years of great trial to the colony—trials which could only be met by the unswerving faith and confidence the colonists had in the sacredness of the work they had undertaken. The work was the work of God and therefore should and would eventually succeed. After the defeat of the Hurons by the Iroquois the latter became still more insolent, overbearing and threatening towards the French. Daily and almost hourly harassments kept the bourgade in an incessant state of seige, subject to sudden and unexpected attack, and such at last was the extremity to which the inhabitants were put, that M. de Maisonneuve ordered all the families to leave their homes and take up their abode in the fort. The Hotel Dieu had to be abandoned as an hospital, garrisoned by a squad of soldiers, and made into a fortified armory. Even the chapel was used as a "magasin d'artillerie." Redoubts were stationed at intervals in the fields, and guarded by relays of soldiers, to give protection to the laborers while at work. In this deployment of his forces M. de Maisonneuve displayed great wisdom and foresight. During his absence from Canada in 1651, when he was obliged to return to France to obtain further reinforcements to maintain his hold of the country against the Iroquois, the wily savages managed to secrete themselves in the moat which had been dug as a defence to the hospital. M. Lambert Closs, Mayor of Ville Marie, and now in command of the forces in Montreal, was fortunately at the time stationed at the hospital with twelve men. Unaware of the change made in the internal defence of the bourg, the Indians, suddenly rushing out from their hiding place, made a dash to seize the building, intending to raze it to the ground, and then set the settlement on fire. A vigorous defence was made against the obstinate attack of the enemy. The siege and defence lasted from six in the morning until sunset, when the Indians, finding themselves foiled and frustrated, and always more or less timid and suspicious of the unknown power of the white man's fortifications, now utterly discouraged, withdrew, carrying away with them their dead and wounded. The population of Ville Marie at this time, through the losses sustained from this guerilla warfare, had dwindled to fifty persons in the fort and seventeen in the hospital. For the past two years no fresh recruits or supplies had been sent from France, and isolated as Ville Marie was from Quebec and Three Rivers, no assistance could in the hour of sudden danger reach Montreal. Fear and consternation filled the minds of all, and clouds of despair hung over the settlement, when fortunately M. de Maisonneuve returned from France, bringing with him over 100 soldiers.

In October 1653 the deep baying of the vigilant hounds again notified an ambuscade of the Iroquois. Major M. Closs, at the head of twenty soldiers, sallied out in the direction pointed to by the dogs, only discovering the hiding of the enemy by finding himself surrounded by a cloud of savages, triumphantly rushing on to conflict, uttering the most terrific yells of defiance. Undaunted, the little band, sustained by a lofty enthusiasm and believing that angels from on high came to their assistance, firmly and courageously stood fire, amid a perfect shower of bullets; not one of the French was harmed, while they were able to rout the foe and force the Iroquois to take refuge in the waters of the St. Lawrence. The Pere in his "Relations," devoutly adds, "ce que Dieu garde est bien garde."

In 1662 the colony sustained a most serious loss in the death of the brave Major Lambert Closs, one of the most valiant leaders of the crusade, who was fatally wounded when leading a sortie against the Iroquois, as in the case of the Cid, of glorious fame, the news of his death was kept a secret for a long time after, and we read that the great grace was granted to him that his fame

—When his soul had fled,
Still did cause the foe to flee.

Possessed of that "good courage" which is sustained and perfected by pious zeal, he displayed an intrepid spirit in presence of great danger or an overwhelming foe. The life he led and the death he died entitle him to rank as one of the heroes of that heroic age. As in the unwritten law of classic lore and rhyme, martial valor was considered one of the noblest of human virtues, so in the lives of the heroes of Canada we find that premier virtue illustrated, but intensified by humane and kindly generosity towards the most cruel and savage foe; ardent love to God and religion, patriotism and loyalty to king, a scorn of falsehood, fraud and dishonor, portray to us "Le chevalier sans peur et sans reproche." We have not to fall back upon the myths or legends of classic shades for heroic examples to study and cherish, and whose spirit we mayhap try to follow even dimly in our daily lives. Within the last two centuries and a half, in the clear light of modern civilization, we learn that Canadian river and lake shores have witnessed deeds to which we find no parallel in ancient or modern history.

—The very gale, their name *seems* sighing,
The waters *murmur* of their name,
The woods are peopled with their fame,
Their spirits *wrap* the dusky mountains,
Their memory *sparkles* o'er the fountain,
Our meanest rill, *our* mightiest river
Rolls mingling with their fame forever.

Let us go back to the spring of 1660. The Iroquois were massing in large numbers on the Ottawa river and surrounding country, north and north-west of Montreal, in preparation for a final attack on Montreal, Three Rivers and Quebec. When the news reached Ville Marie, Dollard des Ormeaux, a young officer of the garrison, formed the noble resolution of heading a chosen band of followers, imbued with the same spirit as himself, to challenge the foe, and by means of a brilliant *coup de main*, frustrate and check the plans of the enemy, and direct the savages from their dire purpose at least until further reinforcements reached the colony from France

Having obtained M de Maisonneuve's permission to lead the sortie, Dollard and his sixteen soldiers of the cross, took a solemn oath before the altar to stand by each other in the undertaking, to give and take no quarter to be loyal to God and the land of their adoption, and if necessary give up their lives in hopes of saving the community from destruction Their arms being blessed—each man shriven by the priest and the sacrament of the Lord partaken of—the small band of consecrated heroes followed by the benedictions of the church and the prayers of the settlement embarked in canoes and sailed for the Ottawa

By the rapids of Longue or Chaudiere Sault they halted and landed. There to their joy they found the remains of an old moss-covered redoubt, which had doubtless been used in some struggle between native tribes. At nightfall they were joined by forty Huron allies Scouts and sentinels were stationed and shelter for the night taken within the redoubt Soon they were warned of the approach of a band of 300 Iroquois warriors, thoroughly equipped for the war path Like malicious demons they skimmed in their bark canoes the sparkling, foaming Sault they landed on the same spot as Dollard and his band had landed but a few hours before, the empty canoes of the French a signal of their presence and refuge Eagerly the Iroquois advanced to attack the position secured by Dulac and were repelled with great slaughter but being reinforced by 500 companions the French and their allies found themselves surrounded by a force from which it was impossible to escape. Through hunger thirst, sleeplessness and fatigue for eight days they valiently resisted their assaults, but at last, through the treachery of two Huron deserters the real condition of the besieged became known to the Iroquois who now with renewed ferocity rushed to the onset and finally Dollard and his gallant band were all killed except four Hurons, who were captured and reserved for a less glorious but more terrible fate Four Huron captives managed to escape independently of each other and at last made their way to Quebec and Montreal bringing with them the thrilling details of the terrible tragedy

The heroism of the French made a deep impression upon the minds of the Iroquois Judging that the resistance of the fortified

settlements would be equally courageous and sustained, they determined to give up what now appeared to them a hazardous attempt upon the French posts.

Dollard des Ormeaux has been styled the "Leonidas," and the shores of the Longue Sault the "Thermopylæ" of Canada. Scant justice that. Leonidas of old stood on his native land, backed by his brave 300 Spartans, sheltered by rugged mountain walls faced by Xerxes, seated on his marble throne, from which he surveyed the sea covered with his navy, and on land his hosts of spearmen, horsemen, and hitherto invincible "Immortals." Spurred on by such inspiring surroundings the heroes of old fought and died.

Comparatively easy to "do and die," while "all the world wondered!" It required the far finer and purer courage of the crusaders of the seventeenth century to perform "to the death," with no witnesses but changeless nature, primeval woods, pale moon and solitary stars, accompanied by the sad sounding symphonies of the forest, the hoarse Sault, and the dismal flappings of the wings of the carrion vultures gathered from afar. These were the spectators of what proved to be the supreme struggle for supremacy between the white man and red, Christianity and superstition, civilization and ignorance, within nature's vast amphitheatre now known as the Dominion of Canada.

In 1663 the company of Montreal was dissolved, transferring their rights to the religious order of St. Sulpice, at Paris. Not long afterwards M. de Maisonneuve notwithstanding his great services rendered to the colony, the affection, love and veneration in which he was held by the inhabitants, and the respect and recognition of his valor by the Iroquois, was forced to relinquish his command and to leave Canada, on account of the arbitrary and unjust proceedings of the Governor General at Quebec.

Maisonneuve stands forth on the pages of history as one of the grandest and most perfect characters of his age. The courage of the lionhearted, the humility and pure faith of a child, won him the immortality of an accomplished mission. He established on sure foundations the objects of the company he served so faithfully and represented so effectively, but in the securing of which Ville Marie as a mission of the church, passed through a *bapteme de feu*. "In perils of water, in perils of robbers, in perils by *mine own countrymen*, in perils by the heathen, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in weariness, in painfulness in watchings often, in cold.

After twenty three years of residence in Canada Maisonneuve retired to Paris where the seminary allowed him a pension, much of which was spent in acts of benevolence and charity

He died in his humble home in Paris on the 9th of September 1676 and was buried in the cemetery of the parish church of St. Etienne de Mont, Paris.

To these heroes we may well apply the words of Sir Matthew Arnold—

> "Of knightly honor holding life in trust
> In God and Lord and all things pure and just.

A VISIT TO BOSTON IN 1851 — A REMINISCENCE OF LORD ELGIN

AND A TRIBUTE TO SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD

BY THE PRESIDENT, MR. GEO. H. MILLS

ALONG with many gentlemen I had the honor of an invitation to attend the Grand Jubilee held in Boston in the summer of 1851 to commemorate the completion of the Ogdensburg and Boston Railway. Accepting the invitation, and having been a partaker of the festivities of that imposing event, I think it may not be altogether uninteresting to present to this Society a few recollections of it, especially relating to the most prominent personage present.

Lord Elgin was then Governor General of Canada, and at the very zenith of his popularity. He had entirely out-lived the shadows under which he had fallen in the estimation of excited partisans on account of his constitutional assent to the Rebellion Losses Bill, and had become universally regarded—as he has by Canadians ever since been—the foremost statesman and most accomplished orator who at any time held the position of Governor General of Canada. Fillmore, who had lately succeeded Taylor, was President of the United States. In addition to thousands of strangers from all quarters of the United States and Canada, there were assembled at Boston the chief statesmen, orators and military magnates of the great Republic. Among the most notable and towering above all others was the illustrious Daniel Webster. The names of Edward Everett, Boutwell and Quincy Adams will long be remembered by the Americans present, as imparting to the fete a power and grace unsurpassed by any former gathering of the intellectual giants of the land. Sir Francis Hincks, Premier of Canada, and Joseph Howe the old man eloquent were present. Never before nor since had Boston commons been the scene of such peaceful brilliancy. Never since nor before have been congregated together on these historic grounds, such an array of distinguished representative men from army, navy, senate, bar and pulpit.

A vast canvas tent had been erected on the commons. Five thousand guests were comfortably seated underneath its cooling shades, who partook of the sumptuous repast prepared for them. Crampton was the British Minister at Washington, Bigelow was the Mayor of Boston, and presided. On his right sat President Fillmore and the Hon. Edward Everett, on his left Crampton and Lord Elgin; to the right and left of these were ranged gentlemen of distinction.

The perfect order, the dazzling uniforms of military men, coupled with the most captivating music from the several bands, and above all, the calm dignity of the countenances surrounding the chair, all conspired to make the scene most imposing. The Queen's health was proposed and grandly honored. When the cheering had subsided, and God save the Queen had been exquisitely rendered by the bands, the chairman rose and invited Crampton to respond to the royal toast. The ambassador gracefully declined, stating that the pleasant duty would be far better performed by Lord Elgin. The duty was accepted and sustained by his lordship in a manner that made every English and Canadian heart thrill with pride, as with calm grandeur the great representative of his Queen and Canada proceeded with his oration. His lordship commenced by saying, "That in no one respect did he so well represent his countrymen as by his stammering tongue and embarrassed utterance," and then proceeded to deliver one of the most masterly speeches I ever heard. So distinct, so slow, and yet so musical were his utterances that no one in that vast assemblage failed to catch his well chosen and impressive words.

At the conclusion of the oration the five thousand guests, as one man, rose to their feet in a frenzy of delight; they could not have expected such a treat, they had indeed never heard anything to approach it. The Americans were patted on the back with the utmost skill and grace of diction. Their President was eulogized, possibly far beyond his merits, but the praise was gratifying to the audience. Their ladies were not forgotten, but his lordship, eloquent as he was, could scarcely do justice to their beauty and intelligence. From recollection I faintly reproduce part of his reference to President Fillmore. "It ill becomes me," he said, "as

Governor General of Canada to eulogize the public conduct of President Fillmore but as a spectator a bystander, I do not hesitate to predict that he will occupy a proud position on the roll of illustrious individuals upon whom the mantle of Washington has fallen. He also in a facetious way pointed out how the Americans might successfully invade Canada, a result as he said though with trepidation in the presence of so many warlike men they had more than once failed to accomplish. He advised that the ladies of Boston should be placed in the front columns of the invading army and assured them that if this device were practically attended to every Canadian youth would desert without striking a blow for his country.

This memorable speech having been concluded the Hon Edward Everett then one of the most cultured and accomplished gentlemen in the Union and if I mistake not Secretary of State rose and said "Lord Elgin commenced by disabling himself and immediately proceeded to deliver one of the most brilliant speeches that ever fell from the lips of man. After hearing that speech I am proud to say that Chatham's language is my mother tongue." Other speakers of note, including Sir Francis Hincks, Boutwell, Adams and Howe addressed the audience but, worthy as their speeches undoubtedly were, nothing could lessen the deep impression produced by Lord Elgin's electrical oration. Speakers were indifferently listened to, and the vast concourse of people in an hour or so withdrew to their homes. On the day following the banquet all Boston was crazy to catch a glimpse of the great English nobleman and orator who the day before had fascinated his intelligent hearers with his burning eloquence. Wherever he went he was followed by immense numbers of ladies and gentlemen, the former actually pelting him with rare beautiful and costly bouquets the latter deafening him with cheers and laudations. I had the honor of being one of a number of attendants who accompanied his lordship in this triumphal parade. Among other places of note visited was the mansion of Mayor Bigelow and I well remember with what refined grace and courtesy that gentleman received his distinguished visitor, remarking as he cordially took his hand "This, your lordship very much resembles a nuptial feast." Quick as thought Lord Elgin replied "It does indeed and I can assure you I am not here to forbid the bans." So great was the pleasurable excitement, reaching almost to *furore* that it was most difficult for the carriages

to pass through the delighted crowd, although every ameliorating effort was made by the well appointed police to maintain order.

At every street corner hung life-sized portraits of the Canadian Governor, while bunting, wreaths and flowers, decorated and floated from every window and balcony. The Bostonians never felt more pride in their British ancestry than on that day. The same evening was assembled a company of the *elite* and fashion of Boston, at a grand ball given in honor of the invited guests. The scene was dazzling, the glitter of jewels and female beauty rendered it simply enchanting. Still Lord Elgin was the observed of all observers. Radiant with the glow of youth and vigorous manhood, stately, calmly, but yet with modest dignity he gracefully acknowledged the flattering attentions bestowed upon him. But as all things must have an end, so this gay and brilliant gathering in the early morning hours very reluctantly withdrew. The next day Lord Elgin took his departure from the "Hub," as Boston then was, and still is called, and we Canadians returned to our humble homes overflowing with pleasant memories of our visit, and these memories, I am sure, will never fade while a Canadian lives who took part in the festivities. Most of the bright stars in that galaxy of intellectual power have passed away, indeed, almost *all*. Elgin, Webster, Everett, Howe and Hincks, have been gathered to their fathers. Others, too, must have vanished, and it is doubtful if their places have since been filled by statesmen and orators as grand as they. The curtain drops, but memory cannot be deprived of of its tenacity. The pleasurable thoughts of youth remain as a support and solace of old age.

Lord Elgin afterwards became Viceroy of India and filled that most responsible position with honor to himself and satisfaction to his sovereign. With the single exception of Lord Dufferin, Canada has not had a Governor General approaching him as a statesman and orator. He was a cultured gentleman and a profound statesman, unostentatious in manner, yet dignified and firm in his resolves; he endeared himself to the people of Canada and left the country the most popular of all its Governors.

Among the many Canadians I had the pleasure of meeting in Boston was one formerly of Hamilton who since having made a name for himself deserves notice. My reference is to Mr. Roderick W. Cameron, now Sir Roderick. There must still be many in this city who remember him well because his genial off-hand but refined manner everywhere attracted friendly attention. He came to Hamilton from Glengarry and engaged with our late and respected townsman Robert Roy, as clerk or salesman in that gentleman's dry goods establishment, which at that time—about 1848—was the leading retail store in the city. He subsequently aspired to civic honors, and though he possessed no real estate, he qualified upon his rental. He ran for old St Mary's Ward, and after two days' voting—the order in those days—was defeated by a small majority. In less than two weeks after his defeat he turned his back upon the city and has never returned to it except as a visitor. He has since assured me that his defeat was in fact the most auspicious event of his life. "Had I been successful," said he, "I should have felt in honor bound to remain in Hamilton for at least the year I held office, but having been defeated I had nothing to keep me there, and packing up my traps, none of real value, I migrated to New York city, where I at once found influential friends and opportunities to start me on the road to fortune."

He shortly after became prominently connected with gentlemen who inaugurated a line of steamships to run from New York to Melbourne, Australia. The enterprise was a success. He became a partner in the business, and subsequently, as I have learned, became the sole owner of the fleet.

Some years ago important services rendered by him in Australia to Her Majesty the Queen were rewarded by his being made the recipient of the honor of knighthood, and our Hamilton friend is now Sir Roderick.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD

Now that the gentlemen who have charge of the monument shortly to be erected in commemoration of the late Right Honorable Sir John Macdonald, with commendable liberality, are providing a niche in the corner stone for the deposit of the proceedings of this Association, I ask permission to place a few words on record in memory of a life long friendship. But, at the same time, any responsibility that may attach to these words I desire to wholly assume.

The Right Honorable Sir John Macdonald was by far the most distinguished and able statesman Canada has ever produced, produced because he was but five years old when his father, with his family, emigrated from Glasgow to this country. His educational advantages were such as the Kingston Grammar School at that early day could afford.

It would be doing him but scant justice to say that he possessed merely a high order of talents, for scarcely less than genius could have filled the history of our country for the past forty-five years with the brilliant records stamped by that statesman upon its pages.

He was, in almost every sense, a remarkable man. He possessed largely a combination of qualities, apparently essential for the successful leadership of men. A clear, sound, unerring judgment; a memory marvellously retentive; a cordial, genial, attractive manner; a profound knowledge of men; a total lack of arrogance or ostentation; a deferential respect for the opinions of others while maintaining his own; a comprehensive understanding and a happy way of imparting his own convictions, and satisfying others of their truth or importance. To his political opponents even when severe he was courteous. He was capable of framing measures of magnitude and forecasting their results with singular exactness. His discretion prevented a parade of his views in advance of public opinion, but his apparently intuitive knowledge of it, led him to seize the exact moment when to oppose him but added to his popularity. He perceived with acute vision the shadows of coming events and prepared himself to direct and control the substance, when sufficiently matured, for practical management. He readily detected, while his tact and judgment as readily frustrated, schemes, combinations and conspiracies, carefully and elaborately prepared for his political destruction. His skill in harmonizing discordant and heterogeneous elements was probably equal if not superior to that possessed by any statesman living or dead. Roman Catholics, Orangemen, French Canadians, English, Irish and Scotch, were brought through his influence to acknowledge that their several interests were safe under his guidance, safer than in charge of any other political leader, and, although widely differing upon a variety of subjects, they united in sustaining him and his principles. Courage formed no inconsiderable part of his composition. He was never known to falter however trying, unlooked for, or complicated the emergency presented for his consideration may have been, but with steady determination he surrounded himself with every available means to meet and overcome the threatened danger. His firmness in carrying out the solemn judgment of the courts, when endorsed by the Privy Council in the case of Riel, notwithstanding the fanatical outcry of his French supporters, which at one time seemed to threaten the very life of his government, amply indicates the total absence of cowardice or indecision, if it fails to establish that he placed the welfare of his country, by sustaining its laws, far beyond party or personal consideration.

Sir John's detractors contended that personal ambition was his guiding star, as they found it impossible to charge that pecuniary aggrandizement had been his object. If this be true, he certainly well concealed his design, by carrying along with him the ambitions and hopes of the people to see their country attain to national greatness. His political friends regarded such conduct in their leader as patriotic in the highest sense of the term, and cared not to lessen their own honor by disparaging the illustrious individual who had been chiefly instrumental in elevating the status of the country from which that honor was derived.

Sir John was not an accomplished orator; his delivery was neither smooth nor graceful, often halting, yet the genial play of his countenance when speaking, coupled with frequent happy and pointed illustrations, not only immediately attracted favorable attention, but imperceptibly impressed his hearers. As a parliamentary debater he had few equals. Sir Charles Tupper and the Hon. Mr. Blake might for the moment have appeared more effective, but they both use a superabundance of words when presenting their arguments; terse words they are, yet with fewer and not less terse, Sir John reached the very pith and marrow of his subject. He made no attempt at flowing periods or polished diction, yet, when he had ceased speaking, the poorest understanding had grasped the drift of his contention, and become conversant with even its details. To substantiate what I state an attentive perusal of the speeches of prominent members on the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway is recommended.

For the germs of liberty, the fruition of which we now enjoy, for the popularity of our constitution, and for our prospects of a permanent nationality, Canada is beyond question more largely indebted to the comprehensive genius of Lord Durham than any other individual. Although he was a resident of the country but for a few months, in that short time he clearly measured its capacity and perceived the checks to its progress. He found the provinces, after the rebellion of 1837 politically and socially disorganized and discontented, with laws imperfect and administered by an irresponsible oligarchy To him we owe in a large degree the responsibility of our executive With singular prescience of results he suggested as a remedy for existing evils a political union of Upper and Lower Canada, to be ultimately followed by a federation of all the provinces. From his thoughtful mind Canadian statesmen caught the inspiration which when welded to practical form procured the abolition of seigniorial tenures and clergy reserves. Indeed almost every important measure for the welfare of Canada foreshadowed by him has since his death become a reality, and now forms part of our boasted constitution.

As evidenced by his public conduct, this nobleman was largely endowed with wisdom courage firmness and political sagacity These were qualities possessed in no less degree by Sir John In this respect there is a marked analogy between them But the latter for more than forty years was environed with circumstances and events far more difficult to shape and control than were ever presented to the former such as plots combinations conspiracies and rebellions such as the forming and sustaining of governments, the federation of provinces, composed of political and religious elements and nationalities widely divergent in opinion and sentiment, such as the acquiring and organizing territories, the framing of a national trade policy and the adjusting of treaties Yet with patient unswerving perseverance and fidelity had he almost single handed directed public affairs with consummate skill, and brought Canada at last to the very threshold of national distinction and at the age of seventy-six he still remained—till he died—Premier of this grand Dominion covered with honors from his Sovereign and sustained by the confidence of a majority of the people but as poor in worldly acquirements as he was the day he selected to become a representative in the councils of his country

Without claiming from the public records of these distinguished men that our own possession was the greater statesman it is safe to say that since the first settlement of Canada, no name occurs in her history however honored or patriotic or surrounded with brilliancy that may fairly rank with the names of Durham and Macdonald When detraction has lost its power, and envy its malice these two men will appear divested of their supposed frailties and their genius will be universally regarded with admiration by succeeding generations, and their lives studied by aspiring statesmen with profit to themselves and advantage to their country.

The crowning glory of this veteran statesman was the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway. With the grandeur of this magnificent enterprise, his name will be inseparably associated as the moving spirit in its inception and the guardian of its progress. Had his great talents been confined to securing the success of this single project, he should be honored but only when this with his other patriotic achievements come to be rightly considered will the gratitude of his countrymen become commensurate with his merits, and the time is rapidly approaching when this shall happen. Monuments to his memory are already being erected in England and Canada.

TOPOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF HAMILTON AS IT WAS IN 1830 AND 1881

By Thos H McKenzie

I left Cromarty, Scotland, on the 20th June, 1830 on board the ship " John " and arrived at Quebec on 12th August of the same year I then left Quebec for Montreal by steamer thence from Montreal to Hamilton by battaux steamer and stage reaching Hamilton on the 23rd August, and landed at Hatt's wharf, now Browne's,

I walked from there up James street to pay a visit to the village, the street being then about half corduroy and cedar swamps From the wharf to King street there were about six or seven houses. The house opposite Christ Church (and still there) was occupied by the late Judge Taylor of the Gore District. The other houses were small frame ones

At the corner of James and King streets was a two-story frame hotel, occupied by a person of the name of Miller Going west from Miller's hotel one house was occupied by a carpenter, next to that lived a Mr Kukendall a farmer Where the market is now was a fine orchard and farm owned by the same man From there to what is now called Queen street there were three houses the late Mr Hess lived in one and owned the farm in rear of it. On the west of what is now Queen street was a frame house used as a hotel Further west, on the south side of King street, was the first house owned by the late Mr New and occupied as a hotel called the " Rising Sun " The next on the same side of the street was the property of the late Mr Mills, father of the late Hon Samuel Mills, and Mr Geo. H Mills, our President There were no houses on that side of the street until you reached a small stone building, occupied at that time by the late Mr Berry who was then clerk of the old Gore District, and from there down to the corner of John and King there were no other houses.

About where the Spectator office stands now on James street

south, was a two-story frame residence occupied by the late Peter Hamilton. Beyond that were no other houses except one or two small ones further south.

On the east side of James street, commencing at the bottom of that street, there was one small house at the top of the hill, and from there for a long distance up there were no houses, and the greater portion of the ground was composed of cedar swamps and corduroy roads, until you came up near the old Post Office, where there was a small one-story building occupied as Post Office, and from there up to the corner there were two or three scattered houses.

At the corner of James and King street, east, were the offices of the late Sir Allan Macnab, and from there to the corner of what is now called Hughson street there were two small houses, one occupied as a combined shoe shop and saloon.

At the corner of now Hughson and King streets was a two-story house, the lower part occupied as an office by the late Judge O'Reilly, and the upper story by the late Thomas Racey, as immigrant agent.

Between Hughson and John street, about the middle of the block, stood the store occupied by the Stinsons, and near the corner of John and King streets east stood a brick house occupied by a Mr. Brown as a tailor's establishment and clothing store. From the corner of John to that street now called Catharine there were four stores and a hotel, also a small printing office in which was published a paper called the "Gore Balance."

At the east corner of Catharine and King streets was a store kept by a Mr. Leonard, and from there to Wellington street were only two or three small houses, the street being all cedar swamp.

At the corner of Wellington and King street east stood a hotel carried on by a Mrs. Price. East of that was nothing but farms.

The properties from King street to the bay were also farms occupied by the late Mr. Ferguson and Mr. Hughson, and then well down to the lake was a road to the late Abel Land's forwarding buildings, and near the property in that section.

Where the First Methodist church stands, stood a small frame church occupied by the Methodist body. A potash manufactory was carried on west of this on a rising ground in the swamp. From there, going west to nearly opposite the corner of now Catharine street, there were only two or three houses. Then from Catharine

to the corner of John were several small stores, selling different kinds of stock.

At the corner of King and John streets stood the frame store occupied by the firm of James Brown & Co. In the rear of that was a two-story frame building used as a storehouse in connection with their business. From there to where Jolley's saddlery establishment is now, was one house at the corner of Main and John streets, about where Jolley's store stands, and about fifteen or twenty feet from the street stood the old jail built of logs. The lower part, for criminals, was constructed four logs thick and the second story, set apart for debtors, was made of three logs, and the third story, used as a court house, two logs thick. In this court house divine service was held on Sundays by different denominations. On one occasion the service was conducted by a lady from Nova Scotia who delivered a most beautiful address. The court house that was lately taken down to make room for the present one was then being built.

From there to where John McPherson & Son's factory stands was one small tavern. Further up was a building occupied by the late Mr. Ralston as a store and dwelling. Beyond that, nearer the mountain, stood the house of the late George Hamilton, which I believe is still there, and occupied by Mr. Barker.

Where the wood and hay market now is a general market was held on Saturdays. At the time I saw it there were on view one wagon, three or four wheelbarrows and several baskets filled with supplies for the people.

On the east side of the Court House, on John street, there was a small house on the corner, and next to that was a blacksmith shop, and a house occupied by the late David Farley, and close to that, further north, was a shanty in which lived a colored barber and his wife.

About the west corner of where the Post Office now stands was a hotel, carried on by the late Mr. Carey, and from that to the corner of Hughson street were two or three stores and a hotel at the corner.

At the corner of King and Hughson street stood the establishment of the old firm of Colin Ferrie & Co., the Post Office being removed to a small building close to their store. From there to the corner was an open field on which a hotel was put up and occupied by the late Mr. Burley.

At the corner now covered by the Board of Trade rooms, Messrs. James Turner & Co., and the adjoining property was occupied by C. Ferrie & Co., as a lumber and store yard. On the south side of the same street was a stone cutting establishment occupied by a man of the name of Evans. Further west, about twenty feet from the road, stood the cottage of Mr. A. K. Smith. Some distance from the rear of this place was a frame building occupied by the late John Law, and beyond that again was a small building occupied and used by a turner and carpenter of the name of Simpson.

In order that a comparison may be made as to prices of farm produce in 1830 and the present time, the following lists will give a fair idea:

Oats, per bushel, 18c. to 20c.; Barley, per bushel, 25c. to 30c.; Wheat, per bushel, 50c. to 56c.; Butter, per pound, 10c.; Eggs, per dozen, 8c.; Firewood, $1.00 to $1.50 per cord.

THE BATTLE OF QUEENSTON HEIGHTS

A Patriotic Poem written on the Anniversary of that Great Victory

BY WILLIAM THOMAS WHITE

Ho ye who are Canadians and glory in your birth
Who boast your land the fairest of all the lands on earth

To-night go home with cheerful heart and lay all care aside
And set aglow your brightest lamps and throw the shutters wide

Heap high with coals the fire till its merriest sparks you win
And send out all your messengers to call the neighbors in

Then when the evening well is spent with feast and mirthful sound
In circle deep about the hearth range girls and boys around

Bring forth the book of heroes' deeds and to your listening flock,
Read reverently of Queenston Heights and the death of Isaac Brock.

Oh there are some among us who spurn the patriot's name
Who say our country has no past no heroes known to fame.

They talk of bold Leonidas who held the pass of blood
And how Horatius Cocles braved swollen Tiber's flood

They never tire of dark Cortez who spared not blood nor tears,
Nor yet of Arnold Winkelried who broke the Austrian spear

Their glory is of Waterloo that crimson memoried fight,
Of the thin red line of Inkerman and Alma's bloody height

For Canada their voice is mute yet history's pages tell
That braver blood was never spilt than where her heroes fell

To-day o'er Queenston's lofty heights the autumn sky is drear
From drooping limbs the withering leaves hang bloodless, wan and sere.

From fertile sward the plough has gone and from the field the wain,
In bursting barns the farmer views his wealth of garnered grain.

These fields are sacred and that sward shall be Canadians' boast
The spot where valor's few hurled back the dark invader's host

The tale shall live while grow the trees while rippling water runs
Of fame's bright birth to Canada from the life blood of her sons.

You know it well! The invaders crossed with the first grey dawn of light
And foot by foot their numbers told and gained the stubborn height

The guns are lost and on Dennis' flank the reinforcements pour
While from the battery on the hill the crashing round shot tore.

And backward, surely backward, the patriot heroes move
With death to left and death to right and death on high above

But hark! When hope has almost fled, at the hour of sorest need,
Is heard the clatter of iron hoofs and the neigh of a coursing steed

Now let the martial music breathe its most inspiring notes,
As bursts the shout of welcome from the faltering veterans' throats!

What spell so much could nerve them in that losing battle's shock
"Courage, boys! It is the General! Onward comrades! On with Brock!"

"Now forward to the battery!" They lend a ready ear
There's a hero's form to lead them and a hero's voice to cheer

And o'er the level plain they press, and up the sloping hill
'Mid hiss of shot and volleys' smoke his cry is "Onward" still

And now they pass the low ravine, they clamber o'er the wall
The fatal death shot strikes him they see their leader fall

"Push on, push on, York volunteers!" brave words—they were his last
And like the vision of a dream the charging column passed

He heard their cry of vengeance as they reached the mountain's crest
Then rushed in purpling tide the flood of life blood from his breast,

You've read the rest: their comrades came to stay their second flight
Dashed on to meet the foe in blue and hurled them from the height.

Then, Canada, was seen thy might; by equal ardour led
Fought Indians like white men and colored men like red,

One spirit moved, one thought inspired that gallant little band
That foot of no invading foe should e'er pollute their land

A thousand men laid down their arms to forces inferior far
Blush, fickle land of commerce, for thy myrmidons of war

Sleep, heroes! Rest upon the hill where valor's deed was done
No flower shall ever wither in a crown so nobly won

While Canada can rear her sons, the bravest of the brave
From the tempests of Atlantic to the placid western wave

So surely as shall come the day that tells your deathless fame
Shall future patriots mourn you and festal rights proclaim

And thou, whose sacred dust entombed on yonder summit lies,
Beneath that noble monument far reaching toward the skies

Thy name shall be a holy word, a trumpet note to all
When bravery's arm is needed and they hear their country's call,

And future sires shall take their sons at evening on their knee
And tell the old tale over and thus shall speak of thee—

His is the noblest name we have in all our bright array
He taught our youth to falter not tho' death might bar the way

He showed our might, he led our arms, he conquered, tho' he fell
He gave up all he had—his life, for the land he loved so well

A LETTER FROM HON. HENRY GRIFFIN.

GRAND HAVEN, Mich., May 25, 1889.

JUSTUS A. GRIFFIN,

My Dear Nephew.—Many thanks for the copy of the Hamilton *Spectator*, received yesterday, dated May 3, 1889, and containing memoirs of the city of Hamilton in 1832 by Major Glasgow in a paper read before the Wentworth Historical Society. I was so much interested in the Major's reminiscences of the early days of your city that I propose to give you, for the benefit of the Historical Society, a statement about the city at a time five years before the major and his party arrived in Hamilton.

First, I would say that Ebenezer C. Griffin, mentioned by Major Glasgow as a Justice of the Peace, and who died in Oct., 1847, was my eldest brother; Rev. W. S. Griffin, D.D., of Stratford, Ont., and E. R. Griffin, M.D., of Brantford, Ont., are my nephews. Doctor H. S. Griffin, of your city, is my grand nephew. My father, Smith Griffin, Esq., who was a U. E. Loyalist, came to Canada in 1788 at the age of 16 years, with his father, mother and ten of his eleven brothers and sisters. They came from Duchess County, N. Y., and when they reached Rochester there were only two buildings, a tavern and a blacksmith shop. At ~~Oswego~~ the women and children were put into flat bottomed boats and with part of the men coasted round the lake shore, while the rest of the men took the horses and cattle through the woods to Canada. They all settled at Smithville in the Township of Grimsby south, where I was born.

In 1827 I purchased from Abraham K. Smith a store building, two-story frame, 22 feet x 60 feet, for £300. It was situated on the corner of King and John streets. I then went to Montreal and New York and bought a general stock of merchandise. My last purchase was at Rochester, N. Y., 500 barrels of salt, which I shipped on the Hon. James Crook's vessel, the Margaret, Capt. Mitchell. I ordered one half the cargo delivered at Hamilton (there was no canal to connect the bay with Lake Ontario); the vessel anchored out a quarter of a mile perhaps, and a large flat bottomed boat brought the salt and other merchandise through the little channel and up to the Hamilton wharf. I think a Mr. Land did that business. The other half of the cargo I sent to Grimsby. My business was dealing in all kinds of merchandise and produce.

John Smith was my clerk at Hamilton. I visited that store every week by the old Troy stage and four, which carried the mail once per day; letter postage 25 cents. John Smith was in business on the south-east corner of King and John streets a few years later, in Mr. Sheldon's store, until he was appointed Sheriff of Brant County, where he died at an advanced age. My store and Mr. Sheldon's did the principal business. Thomas Stinson had a little fancy dry goods store in a small dwelling house room. Soon after purchasing this store I built a small brick tailor shop adjoining; this was the first brick store in Hamilton.

In 1830 I sold my store, the brick tailor shop and about quarter of an acre of land to Thomas Stinson, where he built a large brick store subsequently. Mr. Carey had a good sized brick hotel on the corner opposite Sheldon's; only two brick buildings then in town; mine was the second.

I well remember the names of my customers at Hamilton sixty years ago. Richard Beasley was one, on a farm which I think he sold to Sir Allan McNab, then a young and popular lawyer from Toronto, and also a large customer. McNab built a three story frame hotel on the corner at the west end of King street park. It was a great building for that time. It took fire and burned down before it was finished inside. George and Peter Hamilton were also good customers. A. K. Smith and John Thorner, an auctioneer, were business men. Dr. Smith on the mountain; another was Colonel Brown of Waterdown, and sometimes customers from Ancaster, Grand River, Saltfleet, Dundas, Nelson and even Brantford, and farmers from Burford.

The population of Hamilton was about 300 or 400 people when I bought out A. K. Smith.

At the time of the war of 1812, I was about six or seven years old. My father was a captain in the Lincoln Militia and five of his brothers served in the same regiment. The last battle my father was engaged in was Lundy's Lane; after that he had charge of the commissariat, and I have seen our meadows at Smithville filled with cattle for the army. I remember seeing a squadron of U. S.

cavalry pass our farm. One time I saw a company of American soldiers sleeping on our kitchen floor, and the next week a company of Canadian Militia occupied the same place. That must have been about the time of the battle of Stony Creek.

With a good library, plenty of Canadian and American papers, and general good health, I enjoy life even at my advanced age.

Yours Truly,
HENRY GRIFFIN

N. B. The Hon. Henry Griffin, who wrote the foregoing letter, died at Grand Haven, Mich., July 16, 1891. He belonged to a family which, though never particularly distinguished in history, may be considered a type of a large class of Canadian Loyalists, having in almost every generation acted an honorable and patriotic part.

THE CALL TO BATTLE

BY GEORGE HAWKESWORTH ARMSTRONG

> Where is the coward that would not dare
> To fight for such a land —Marmion

Ye sons of Canada be first in danger's field
The sword of honor and of truth to wield;
Be prompt the injured to defend and save,
Appal her foes and assist her brave

Ye sons of Canada by your country's name
Her crown of glory her unsullied fame,
By the bright laurels immortal Brock at Queenston won
Undaunted spirit valor's favorite son

Oh! by the shades of Stoney Creek's inviolate dead
By warrior bands at Lundy's Lane who bled
By honors gained on Chrysler's fertile plain *
By those in victory's arms at Chateauguay slain
By Britain's thousand thousand deeds sublime,
Renowned from zone to zone, from clime to clime,
Ye sons of Canada may your trophies raise
A deathless monument to future days

Oh let your courage still triumphant rise
Exalt your red cross banner to the skies,
Transcend the fairest names in history's page
The brightest actions of a future age
The reign of freedom let your arms restore
And bid invasion fall—to rise no more

---

* His father was at the battle of Chrysler's farm and received a medal

THE MAPLE LEAF FOREVER.

BY ALEXANDER MUIR

In days of yore from Britain's shore
  Wolfe the dauntless hero came,
And planted firm Britannia's flag
  On Canada's fair domain
There may it wave our boast, our pride,
  And joined in love together
The Thistle, Shamrock Rose entwine
  The Maple Leaf Forever

Chorus

The Maple Leaf The Maple Leaf
  The Maple Leaf Forever
God Save our Queen and heaven bless
  The Maple Leaf Forever

At Queenston Heights and Lundy's Lane,
  Our brave fathers side by side
For freedom, homes and loved ones dear
  Firmly stood and nobly died
And those dear rights which they maintained
  We swear to yield them never
Our watchword evermore shall be
  The Maple Leaf Forever
Chorus —The Maple Leaf etc.

Our fair Dominion now extends
  From Cape Race to Nootka Sound
May peace forever be our lot
  And plenteous store abound
And may those ties of love be ours,
  Which discord cannot sever
And flourish green o'er freedom's home
  The Maple Leaf Forever
Chorus —The Maple Leaf etc

On merry England's far famed land
  May kind heaven sweetly smile
God bless old Scotland evermore,
  And Ireland's Emerald Isle
Then sing the song both loud and long
  Till rocks and forests quiver
God Save our Queen and heaven bless
  The Maple Leaf Forever
Chorus —The Maple Leaf etc

FORM OF SCHEDULE DISTRIBUTED BY THE WENTWORTH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

AS A MEANS OF COLLECTING HISTORICAL DATA

A schedule of facts furnished the Society by   of the   in the county of   in the Province of Ontario

1 Place of birth of informant, age and date of birth

2 If born out of Ontario date of arrival in the Province.

3 Occupations pursued by informant and locality

4 Father's name age and date of birth

5 Father's residence

6 Mother's name age and date of birth

7 Mother's residence

8 Ancestors residence

9. Where informant was educated

10 Name of instructors.

11 Subjects taught

12 Names of leading residents in Ontario with whom you have been acquainted

13 Personal reminiscences

14 Names of members of Legislature and of Parliament for your county or city and for what period of time they served

15 Names of Judges, Mayors, Magistrates and other officials

16 What military organizations.

17 Names of officers

18. What military actions.

19 Recollections, if any, in which you participated

20 Civic disturbances if any, the cause and outcome of same

21 Recollections as to the early settlers in this province

22 Recollections as to the Indians.

23 Their character and intercourse with the settlers

24 Do you possess any Indian or other relics or documents that would be interesting to examine?

25 Would you permit inspection of them by the society or

contribute the same towards the completion of the museum of the society?

26. Are you aware of any relics, documents or specimens that it would be to the advantage of the society to possess?

27. State fully any traditions you are in possession of, bearing upon the history of the province.

28. Furnish the names and addresses of any persons whom you think could give any information as to traditions, relics, specimens, etc.

29. Mention the occupations of prominent early settlers, also giving addresses.

30. Furnish any information in your opinion desirable that the society should possess not embodied in above items.

Dated at this day of 18

Signature of informant.
Occupation.
Residence.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE WENTWORTH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

IN 1890 application was made to the Council of the City of Hamilton for the purchase of a portion of the ground known as Earthworks, constructed in 1813 on Burlington Heights when the Executive Council of the Association passed the following resolution

Whereas, having learned with surprise and regret, that the Cemetery Committe of the City Council are offering for sale a further portion of the grounds known as Burlington Heights Breastworks, to be used for private purposes at the very time when petitions are before Parliament praying for the erection thereon of a suitable memorial to commemorate the spot constructed in defence of the country whence a handful of brave men utterly routed an invading army, numerically four times their own strength, and preserved the whole of this southern part of Ontario. And believing that such action was taken without full knowledge of the historic value of these grounds. Therefore resolved that this Executive Council of the Wentworth Historical Society solemnly protests against such action of the City Council and against any further encroachment upon those memorable grounds

At a meeting of the City Council subsequently held, a resolution was unanimously carried endorsing the views of the Society and declaring that no further disposition of the grounds in question should be made

Petitions from the society have been forwarded to the Federal Government praying for the erection of suitable memorials on the Stoney Creek battle grounds and on Burlington Heights and the society has fair reason for believing that the prayer of the petitions will be granted.

Moved by Judge Muir, seconded by Richard Bull, and resolved

That the Wentworth Historical Society, while deeply deploring the loss it has sustained by the death of the late T C Mewburn, desires to express its high appreciation of the valuable services rendered by him to the society in forwarding the objects of the same.

And it also desires to express its great admiration of his unswerving loyalty to the Throne of Great Britain, his outspoken views on the subject of British connection, his intense love for Canada, his adopted country, and his untiring efforts to impress the growing generation of Canadians with the spirit of patriotism, and to commend to all Canadians his career in such respects as an example worthy to be followed.

Resolution of thanks to the Committee of the Sir John A. Macdonald Monument about to be erected in this city.

Resolved—That this society, feeling much gratified to learn that the Committee of the Sir John A. Macdonald's Monument has directed that a niche be made in the Corner Stone of the monument in which the "Proceedings" of the society just published shall be placed, desires to thank such Committee for the honor thus conferred.

LIST OF PAPERS AND ARTICLES DONATED TO THE WENTWORTH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Royal Society of Canada—Copies of proceedings 9 Vols, 1882–1891, inclusive.

Rev G A Bull—Copies of papers read and newspapers and clippings from Lundy's Lane Society

J G Y Burkholder—3 Vols Anglo American Magazine, 1853

Adam Brown—Debates and proceeding House of Commons

Dr Bourinot—Debates and proceeding House of Commons

Dr Bourinot—Blue Books and Report of Canadian Archivist

T C Mewburn—Old Deeds Letters, Documents Books and Relics

Hon A. McKellar—Photograph of Model of old Hand Mill

M Anderson—Documents re-settlement of Lundy's Lane

Hon J D Griffin—Documents and Reminisences.

Mr J Riddle—Sir Francis Bond Head's Narrative of 1837 8

Mr J Merritt—Life of Hon W H Merritt

Capt Barker—Old Newspapers, etc.

Major J Glasgow—Old Newspapers and Papers.

J A Griffin—Old Newspapers Papers and Pamphlets

T H Simson—Old Newspapers 1851

Mr Coombs—Canon Ball from Navy Island, 1837

Mrs C Lee—Sword and other relics of 1812

Mrs Gregory—Old and Valuable Documents

Mrs. R J Hamilton—Engraving Death of Wolfe and Proceedings of Parliament 1828.

Mr John W Jones—Observations on a trip through West Indies, United States and Statistical Account of Upper Canada 1836, by Dr Thomas Rolph

Indenture of B. and S —Deed of Land James Cameron, of Township Ancaster U C and his wife, to John Ross of York in Home District Dated 7th October 1833

Indenture—Chas S Perley of Township Burford, County of Oxford District of London, U C, to John Ross. Dated 12th April, 1834.

Lieut.-Gen. Murray with Thos Street, Andw Steven and Jno. Lyons, Esq trustees Parchment settlement on Mr and Mrs. Radcliffe Dated 23rd March 1841

Parchment exemplification of probate of will of James McLellan deceased in the eleventh year of translation of William Archbishop of Canterbury Dated 8th November 1838

Patent Grant from Peregrine Maitland Governor to John Andrew Stevenson Dated 1[illegible]th October 1824.

Grant—Lieut. Gov Gore to Jacob S. Ball 200 acres in Township of Thorold County of Lincoln Dated 2nd May 1810

Grant—Lieut.-Gov Hunter to Philip Ross Dated 9th June 1802

LIST OF NEWSPAPERS.

"The Spectator," St Davids U C	3rd May 1816
" " "	17th May 1816
" " "	31st May 1816
" " "	14th June 1816
"The Gleaner and Niagara Newspaper" Published by A Heron	18th May 1820
" " " "	14th April 1821
" " " "	3rd Mar 1827
" " " "	23rd Sept 1826
" " " "	28th Oct 1826
" " " "	20th Jan 1827
" " " "	6th Jan 1827
" " " "	30th June 1821
" " " "	10th Feb 1827
" " " "	24th Feb 1827
" " " "	12th Aug. 1826
" " " "	3rd Feb. 1827
" " " "	27th Jan 1827
"Morning Banner" Hamilton C. W with full account of Desjardins canal accident (Presented by Thos H. Stinson, Esq.)	16th Mar 1857
"The Herald of Truth" G D Griffin Hamilton, C. W publisher and proprietor, containing account of visit of Prince of Wales and Battle of Queenston Heights	15th Aug. 1860

The Herald of Truth, 1st Aug 1861
" " " 1st Sept 1861

Printed article, " To the Electors of the County of Halton " by a farmer 1824
discussing qualification of four candidates, viz Geo. Rolph, Caleb Hopkins, James Crooks and M. O'Reilly, father of the late Miles O'Reilly. (Presented by Miles O'Reilly.)

Grant—Peregrine Maitland to John Ross, November 14th, 1825

Grant—Peregrine Maitland to Elizabeth Cameron, daughter of Jacob Summer, a U. E. Loyalist, June 6th 1822

Grant—Sir John Colborne to Elsa Cline, daughter of Moses Williams, U. E. Loyalist, November 1st, 1832

Grant—Peregrine Maitland to Abraham Vannowan, December 1st 1824.

Selections—Public Documents of Province of Nova Scotia, by Thomas B. Akins, D. C. L. (Presented by Miss Minnie S. Neal, of Halifax.)

Heriot's History of Canada, 1804. Presented by Robert Jarvis Hamilton.

Laws of Canada, 1804. Presented by Mrs. Nelson Mills

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE WENTWORTH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Armstrong, Geo. H
Alexander John
Baker, Hugh C
Balfour James
Barnard Major P
Barr John A
Barton George M
Bartlett, Cameron
Beasley Thomas
Bearman, F W
Begue Theo. H. S (Dundas)
Bickle John W
Black, Henry John
Bowman, William
Brown, Adam
Bruce, Alexander Q C
Bruce John A.
Bruce Frank C
Buchanan, W W
Burton Warren F
Buchanan J G
Bruce William
Bull Richard
Bull Eldon J
Bull, George H
Burkholder J G Y
Cahill James
Cahill E. D
Calder John
Case H N
Charlton B. E
Chittenden, C. S
Carpenter F M, M.P (Winona)
Carpenter, Henry
Carroll Cyrus
Chisholm, James, M A.
Counsell Charles M
Cummings James
Davis Samuel
Dayfoot P W
Durand Charles (Toronto)
Emory, C. VanNorman M D
Fearman, F W
Williams C J
Freeman, Ransom
Ferres, James
Gage R R
Gates, F W., Senr
Gates, Arthur R
Ghent, S H
Gibson, Hon. J M
Geddes J Gamble Very Rev
  Dean of Niagara
Gaviller, Alexander
Griffin Justus A
Gunn R L
Gunner, William
Gurnet, L. A (Ancaster)
Glasgow Major John
Hamilton R J
Hillman, O S
Horning, O A
Jones, John W., L L. B
Jones, Alva (Stoney Creek)
Kelly Daniel
Kennedy R Æ
Kenrick, E (Ancaster)
Kittson, Ernest E.

Kirtson, H. N.
Kidner, Frank
Land, Col. John
Land, John H.
Land, Peter M.
Land, R. E. A.
Lazier, S. F., L.L.B., Q.C.
Lees, William, Sen.
Lees, William, Jr.
Lees, George H.
Lester, Thomas W.
Lister, Joseph
Lottridge, Robert
Lottridge, James M.
Lucas, R. A.
Magill, Col. Charles
Malloch, A. E., M.D.
Malloch, F. S.
Martin, Edward, Q.C.
Martin, Richard S.
Martin, Geo. E.
Martin, W. G.
Mewburn, Thomas Chilton
Mewburn, Sidney Chilton
Miller, Thomas, M.D.
Mills, George H.
Mills, William H.
Mills, James H.
Mills, Francis H.
Mills, Sidney George
Milne, W.
Moore, Lyman
Moore, Major Alexander H.
Moore, J. H.
Morgan, William S.
Muir, John, Judge C. C.
Mullock, Luke (Waterdown)
MacInnes, Hon. Donald
McKellar, Hon. Arch., Sheriff
County Wentworth
McKenzie, Thos. H. (Dunda.),
McLaren, Major Henry
McKay, Alexander, M.P.
Mackelcan, Frank, Q.C.
Macnab, Duncan A.
Mackelcan, Henry
McCullough, C. R.
New, Henry
Nisbett, J. W., Q.C.
Nelles, H. E. (Grimsby)
O'Reilly, Miles, Q.C.
O'Reilly, Major J. Edwin, Q.C.
Pettit, M. (Winona)
Ryckman, S. S., M.P.
Partenger, John
Plastow, J. B.
Ramsay, A. G.
Ridley, Henry T., M.D.
Rosebrugh, John W., M.D.
Ross, F. Samuel
Sanford, Hon. William E.
Scott, John J.
Stinson, Thomas H.
Snider, F.
Stewart, James
Stuart, Philip H.
Steart, John
Smith, Edward F.
Southam, William
Thomson, George C.
Walker, W. F., M.A., LL.B.,
Q.C. Dead
Walker, James
Wolverton, Algernon, M.D.
Watkins, Thomas C.
Zealand, Capt. William

LIST OF LIEUT GOVERNORS FROM 1792 TO 1892

UPPER CANADA

Simcoe Col John Graves	July 8th 1792,	to	July 20th 1796
* Russell, Peter	July 21, 1796,		August 17, 1799.
Hunter Peter	Aug. 17 1799		Sept 10th 1805
* Grant, Alexander	Sept. 11 1805,		August 24 1806.
Gore, Francis	Aug 25 1806,	"	June 14th 181
Brock Sir Isaac	Sept 30, 1811		Oct. 13th 1812.
Sheaffe, Sir Roger Hale	Oct 20 1812,	"	June 18th, 1813.
Rottenburg Maj Gen Francis de	June 19 1813,		Dec. 13th 1813.
* Drummond Sir Gordon	Dec. 13, 1813,		April 24th, 1815.
Murray Sir George	April 25, 1815		June 30th, 1815.
* Robinson, Sir Fred Philipps	July 1 1815		Sept 24th 1815.
* Smith, Samuel	June 11 1817		Aug 12th 1818.
Maitland, Sir Peregrine	Aug 13, 1818,		Nov 3rd 1828.
Smith, Samuel	March 8, 1820,	"	June 29th, 1820.
Colborne Sir John	Nov 4th, 1828,		Jan 25th 1836.
Head Sir Francis Bond.	Jan. 25, 1836,		March 23, 1838
Arthur Sir George	March 23, 1838,		Feb 10th, 1841

UNITED CANADA

Lord Sydenham	Oct. 19 1839,	to	Sept. 19th 1841
* Jackson Sir Richard Downes	Sept. 24, 1841	"	Jan 11th 1842
Bagot, Sir Charles	Jan. 12, 1842,		March 29 1843.
Metcalfe Sir Charles Theophilus	March 29 1843		Nov 25th 184.
Cathcart, Charles Murray Earl of	Nov 26 1845,	"	Apl 23rd 1846
Cathcart, Charles Murray Earl of	April 24 1846,		Jan 29th 1847
Elgin James Bruce Earl of	Jan 30 1847		Dec. 19th, 1854
* Rowan Lieut.-Gen. William	Aug 23 1853,		June 10th 1854
Head Sir Edmund Walker	Dec. 9, 1854		Oct 15th. 1861
* Eyre, Sir William	June 20, 1857		Nov 2nd 1857
* Williams Sir William Fenwick	Oct. 12, 1860,		Feb 22nd, 1861
Monck Charles Stanley Viscount	Oct 25 1861	"	Nov 27th 1861
Monck, Charles Stanley Viscount	Nov 28, 1861		June 30th 1867
* Michel Sir John	Sept. 30, 1865,	"	Feb 19th 1866.

ONTARIO

Stisted Maj Gen Henry William	July 8, 1867	to	July 14th 1868.
Howland William Pearce	July 14, 1868		Nov 11th 1873
Crawford John Willoughby	Nov 12, 1873,		May 13th 1875.
Macdonald Donald Alexander	May 21 1875,	"	June 29th 1880
Robinson, John Beverley	July 5, 1880,		May 31st, 1887
Campbell, Sir Alexander	June 1 1887	"	May 24th 1892.
Kirkpatrick George Airey	May 30, 1892.		—— ——

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* Administrator

working of the Act of 1882. You will
note they represent the women of every
[illegible] Commonwealth [illegible]

[illegible]

24

WENTWORTH
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JOURNAL AND TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Wentworth Historical Society

VOL. II

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14477
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HAMILTON
~~SPECTATOR PRINTING COMPANY~~
1892

Never was isle so little, never was sea so lone
But over the sand and the palm trees an
English flag was flown! Kipling

F.
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LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS TO THE PUBLISHING FUND, 1892.

Hon D MacInnes	$10 00
Geo H Mills,	10 00
F W Fearman	10 00
J M Lottridge	10 00
Major H McLaren	5 00
Hon Judge J Muir,	5 00
John W Jones	5 00
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PREFACE.

A RECOGNITION of the neglected state into which much of the historic ground in the Province of Ontario had fallen, led to the inauguration of the Wentworth Historical Society. The strip of land lying between Lakes Erie and Ontario, will ever remain identified with the history of Canada, forming as it does one of the great battle grounds upon which five races have struggled and fought for victory, the Indian, French, British, American, and Canadian.

The War of 1812-14 and the Rebellion of 1837-38 proved crucial tests of the loyalty of the United Empire Loyalists towards the British Government, and it is more particularly to these two epochs in our history that the people of Ontario turn with interest, as in this lovely garden cluster the memories of their most loyal struggles. Brock and the memorable Battle of Queenston Heights will never be forgotten as long as the Niagara River speeds past the monument erected to his memory.

The objects of the Society are clearly laid down in the Constitution, and are, it is assumed, of such an order of thought, that the prosecuting and fulfilling of the same can only tend to the development and stability of a national life, which shall embrace the Canadian half of the continent of North America.

The Wentworth Historical Society felt that this year of centennial celebrations must not pass away without placing upon record by publication, what contemporary and corroborative testimony it had been enabled to gather together during the four years of its existence by tracing the rise and growth of our provincial life. This Society aims at recording history, or current events with fidelity and accuracy, leaving the publication of scientific and polished literature to some of our sister associations. To curtail, or make an abstract of some of the papers, would destroy much of their value and lessen what in the future will be looked upon as being amongst our most important contributions.

The Society takes this opportunity of thanking the public generally, the press, and the several sister societies and associations in the Province, for the hearty co-operation extended to it in responding to the requests made in the large number of circulars distributed through the country asking for information regarding the settlement of the country. Biographical sketches of pioneer families and persons holding important positions, or of those who have been associated or identified with any great movements in the religious, political, educational, social or philanthropic development of the country. Any such reports or data will always be gladly received as an important communication and brought before the consideration of the executive council.

The Society hopes that much good has been accomplished by the dissemination of literature in the form of circulars containing copies of the Constitution, list of membership, and drafted questions seeking information as to early settlers, their progress and other matters of historical interest.

The Society further desires to acknowledge the advantage it has gained by affiliation with the Royal Society of Canada.

ORGANIZATION.

On the evening of December 17th, 1888, the following gentlemen met in the Hamilton Association Rooms, Hamilton, Ont., to discuss the advisability of forming a Historical Society for the County of Wentworth and vicinity, viz. Geo H Mills, F W Fearman, Geo M Barton, J H Land, Richard Bull, P M Land, J Moffatt, Geo H Lees, Justus A Griffin, and Capt. Wm Zealand.

The organization was decided upon, and on the 8th Jan, 1889, the officers were elected, constitution adopted, and the Wentworth Historical Society was fairly launched

The following is the Constitution

NAME

The name of the society shall be THE WENTWORTH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

OBJECTS

Its objects shall be,

1.—To prosecute researches into the history and archæology of the province of Ontario, and into the genealogy of the inhabitants thereof

2.—To publish the results of those researches so far as may be deemed advisable

3.—To collect and maintain a library of books, pamphlets, and manuscripts, more especially such as relate to the history of this province

4.—To collect and preserve such archæological and other specimens, relics and traditions, as tend to illustrate that history.

5.—To record passing events of importance with accuracy.

6.—To create and perpetuate a closer and more friendly relationship between the early settlers of the country and their descendants

MEMBERSHIP

The Society shall consist of active and honorary members.

Active members, residents in the county of Wentworth, or with in ten miles thereof, shall pay a subscription fee of one dollar per annum in advance.

Honorary members shall be admitted without fee or imposition of any kind.

Honorary membership shall be conferred only upon such persons, wheresoever resident, as, in the opinion of the Society, may for some special reason be considered entitled to such distinction.

Payment by any member of a fee of twenty dollars shall entitle him to life membership, and from the time of such payment he shall be free from all annual and other fees whatsoever.

From and after the first day of May next, every candidate for admission to membership of the Society shall be proposed and seconded by members at an ordinary or general meeting of the Society, and shall be elected by a two-thirds vote of the members present at such ordinary or general meeting.

All votes for membership shall be by ballot.

Every member on being elected shall either personally, or through his mover or seconder, pay his annual subscription of one dollar, previous to his name being entered on the roll of members.

Any member who shall refuse or neglect to pay his dues for two years after they have accrued, provided he has been notified of his delinquency by the Secretary, shall be considered as having withdrawn himself from the Society, and the Secretary shall erase his name from the list of members.

OFFICERS.

The officers of the Society shall consist of seventeen persons, all of whom shall be active members, viz.: A President, three Vice-Presidents, a Secretary-Treasurer, Corresponding Secretary, and eleven other members. These shall form the Executive Council of the Society; and the President, Vice-Presidents, and Secretary Treasurer shall be, *ex-officio*, members thereof.

The government and exclusive management of the Society's affairs shall be, and hereby is, vested in the said Executive Council, five members whereof shall be necessary to form a quorum.

The President, Vice-Presidents, Secretary Treasurer, and eleven Executive Councilors shall in future be elected annually, by ballot, at an annual meeting, to be held at the headquarters of the Society or at such other place as may be agreed upon, at eight o'clock in the evening of the fifth day of June, or the first legal day thereafter, of each succeeding year.

If any member of the Executive Council shall be absent from the meetings for a continuous period of three months, unless by reason of illness, absence from the province, or other just cause, his office may be declared vacant by the Society and a successor elected in his stead

In case of demission of office by any Executive Councilor, whether by death resignation or otherwise, the vacancy thereby created shall be filled at the next regular meeting of the Society, by the election of another member in his place, and the person so elected shall hold office for the unexpired term of the person vacating the same

The President, or in case of his absence one of the Vice-Presidents, or in case of their absence a chairman *pro tem*, shall preside at all meetings of the Society, and shall have a casting vote He shall be entitled to decide all questions of order, and his decision shall be subject to an appeal to the Executive Council, whose decision shall be final and conclusive.

The Secretary-Treasurer shall keep the minutes and records of the Society, and give due notice of its meetings. For the time being, and until the appointment of a special officer for that purpose shall become necessary, he shall also act as Librarian He shall receive all monies of the Society, and disburse the same, subject to the order of the Executive Council He shall furthermore keep an account of the receipts and expenditure, and submit the same to the Society at its annual meeting, or whenever required to do so

MISCELLANEOUS

The Society shall hold ordinary meetings for the despatch of business on the first Tuesday in every month, at the hour of eight p m, when the presence of seven members shall be necessary to form a quorum

A special meeting of the Society may be called by the President or either of the Vice-Presidents upon a requisition, signed by at least five members, which meeting shall be competent to entertain only the business for which it was specially called

The Society shall, at any of its ordinary meetings, have power to amend its Constitution and make or alter a By-Law, if moved and seconded, and adopted by a two-thirds vote of those present, provided three months' notice of such proposed change had been given at a former ordinary meeting.

The Executive Council shall have power to appoint an Advisory Board, consisting of two members of the Society from each township in the county, who shall advise with the Executive on all matters referred to them occurring in their respective townships.

BY-LAWS.

1.—The President shall be *ex-officio* chairman of all meetings, ordinary or special, where he shall be present.

2.—In case of the absence of the President, the Vice-Presidents shall preside, taking rank by seniority.

3.—Should neither President nor Vice-President be present at any meeting, ordinary or extraordinary, the members present may elect a member to preside, who, for the time being, shall be clothed with the powers of the President.

4.—In case of two members rising to address the meeting at the same time, the presiding officer shall decide who shall take precedence.

5.—Any member addressing the meeting shall do so through the chairman or presiding officer.

6.—At all meetings the Chair is to be taken punctually at the hour appointed; and in case thirty minutes shall elapse without a quorum, the meeting will stand adjourned until such time as the members present shall name and appoint.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

The order of business at the meetings of the Society shall be as follows:

1.—Calling to order.
2.—Reading and confirming minutes.
3.—Reading and referring correspondence, applications, etc.
4.—Nomination and election of members.
5.—Introduction of new members.
6.—Reports of committees.
7.—Inquiries and notices of motion.
8.—Unfinished and miscellaneous business.
9.—Adjournment.

OFFICE-BEARERS.

	PRESIDENT	1st VICE-PRES	2nd VICE-PRES	3rd VICE-PRES	SECRETARY-TREAS.
1889	Geo H Mills	Hon A. McKellar	J E O'Reilly		J H Land
1890	Geo. H Mills	Hon A McKellar	F W Fearman	Mrs Isaac Buchanan	J H Land
1891	Geo H Mills	Hon A McKellar	F W Fearman	Mrs J Rose Holden	J H Land
1892	Geo H Mills.	Hon A McKellar	F W Fearman	Mrs J Rose Holden	J H Land

HONORARY COUNCIL.—Hon G W Allen, Pres. Historical Society of Ontario, Rev H Scadding, D D, Pres York Pioneers, Rev Canon Bull, M A, Pres Lundy's Lane Historical Society, The Presidents of the Pioneer and Historical Societies of Lethbridge and McLeod, Miles O'Reilly, Q C, ~~Very Rev~~ J Gamble Geddes, D D, Dean of Niagara, Robert Jarvis Hamilton, Col. John Land, Peter S VanWagner, and Mrs John Rose Holden

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, 1892.—Geo H Mills, president, Hon Arch McKellar, F W Fearman, Mrs J Rose Holden, Hon D McInnes, F M Carpenter, M P, J Alexander, H C Baker, John Muir, Judge C C, J W Jones, *T H Stinson, Richard Bull, Alex McKay M P, Hon J M Gibson, John A Barr, J H Land, secretary, Justus Griffin, corresponding secretary.

*Since deceased

OUTING AT STONY CREEK.

THE outing of the Society was held on the Stony Creek battleground, the 5th of June, 1889, to commemorate the 76th anniversary of that memorable battle, when quite one thousand ladies and gentlemen were present to greet them

The gathering represented all parts of the county of Wentworth and some of the adjoining counties as well Among those present were Mr Geo H Mills, President of the Society, Hon Archibald McKellar, First Vice-President, Mr J H Land, Secretary and Treasurer, and Messrs Lyman Moore, H C Baker, F W Fearman, J W Jones, Richard Bull and Ald T H Stinson, members of the Executive Council, also Hon. J M Gibson, Provincial Secretary, and Messrs Peter Filman, Peter S Van Wagner, James Somerville, M P, A D Lee, W S Burkholder, H B Witton, George Roach, James A Weir, Jacob Burkholder, Crawford Cowan, John Carscallen, John Van Wagner, William Nash, N F Birely, J N Waddell, Robert Evans, M Murphy, William Jones, C D Blachford James Laidlaw, John Combs, Alva Jones, Alva G Jones, J B Laidlaw, Justus Griffin, F MacKelcan, Q C, John Davis, Major Glasgow, George M. Barton, F C Fearman, George Holden, Henry Lutz, P J Culhane, Chas Weaver, Murray Pettit, Erland Lee, A Lee, A. D Cameron, John Alexander, Charles Lemon, Jonathan Pottruff Henry Felker, William Jones, John Gullen, Mark Barker, W A Howell, Isaac Corman, John W Vandusen, William A Lottridge, P C Van Wagner, E Hopkins, Thomas Jones, R R Smith, Clerk of the Township of Saltfleet Dr Malloch, Dr Burgess, W K Secord, W H Marshall, J D Lutz, Hiram Smith, Henry Spera, Marshall Hopkins, Levi Neil, Wm Harris, Samuel Patterson, J B Smith, J B Springstead, J C Moore, James Springstead, Wm E Orr, J B Walker, S Dean, Jasper Springstead, W H Wodehouse, Wm Fortman, Henry Fortman, Capt W Lee, George Stewart, Thomas Stewart, P Utter, Wm Williams, James Granger, Elias Pettit, Henry Flewelling, George Corman, W H Corman, Abram Corman, Geo Williams, Thomas Murphy, H A. Coombs, Dr Carr Archibald Spera, Wm Spera, Rufus Glover, Charles Marshall, John Springstead, John Hopkins, Nelson St John, J W Green, John McNulty, John Glover, W Hurd, A Condy, John Anderson, Samuel Bewell, Thomas Carpenter, Arthur G Bales, Walter Ghent, Wm S Spera, John Spera, jr, E D Smith, R. Squire, W A Davis, Thomas Snider, Richard Lacey, S Gage, John Webb, John Gage, W H. Spera, Luther D Crosthwaite, Tunis Corman, A C Springstead, James Wallace, Wesley Peterson, George S Fisher, H E Nelles, A S Nelles, Dr A C Jones, Geo H Lees, F Kidner, A T Freed, and others The County Council attended in a body, there being present Mr J W Gage, Warden, and the following councillors, viz Messrs. Geo F Lewis, R L Biggs, M S Wilson, J B Calder, A R Wardell T A. Walker, Wm Clark John Dickenson, W D Waite, T B Townsend Robert Ferguson, W G Fletcher, W B Switzer, Joseph Snasdell, J W Flewelling, Geo Hart, John Nicholson, Dr McGregor, T S Henderson and B Leeming Mr Thomas Stock, ex-Warden of the County, Dr Russell, of the Asylum, County Treasurer Stock Mr R R Waddell and Caretaker Plastow accompanied the County Council The Saltfleet Township Council also attended in a body, and the City Council was represented by Ald. Morgan and Ald. Stinson

There were also those present who remembered the battle though in 1813 they were too young to know much about it One of the oldest was J H Burkholder He was eleven years old at the time, and was born within three miles of Hamilton Ever since 1802 he has lived in the vicinity Mr John Davis was also one of the oldest present He was born about seven miles east of the battlefield in 1803, and has spent the whole of his life, almost, in the vicinity Perhaps the oldest gentleman present was Mr William Macklem, who is as old as this century, if not a little older, and whose recollection of the battle is to a certain extent remembrances of what came under his own observation when a boy Mrs Birely is believed to be the only living person who was on the battlefield at the time of the great struggle

The President of the Association, Mr Geo H Mills, in his opening address, cordially welcomed those present, and said he regarded the large assemblage, though the weather was not very auspicious, as a flattering indication that the objects of the Society received the hearty endorsement of the public. He lucidly described the objects of the Association, that the chief of these was the collection and preservation of materials for a truthful record of the historical events of this part of the country, to collect traditions that would prove valuable to future historians, to record with accuracy passing events, and thus aid in welding together a patriotic and distinctively Canadian national sentiment, that will enable us to hand down to our children unimpaired, this grand inheritance, our country and our laws, as we received them from our forefathers who preserved them with heroic valor against great odds, when they were of immeasurably less value than they are now. Continuing, he said that the influence of Societies like this would go far towards strengthening a determination to maintain, continue, and even enlarge our affectionate relationship with the Mother Land, and this, is the only true course to be adopted, if we desire fulfilment of our aspirations, that Canada shall ultimately become a nation among nations, and if in the future the developments which time produces may render separation necessary, in order that Canada may take an independent place among the ruling powers of the earth, that separation will be sanctioned, but the ties of affection existing between this and our parent land will never be severed, and the new nation will carry with it in its constitution, the prestige of England's glory, and the abiding principles of Canadian liberty. He called upon the Hon. J. M. Gibson to address the audience.

The Hon. J. M. Gibson, when moving the first resolution, in a brilliant and exhaustive speech, recounted the history of the battle and clearly set forth the causes which led up to the war of 1812 and '13. He said: "I am sure we are all very much indebted to the Wentworth Historical Society, if for nothing else, at all events, for the opportunity they have to-day given us of assembling here and commemorating the anniversary of that well known historical event—the battle of Stony Creek. I have often wondered that steps were not taken of a systematic description, to do something in the way of commemorating and rendering permanent the appreciation by the people, of the valor of our ancestors, who took part on that memorable occasion. I am not here by any means to-day in the character of an orator but I have been requested to move a resolution, and I do so with a great deal of pleasure.

Around me on the platform and on the grounds are men well up in years, men from 50 to 100 years of age, some of whom, perhaps, were either present on that occasion, or, at all events, were so familiarly interested in the events in their childhood as to take a peculiar interest in the proceedings of to-day. Not only the elderly gentlemen, but the women of the district, their daughters and granddaughters, are present, signifying their interest in what is now going on. It has been to me, sir, a matter of great interest since I came upon the ground, to be able to shake hands with an elderly lady, whose husband was present and took part in that memorable fight, the battle of Stony Creek." He referred to the battle of Lundy's Lane, one of the most pluckily fought engagements which ever took place in any country, and also one of the most sanguinary, as the records prove. Are we, the Canadians of to-day, he asked, ready to follow the examples of our forefathers in standing up for our country and in being prepared to shed our last drop of blood in defence of her interests? "I sympathize with the remarks of the President. I am true to British connection, and feel that it is entirely unnecessary for any one to stand on this platform and preach loyalty to the Mother Country, because if ever a loyal band of people were gathered together, they are before me now." Proceeding, he said, we are proud of the great empire of which we form a part, and while our sympathies will always be found in touch with the Motherland, it is right for us to have aspirations. Let us be proud of our country, and endeavor to make it what it is destined to become—a great country—and in the same proportion as we show a resolution to depend upon ourselves, will our Mother Country respect us, and do for us all we can ask, or expect to be done by our parent.

In seconding the resolution Mr. F. W. Fearman said: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen—I recognize and acknowledge the honor I partake of in being permitted to second this resolution. I also recognize in the language of the resolution the fact that we to-day stand on almost sacred ground; that we have assembled here to-day over the ashes of the heroes who 76 years ago took their lives in their hands, and many of them gave them for their homes, families, King, constitution and country; and they are in every sense entitled to our remembrance, gratitude, and what honor we can bestow upon their memories, if we can bestow on them a greater than to proclaim that they died for their country. We do not assemble here to-day to erect a Vendome obelisk, to commemorate the ravages of an ambitious imperial tyrant, or an arch to perpetuate the robberies and rapine of a Roman scourge, but to endeavor to preserve the memories of the brave men who laid down their lives on this never to be forgotten soil on which we now stand, and to celebrate a victory which has proven most important to us Canadians who have succeeded them; a victory which will not be erased from history in all time; a victory that has very few equals; a victory that has secured the home, the family and the country to the British Canadian people, we trust for all time to come; a victory that we now assemble to honor and commemorate, and to be ever after held fresh in the love and memory of Canadian people. We must acknowledge the neglect of years past, and regret that suitable care and attention have not been given to the memory of the brave and fallen heroes; and I trust now, that a suitable momento will be placed over their remains, and that at last we fulfil our duty. I know, sir, that old men live in the past and young men in the future and I cannot refrain from drawing a picture of our country seventy-six years ago and comparing it with the nation of to-day. The night that these brave men, led by Vincent and Harvey, left the entrenchments on Burlington Heights (now Hamilton Cemetery), with arms unloaded, poorly fed, worse paid, half clothed, in the darkness of midnight, over a forest covered track—not one third the number of the well-equipped foe who held possession of all the country east of this to the Niagara River; who held possession of the strong points of this field; who had penetrated almost to what are now the suburbs of the city of Hamilton, and that our matchless little army, with all its disadvantages, should succeed in defeating and destroying the enemy and in a very short time driving them from the face of Canadian soil. It is such recollections as these that lead us to value the memories of these men, and that inspire us to do them honor; and while we look at the possessions, the comfort, prosperity and happiness insured to us by their heroic achievements, by their sacrifices, trials and death, we cannot but feel grateful as a people for all the blessings that Divine Providence has conferred upon us. When we look at this Canada of ours, its wonderful advance among the nations of the world; its increase in wealth, commerce, and comfort, the educational advantages and religious tendencies of the people; the great and rapid means of transit, the vast extent of territory claimed by the agriculturist from the prairie and forest, we can but wonder and marvel that all this has been done in so short a time But so it is and so may it long continue! The resolution refers to the moral and material support received in the past from the Mother Country We acknowledge it most gratefully, and also acknowledge its influence on us and on our country, and may the day be far distant when that influence will cease. While we here to-day celebrate the great event that saved this country from the grasp of an invading foe, let us not forget their dead They lie here in the same graves They sleep their last sleep side by side with the defenders of our country and let us as Canadians, whether native born or adopted remember that they were under orders and led as they supposed by duty, to their sad end May this, for all the future, be the last record of strife between us and our neighbors to the south Let concord, peace, and progress forever reign, and the only contest be which can do the most for the happiness, cordiality and advancement of each other, and thereby benefit ourselves individually, and humanity as a whole Let our motto be "Peace on earth, good will toward men," and with the poet we will say

Cover them over with beautiful flowers
Deck them with garlands these brothers of ours,
Living so silent by night and by day
Sleeping the years of their manhood away.
Years they had marked for the joys of the brave
Years they must waste in the moldering grave
All the bright laurels that waited to bloom
Fell from their hopes when they fell to the tomb
Give them the meed they have won in the past
Give them the honors the future forecast
Give them the chaplets they won in the strife
Give them the laurels they lost with their life
Cover them over yes, cover them over,
Parent and husband brother and lover
Crown in your heart those dead heroes of ours,
And cover them over with beautiful flowers

The motion was put and declared carried unanimously

Mr A. T Freed was then called upon He said Permit me to say that I am very much pleased with the honor done me in being allowed to make a resolution We in Canada have a history We can look around us and say, on these fields our fathers fought and have handed down to us great blessings Let us prove that we are worthy sons of worthy sires. I feel we will not be faithful sons of worthy sires if we do not place upon the battle-field of Stony Creek something to mark and tell of the bravery of our fathers.

Mr. Peter S. VanWagner, a veteran, in seconding the resolution, said: The ground has been gone over so well that there is little for me to relate, yet I may allude to a few of the details which I learned when at school on the scene of the battle when I was a boy, only twelve years after the battle, when I and others used to pick up the bullets, bent bayonets and swords, and old rusty musket barrels about the battle field. At the time of the battle all the courage was not on our side. Oh, no! Our big brother to the south was brave, too, and thought he would lick his little brother, but little Johnny Canuck was stubborn and wouldn't have it. It has often been wondered how the Americans came to be surprised. How did the British get the countersign? Why, it was like this. Mr. Peter Corman was taken prisoner by the Americans for not telling where the British were camped. He taffied up the soldiers who had him in charge, and they let him go, giving him the countersign to enable him to get home. He gave the countersign to William Green, a scout, who took it to the British. A council of war was held and a surprise arranged. As you know, it was successfully carried out, and the seven hundred British and Canadians routed the three thousand or three thousand five hundred Americans. We have just as good Canadian boys now as they had then, and should occasion ever offer I am sure they will prove themselves to be so. You will naturally ask, What signs remain of this important event to arrest the eye, to awaken the memory, to honor the dead, to arouse a country's gratitude, to stimulate our patriotism? Nought but those apple trees on the hill, which seem to stand sentry over what was once a long trench, in which forty, friend and foe, lie sleeping and waiting the last bugle call. To this date those apple trees, nourished by the mouldering bones of those who lie beneath the sod, are the only monument. For ourselves we have carved not a line, we have raised not a stone, but we have left them alone in their glory. The band should play, "My Cottage by the Wood," for to this tune the brave boys marched away, and we should see to it that the spot where the battle was fought and won should be properly marked.

Major Glasgow was then called upon and read the following poem, written for the occasion by himself

STONY CREEK JUNE 5TH, 1813 AND 1889.

The sun had set on yonder height
That heads Ontario's restless might
The darkness of the summer night
    Enshrouded the display
Where Britons brave in one appeal
With hearts as trusty as their steel
    Longed for the deadly fray

Young Harvey's hand had grasped his sword—
The fear of death all there ignored
Each hero heard the welcome word
    Proud Vincent uttered low
The signal heard in British style
Had moved each sturdy rank and file
    To seek the daring foe

No ringing cheer in warlike mood
Awoke the inmates of the wood—
A silence that was understood
    Pervaded every man
The muffled guns no warning gave
To foemen that the gallant brave
    Toiled at his secret plan

The little host with pluck for zeal,
In haste marched down the gloomy trail—
With vanguard ready to assail
    The foeman's camp in view,
Then shot and shell and bayonet keen,
Wrought havoc in the midnight scene
    Where Stony Creek runs through

Our gallant sires with blood so warm
Gave little time for foes to form—
The iron hail a northern storm,
    Sent many down to death,
And few there were who safely won
Their liberty to homeward run
    From Britons in their wrath

Thus Britons in their sternest might,
Will ever battle for the right
Humanity would feel the plight
    If fortune here should fail
For liberty is still their word
Engraved on every foeman's sword,
    Whoever may assail

Oft has the seasons' ceaseless run
Enlivened June's sweet summer sun
Since this famed field was fairly won
    By Harvey's little band.
Yet many now are here to day
Who in their hearts will fondly say,
    This is our own loved land

In moving the third resolution Judge Jones said: I am thankful to you, Mr. President, to give me the opportunity to speak here and to see so many old friends of my former Stony Creek home. My earliest recollections are of my father telling me of Queenstown Heights and the battle of Stony Creek, the battle field being yet the property of my wife and highly prized on account of its history. Let us honour our forefathers for what they have done, and let us follow in their royal example.

In seconding the motion Sheriff McKellar said he was pleased to be present. He congratulated the society upon its successful organization, and alluded to the men of the past who had made Canada what it is. It was to commemorate the deeds of the Canadian pioneers that the society was organized.

The resolutions following were then unanimously carried:

Resolved, That we regard with thankfulness the contentment, comfort and self reliance of the people of this Dominion, which the freedom of our institutions and the bravery of our ancestors under Divine Providence have conferred upon us, and we gratefully acknowledge the moral and material support which in the past our Mother Country has ever willingly granted and secured to us in a great measure as the result of the glorious victory, the anniversary of which we now celebrate.

Resolved, That the Dominion Government be respectfully requested to grant a reasonable sum of money in aid of the erection of suitable monuments on the battle ground of Stony Creek and on Burlington Heights in commemoration of the heroic bravery and self sacrifice of the defenders of our country and in grateful appreciation of the important results which the victory attending that battle has secured to us.

Resolved, That this meeting urge the importance of forming Pioneer and Historical Societies throughout the Dominion, as a valuable and influential agency for the collection and preservation of the necessary materials for reliable histories of our country, and as an indication of the loyalty of the Canadian people to their country and their attachment to British laws and institutions.

THE BATTLE OF STONY CREEK

Paper read before the Wentworth Historical Society, Thursday, March, 21st, 1889

BY J H LAND

As I had never read any detailed account of this most important, in its results, of all the battles of the War of 1812, and having heard my father and grandfather repeatedly describe to me its incidents and actors I thought that it might be interesting to this Society if I put these " Traditions of the elders " into writing in the hope that they may be found worthy of preservation in its archives

Since I commenced writing it I have been fortunate enough to find an official account of this battle in a copy of the *Anglo-American Magazine*, published in 1853, and kindly loaned me by Mr J Y Burkholder, and must thank Dr Gaviller for a clipping from the *Empire* giving Mr C Durand's account of the battle From these and the traditions alluded to above, I have collated the following account

The fourth day of June 1813, was a day long to be remembered by the handful of harrassed settlers at the head of the Lake, and the few but dauntless troops in what they thought to be their last camp on Burlington Heights The war cloud that had been hovering over our country since June 18th, 1812, when the great United States of America declared war against Great Britain, to avenge the insult offered to their new formed flag by that "tottering and effete" nation, hovering so close sometimes, that the muttering and echos of its dreadful thunder reached the ears of the anxious wives, mothers and aged fathers of our brave sires, had now settled heavily over the Gore District

The enemy, commanded by Com Chauncey and Gen Dearborn, had made a descent upon York (Toronto), had bombarded and driven out its little garrison, who made their way towards Kingston, then crossed the Lake and attacked Fort George, and with the assistance of Fort Niagara, had compelled its garrison to abandon it after a most gallant defence, and retreat to Burlington Heights, uniting on the march with the garrisons of Fort Erie and Chippawa, a total force, according to the *Anglo-American*, of some sixteen hundred men. I have been able to find no official report of these troops, but in the account of the action at Fort George I find mentioned the Forty-ninth Regiment and detachments of the Eighth and Forty-first Glengarrys and a Newfoundland corps. Eight companies of the Forty-ninth, five companies of the Eighth, three companies of the Glengarrys, two of the Newfoundland Regiment and the artillery were stationed at Fort George with three hundred militia and about fifty Indians, in all about one thousand men. Three hundred and fifty-eight of these are reported killed, wounded or missing after the battle at the Fort, and it is probable that the detachments joining General Vincent from Forts Erie and Chippawa did not much more than cover this loss, and we may safely suppose that the force at the Heights consisted of the above named corps, or rather the remnants of them, and take the estimate given, 1600, as the total effective force to meet the victorious enemy, then within seven miles of them.

The American forces consisted of two brigades—one under General Winder, composed of the fifth, thirteenth and fourteenth regiments of infantry, the other under General Chandler, of the sixteenth, twenty-second and twenty-third regiments—containing some 1,450 men each, together with 400 artillery and 250 cavalry, in all 3,550 men. With such odds against them it is little wonder that the determination was reached to destroy all the stores that could not be removed, evacuate the Heights, and try to escape to Kingston, leaving the whole western country in the enemy's hands. So scarce was powder in that camp, that though it was the King's birthday they dare not waste the small quantity required to fire the usual salute in his honor.

Preparations were made both for a final struggle, should they be forced to it, and the inevitable surrender of this "last post" of the "Men of Gore."

During the day a runner brought news of the leisurely approach of the enemy, and a detachment of the Forty-ninth Royal Irish, under command of Lieut. Crowther, was sent to reconnoitre, and, if possible, check the advance. With grim looks and determined tread the heroes left the Heights, crossed the prairie-like plain now covered by our Ambitious City—on which all the fences had been levelled in anticipation of the morrow's fight—down through the deserted farms, whose owners were in the patriot ranks and their wives and little ones in the fort at the Heights, on within hail of the spot where the jewels of old Barton Lodge lay buried, along the ridge road, keeping a sharp look-out for the enemy, through the woods where Bartonville now nestles at the foot of the cliff, as far as the "Red Hill" At this point a scout brought word that the Yankees were just on the other side of the "Big Creek," and a bright idea struck the Lieutenant—he would ambush and capture the whole Yankee army Concealing his men in the brush he gave strict orders that not a man must move until he gave the word. Lying in the brush on that sunny hillside they soon heard sounds of the coming foe, and with every nerve strained to the utmost they waited Soon the glitter of bayonets showed through the brush, then an occasional glimpse of a cockaded hat, then round the bend of the hill on the opposite side of the creek came sweeping the veterans of the advanced guard. No sooner had they come into full view than one of our men, with true Irish impetuosity, blazed away at them, utterly forgetful of his officers' orders The enemy halted, when a volley from the whole detachment was poured into their ranks That hint was enough and they broke for shelter, our men getting in another volley to hurry them up—and it succeeded But the Lieutenant's plan was spoiled, and his rage knew no bounds He is said to have belabored that unfortunate soldier all the way home, and declared he should be hung, drawn and quartered, for mutiny Having ascertained that the enemy was in retreat, and that the main body was preparing to camp at Stony Creek, he returned to the Heights and reported to Gen Vincent. Knowing the importance of having full and reliable information as to their number and position, Lieut. James Fitzgibbons, of the Forty-ninth, volunteered to visit the enemy's camp, and, disguising himself as a settler, he took a basket of butter and marched boldly into the Yankee lines, went freely about, noted their disposition of troops and guards, and the evident carelessness and lack of discipline among them, sold his butter (and the Yankees), and came away satisfied He reported them encamped on Mr James Gage's farm, on the easterly bank of a rivulet, just west of the Stony Creek, which ran through a shallow valley some 200 yards wide with steep banks 12 or 15 feet high, their guns planted on the edge of the bank as on a parapet, overlooking the flat, the infantry were encamped behind them in an orchard on the north, and in the fields to the south of the road, while Generals Winder and Chandler and their staff had possession of Mr. Gage's house as their headquarters. The luckless advanced guard was posted in the meeting house on the west side of the flat, about a quarter of a mile from the camp.

In the meantime a sail was seen on the lake making towards the beach, ran close in, and a runner brought word that she had landed fully 1000 men to re-inforce the Yankee army at the Creek. Then preparations for destroying everything in the Camp that could not be removed were pushed vigorously on, for, should these forces effect a junction, any attempt to force a battle would be sheer madness for lack of amunition, ninety rounds per man being all they had. On receipt of Lieut. Fitzgibbons' report, an anxious council of war was held, and Col. Harvey proposed a night attack, as the only plan promising the least chance of inflicting injury on the enemy, and, with the forlorn hope that it might at least delay their attack on the Heights. This desperate chance was at last decided on, and the command given to Col. Harvey. The troops engaged in this action as officially reported consisted of five companies of the eighth, under Major Ogilvie and five companies of the forty ninth, under Major Plenderleath. No mention is made of any of the other corps that must have been in camp, or of the militia, yet there is undoubted proof that a considerable number of the latter were engaged. The force numbered seven hundred and four rank and file, and having assured himself that every musket was empty, and every flint removed (he did not propose to risk a recurrence of the Red Hill mishap), this plucky commander gave the order to march, and in grim silence in the first hours of that fateful sixth of June, 1813, this handful of desperate men started on as hazardous a mission as ever Briton sought, to meet at the bayonet's point over three thousand well armed and equipped enemies. For two or three long hours the comrades, wives, mothers and children of those devoted men waited feverishly, breathlessly for some sign of the fray. Just before dawn there came to their straining ears, the sound of firing, scattered at first then in heavy volleys, then the boom of cannon, then it all died away and they knew that either victory or death had fallen on their comrades and loved ones. Who can paint the surprise that followed? As day broke and the sun rose, they saw the Yankee vessel sailing away, and a messenger came spurring and shouting "victory" When the column had reached the scene of Lieut Crowther's ambuscade, Col Harvey halted it, and called Col (then Lieut) Robert Land, of the 3rd Gore Militia, to him, asked him if he could place himself with a detachment where he could check the advance of the Brigade camped on the Beach, should they try either to effect a junction with the main body or get in his rear "I can, Colonel," was the ready reply "Then take three men with you, and that will be your duty to-night," was the order Captain Elijah Secord and John Applegarth were assigned a similar duty on the brow of the mountain Lieut Land chose his position not far from where the extension of Barton Street strikes the Stony Creek road from the Beach, and spent the hours in watching the enemy, until sound of the firing, telling of the attack begun, aroused them As the sounds of battle increased the Americans seemed to become panic stricken, and, instead of marching on to join in the fray, they hurried on board their vessel, and sailed away without the least attempt to learn what had happened Having taken these precautions, Col. Harvey and his handful of heroes, pushed on, and as the first tinges of the coming day tinted the east came on the sentry posted at the church His call of "Who goes there?" was answered "Friend!" by the Colonel, who at the same time spurred forward and clove him to the chin with his sabre. This incident is related differently by a "forty ninth man" in the *Anglo American Magazine* He states that the first sentry was *bayonetted* by the leading section of the forty ninth, under Lieut Danford, the second sentry served in the same summary fashion, whose groans alarmed the third sentry, who fired at them and fled They then rushed on the sleeping guard, a few of whom escaped, firing as they ran, some were bayonetted, the rest captured

Mr C. Durand in his account of it also states that the sentry was bayonetted and that the guard fired at our men, thus alarming the camp

My information is from Col Harvey's own account of it to my grandfather, corroborated by Dr Winder, who was at his bridle when it was done, and both agree in saying that there was but one sentry, and that the guard was captured without firing a shot or giving the least alarm

Leaving the panic stricken guard behind them, the column marched on unnoticed by the few of the enemy who were beginning to move about fixing their camp fires, deployed into line in the flat and sprang up the short steep bank of the little valley, between the muzzles of the guns, among their sleeping foes, whose first hint of the proximity of an enemy was the bayonet thrust that took their lives. "Oh ! " said one of ours, "I tell you it was terrible work, that, to march right up in front of those cannon, not knowing what instant they might belch forth flame and death, right between them, and to stick my bayonet into the sleeping gunners" The alarm was of course given, and a scene of the wildest confusion ensued, our troops pushed on over the camp fires and were halted at a rail fence to fix their flints and load. By this time some of the enemy had been got into order and opened fire on our men with fatal effect as they stood in front of the fires, and were fair marks, and but for the fence the casualties would have been much heavier A few moments sufficed to fix the flints and soon a volley from our troops increased the panic, it was followed by a charge with the bayonet on those making a stand, they broke and fled, other corps of the enemy in succession, were formed, and were broken by bayonet charges until all were scattered, some flying along the road towards Fort George, some towards the Lake, and some up on the foot hills of the Mountain Whole regiments got away there, and after our troops had withdrawn they came to the camp, destroyed what they could not carry off, left their dead and some of the wounded on the field, and retreated, a disorganized mob, towards the river It is said that the road was littered with arms, knapsacks and accoutrements, thrown away in the flight. The cannon were used during the fight, as the old church had a number of shot holes in it, showing that in the confusion the guns had been fired just where they stood, later however, they were turned on the enemy and helped to complete his rout. The officers' baggage and army chest were captured in Mr Gage's, and after spiking the guns he could not bring away, Col Harvey withdrew his little band towards the Heights, with three guns and one brass howitzer, both the generals, Winder and Chandler, and over one hundred prisoners of war, not deeming it wise to remain in an exposed position with so small a force

Our lost was twenty three killed, one hundred and thirty six wounded and fifty five missing The enemy's loss was much more severe. Chandler in his dispatch puts it at one hundred and sixteen, but our tradition has it that more Yankees were buried by our troops than we lost altogether in killed, wounded and missing. In the little church yard lie buried friend and foe, and there are few marks left by which to distinguish their graves. All are neglected and uncared for, and it should be one of the first duties of this Society to rescue the names of these heroes from oblivion, and see that their graves are guarded against desecration.

This battle was a turning point in the war, for except Proctor's defeat in the west, our armies were generally victorious, till the war closed, with Fort Niagara, Buffalo and the east bank of the river in our possession.

The church alluded to has long since disappeared, and perhaps as suitable a monument as could be built would be a more substantial edifice on its historic site.

FIFTY-SEVEN YEARS' EXPERIENCE OF CANADIAN LIFE.

A Paper read before the Wentworth Historical Society.

BY JOHN GLASGOW

WE left Scotland in the month of May, in the year 1832, and reached Quebec after an Atlantic passage of seven weeks and three days, and, after viewing the city and its bomb-proof stronghold, we took steamer for Montreal. On our arrival there, we disembarked, and spent a portion of a day looking over the then small city and in getting provisions to carry us up the river. It was then that our troubles as immigrants commenced. The cholera had broken out in Europe ere we left, and, having made its baneful appearance on this side of the water, had reached Montreal in our advance, in its most malignant form. The people were alarmed, and rightly afraid of each and every one who had left the motherland to better his condition in this new, wild and uncultivated home. It was no unusual thing to see a corpse nailed up in a rough box and left in an open shed or outhouse until the authorities had it carted away like so much old lumber. We were put on board of a barge, or Durham boat, as they were called—open vessels, without decks, and with a footway on each side of about a foot wide for the sailors to walk on while they used their pike poles to propel the boat, when it was not towed by oxen or horses—so that, in the very nature of things, our progress westward was slow and tedious, as at night no advance whatever was thought of. During the day, the passengers would stroll leisurely along the shore and were very often ahead of the boat, anxiously awaiting its arrival past some dangerous point in the turbulent stream. When the boats were tied up for the night, our bedding was taken out and spread on some green spot, so that we could retire and sleep, while the dews of Heaven watered the face of the sun burned immigrant while he reposed under the unclouded and star lit canopy. It may seem strange to those who never passed through the ordeal of navigating the St. Lawrence at that critical time, when I repeat the fact that water for culinary purposes was difficult to obtain. We were warned against using the river water, and the wells, with their old-fashioned swing hoists, were invariably chained down, so that the immigrants, with their cholera-poisoned garments and surroundings, would be prevented thereby from congregating in the neighborhood of private dwellings. Under the circumstances, we could scarcely blame them for their apparent inhumanity, the harvest of death by the dread monster being so appalling that only we who could not flee from its presence, would remain in the proximity of the departed, as those who died on the boats were allowed to remain there for hours until some convenient place was reached for landing. Where the water would permit, a dozen or more of the Durham boats were taken in tow by a steamer, till another dangerous point was reached. Thus we toiled on, day after day, and finally, getting aboard of a steamer at Prescott, we reached Hamilton, having spent three weeks and one day on the way from Quebec.

On our way through the old canal at the beach, the first object sighted was the glittering tin spire of the old court house. All eyes were eagerly turned in the direction of the hamlet which was to be our new home. Many questions were asked by the much interested immigrants about the population of the town and surrounding country, the fertility of the soil, and a hundred other things of which they were anxious to learn. On our arrival at the wharf at the foot of James street, we had our baggage put on the platform adjoining the storehouse, owned at that time by Mr. D. C. Gunn. As it was near sundown it was thought best not to go in search of a house at that hour, and as usual we had another night in the open air. Our beds were made on the wharf, and we passed the midnight watches gazing at the stars, or dozing off to sleep as best we could. I might here state that there were four families of us who came as far as Hamilton, one by the name of Lees, related to Wm. Lees, baker, and Thos. Lees, watchmaker, who reside in this city at the present time. The Lees family went direct to the township of Dumfries. The remaining three families located in Hamilton for a time, and were composed of Mr. and Mrs. Little, their three sons, and three daughters and daughter-in-law; George and Andrew Hall, two brothers, composed family No. 2; our family consisted of father, mother, one brother and sister, and the writer of this narrative. When the sun of the following morning had raised his head above the eastern horizon, and thrown his beams athwart the placid waters of Ontario, we were up and ready to greet his cheery face Breakfast, not the most appetizing you may be sure, was soon gotten ready and discussed, when all were ready to proceed up James street to King to get a view of the little town, for it should be remembered that between King street and the bay only one house graced the rugged sides of James street at that time, it being the residence of Judge Taylor As we wended our way over the mud road as far as what is now called Macaulay street, we found ourselves to be in the woods and on a dilapidated corduroy road, with a moderately steep bank at the southern terminus of the wooden macadam With a little care we drove over dry shod, there being much hearty laughter over this new idea in road making When we had reached the locality of what is now termed Stuart street our ears were not pierced by the shrill neigh of the iron horse, for that noble animal was an entire stranger and never seen in Canada at that time. Both sides of the street at this point were partially cleared and under crop, being protected by the zig zag rail fence so common and useful in a new country like this A little further on, and just about opposite where Christ Church Cathedral now stands, we passed the solitary house before referred to, which is still standing on the west side of James street north, as a memento of old times. On enquiry it was found impossible to procure a dwelling house on account of our having passed through the cholera district The immigrant shed, in the north eastern part of the town, seemed too filthy to enter By the time that we reached the wharf on our return, Bella Little had been seized by the cholera and died The solemn but small funeral procession left the wharf about four o'clock in the afternoon, and the corpse was laid in mother earth at the Methodist church, erected in 1824, on the corner of King and Wellington streets, the only public burying ground in the town at that time On our return to our headquarters at the wharf, Mr Gunn and his clerk, Mr Vallance, took pity on us and kindly had us placed in the storehouse, under cover Mr George Little, who had just married his young wife before leaving Scotland, and who seemed to be in perfect health when he returned from the mournful rite performed to the remains of his deceased sister, was taken sick at ten o'clock that night and died at two o'clock next morning. The townspeople, though very kind, became alarmed.

and were fully aware of the danger of coming in contact with us. Mr George Hamilton—for whose sympathy on that occasion I will ever remain a debtor to his family—most kindly and thoughtfully suggested that we should build a shanty at the edge of the woods, about 150 yards south of the court house, the woods at that time reaching from the Mountain fully as far north as what is now Hunter street We took advantage of the offer, and the remaining members of the families moved into their new abode, where old Mr Little died a short time after, but not of the cholera We lived there until the cold weather set in in October, when we moved into a house on King street, about where Wood & Leggat's hardware house is established, and the other families lived on the opposite side of the street Very few houses were erected on King street at that time, John street, from King, as far up as Hunter, was the principal part of the town. Mr John Bradley was doing business about opposite the jail and court house, Mr Thomas Gillespy kept hotel and boarding house on John street, between King and Main streets, Mr David Farrell having his blacksmith shop alongside a person named Carey kept hotel on the corner now covered by the new post office, Mr John Young had a small store on the south side of King, between John and Hughson streets, Mr Ruthven had a small store on the northwest corner of King and John streets, at which pens, ink and paper were sold, Ebenezer and John Stinson had a small general store on the north side of King, between John and Hughson streets, at which the people could purchase all that was required in those days of rural simplicity This store contained all that was really needful and useful for the immigrant such as logging chains, saws, axes, augers, hammers, nails, chisels, etc besides, in the dry goods line, cottons, linens, American satinette, corduroy, moleskin, home-made flannel, and fullcloth, in groceries, there were two or three kinds of tea, while the sugar would not dim the eyes of the purchaser by its brilliancy, there were also to be had tobacco, snuff, rice, and a little of something which was wrongfully termed oatmeal, but the Stinsons did not indulge in the sale of stimulants, for Canadian whiskey could be purchased at every country village for twenty five cents per gallon and unadulterated at that price Sir Allan N McNab had his law office at the willows, on the northeast corner of King and James streets Andrew Millar carried on a hotel business on the opposite corner, his orchard covering the ground where the new city hall is now being built. There were but four brick buildings in the place at that time, viz. Stinson's store, Carey's hotel, Bank of Upper Canada at corner of Bay and King, and the Club House at the corner of James and Main streets, in which the late Andrew Stevens resided. Mr. John Winer was doing business as a druggist on King street, while a travelling butcher supplied the wants of the people once or twice a week, and sometimes once in two weeks, just as he could procure the living material. He was not noted for his punctuality, for when he got elevated by the unadulterated, he seemed to think that the people, like himself, were full and happy.

The most of the old, or first settlers, Messrs. Land, Beasley, Ferguson, Hughson, Mills, Hess, Kirkendall and some others were still living on their farms. In order to reach the heights, at the upper end of the bay, the teamster would follow King street west till he reached Queen street, then turn north to where York street is located. All west of James street to Queen street was under fences and cultivated, only a foot path showing the line and direction of the present York street. Peter Hamilton had his house in the neighborhood of the Central School. This vicinity was surrounded by woods, and was of course considered out of the town.

After considerable time being spent in looking up land, the three families purchased their several homes in the fifth concession of East Flambero, paying four dollars per acre. I am safe in saying it was a wilderness at that time, not one tree having been chopped down on either of the three places. Log houses were erected and occupied about Christmas. Our settlement was three miles from the nearest road. Mr. Hugh Creen, brother of the late Mr. Creen, of Niagara, and brother in law of the late Archibald Ferguson, of Hamilton, was our nearest neighbor. He had one small field cleared, that being the only land clearance on the east side of the centre road. Three small places were cleared on the west side by Messrs. Finley, Foster and Baker. There was no other settlement until Carlisle was reached, where a few acres were cleared. The next settlement was Guelph, where a few half pay military officers had settled. Waterdown was three miles from our lot, and in order to get thither, we were forced to make a sleigh track through the woods, and as no eight hour movement was in vogue in those days, the work went merrily on from daylight till dark. Statute labor was not the only work performed; all hands put in one day in the week gratis, until a temporary road was made passable for a yoke of oxen and sleigh. There were but two wagons in the whole settlement, and they were owned on the east side of what is now the centre or toll road. Each of the families made a small clearing the first year, and one of the greatest difficulties for the immigrant to overcome was how to winter his oxen, if he was fortunate to have them. In the summer season, plenty of fodder was to be had in the woods, but the principal feed for the first winter was browse (the small twigs of the tops of the hardwood) and generally the cattle got very thin and emaciated, ere the spring luxuriance gave relief to the poor and useful beast. The second year was not so bad, for having straw as an assistant to the browse, things did not look so blue and foreboding.

Immigrants flocked in, year after year until the whole township was taken up, and the work done by those honest and industrious people who came here to carve out a home for themselves and their children, was of such a laborious character and so beset with difficulties in every direction, that the young generation of to-day can form no correct idea of the toil, trouble, and vexatious losses in stock which the pioneer had to face and surmount ere he made himself even moderately comfortable in his adopted home. It may be asked how and where did we get our provisions for the family. Waterdown, at that time, was composed of a small hotel, a still smaller blacksmith shop owned by a person named Dunham, a shoemaker's shop, and a small tannery to supply the cobbler with poorly tanned leather. This formed the bulk of the little village. There was also a small grist mill, where Howland's mill now stands, which was of great benefit to the few inhabitants of Waterdown, as well as to the people living in the neighborhood of Hamilton. Mr. Ebenezer Griffin, grandfather of Dr. Griffin of this city, was a justice of the peace, and kept the people in good humor by dispensing justice when necessary. Mr. Alexander Brown, father of the late Warden Alexander Brown of the County of Wentworth, was the first settler on the Mountain, and lived on his farm of 400 acres close by the village. He settled there before any white man had ever beheld the Waterdown stream flowing through its rocky channel. Mr. Grierson, brother-in-law to Mr. Brown, settled there at a later period on the west side of the village. There were no stores of any kind nearer than Hamilton or Dundas, so we had to obtain our supplies in either of those places, and after purchasing only what was absolutely necessary, we then, like beasts of burden, had to carry the whole supply on our backs to the settlement. At that time Dundas was a much larger place than Hamilton, and our supplies, such as they were, we often procured in the former place. It might now be asked why we did not hitch up our oxen, and by that means get our supplies. I will relate one incident in connection with obtaining supplies in that manner. James Little and your humble servant, with two yoke of oxen hitched to a wooden shod sleigh—iron shod sleighs were a rarity at that time—left for Dundas on a fine day in November, 1833, to get beans and shorts for feeding purposes, for at that time we had not raised any small or spring grain to fatten the long snouted breed of pigs peculiarly and well known by the name of "racers." There was no snow on the ground, and by the time we had gotten less than half way, the oxen began to show signs of fatigue from the labor of dragging the sleigh on the bare ground. Mr. Thomas Church, at that time living on Dundas street, quite near the boundary line between East and West Flamboro, loaned us his wagon, and we then got along much better. By the time that we got our small load in the bags and returned to where we got the wagon, it was dark, and Mr. Church very kindly asked us to stay all night. As it would be impossible for us to reach home before morning, we thankfully accepted the offer, retired, and slept as sound as boys generally do who are possessed of clear consciences. Next morning we were called up long before daylight, and beheld the grandest and most soul-stirring scene that I ever saw or expect to see—meteors, or shooting stars, darting by tens of thousands in every direction, until the morning sun eclipsed their never to be forgotten brilliancy. We reached home that night with our small load, having spent two days on the trip. I will now relate another little incident which will, as far as it goes, show one of the many difficulties with which we had to contend. The chimney in our house, having been built late in the fall and with poor mortar, was likely to give way, and as two-thirds of its entire length was made of wood plastered over with clay, it was thought better to have it taken down and a safe one built, provided we could get someone able to do it. This was in the spring of 1834. We had heard that a family named Campbell had settled on the thirteenth concession of the township, and that one of the brothers was a mason. I left home at 12 o'clock noon in order to find such a distinguished person as a stone mason. I found my way to Carlisle on the ninth concession very well, for the trees were blazed all the way, but from the ninth to the thirteenth concession I had no mark to guide me. I knew the direction from where I stood by the number of the lot, which I had previously learned, but how to go four or five miles through the woods and hit the right spot was rather a serious undertaking, there being but two acres slashed at the time. However, I reached the place and persuaded Campbell to come and do the job, as we could not get another person to do it. I was asked to remain all night, being advised that I would never find my way home, night being at hand. However, I started on the return trip, but after proceeding a short distance I stood still for a short time and thought over what was best to be done. I reasoned within myself as to whether the course I was taking was correct. The best course would be to look neither to the right or left, but sight three trees in a straight line in front of me, and when I reached the first of the three to then sight another one. I adopted this plan, and when I came to a fallen tree, over which I had to go, I did not go around, but straight over, still keeping the trees in view. Fortunately I came out right. It was a life and death struggle, and made me cautious in the extreme, for had I lost myself on that occasion, my chances for life would have been small. I reached home at 11.30 that night, and thankful for my escape, fully determined never to try such a foolish thing again at such a late hour in the day. I can scarcely conceive at this distant day how I got through, for I had often lost myself while near home and while not travelling one half the distance.

Wheat, at that time, was the only grain that would command cash, store pay being the order of the day for all other kinds of produce. It was only at certain times that wheat was saleable, the best season being in the spring when navigation was open. Threshing machines were something of the future. We had raised the fourth crop of wheat ere we could hire anyone to thresh it out. The machines used in those days were articles that the people were not forbidden to worship, as they were unlike anything on the earth, or in waters under the earth. The wheel of the horse power was in segments, and continually breaking. There were three breakdowns in threshing that crop of less than one hundred bushels of badly shrunken wheat as the rust had made sad havoc with it. Mr Geo Chisholm had a storehouse on the north side of the bay, a short distance from the beach, where wheat was stored till navigation opened The price received for our first two crops, which were very good, was $1 00 per bushel, oats 25 cents in store pay I may here mention that Waterdown had a very small school but was not behind Hamilton in that respect, there being only one in the latter place, that situated a little east of the Methodist church, corner of King and Wellington streets One church and one school was all that Hamilton could boast of in the educational line in those days Services were held in the Court House by Episcopalians It was ten years after we had settled in East Flamboro before we had a school in our neighborhood It was built by gratis labor in the year 1842, and yet that was destined to be the first free school in the county of Wentworth After considerable exertion, Mr Abraham Binkley and myself accomplished the conversion of the people to the free school system, the Act giving the ratepayers that power having been passed by the Legislature It was the custom in 1832, and for years afterwards, to appoint three commissioners to expend the small government grant given at that time for road improvement Mr Edward Evans, Mr Alexander Brown, and Mr Easton were the gentlemen empowered to see to the expenditure When the District Council was instituted in the year 1842, two councilors were sent from each township as representatives and at that time the Gore district was composed of Halton, Wentworth, Brant, Haldimand and the township of Puslinch, in the county of Wellington In 1850, Township Councils were formed, when the reeves and deputy reeves comprised the County Council, over which the warden, elected from their own number, presided Previous to the formation of the Township and County Councils, the provinces had been united in the year 1841 Charles Baron Sydenham being the first Governor-General

Long before this time, the secularization of the clergy reserves became a burning question, out of which, to a great extent, sprang the rebellion of 1837 The whole country was excited and angry, the people arguing the matter, pro and con, according to their several religious beliefs or political proclivities ; matters came to a crisis with open rebellion in Lower Canada, and, shortly after, in the fall of 1837, William Lyon McKenzie led off in battle at Gallows Hill, Toronto, in which he and his few followers were defeated. Your humble servant reached Toronto by the little steamer Burlington in the afternoon, a little too late to take part in the fray. McKenzie and his followers taking possession of Navy Island caused us once more to take up old "Brown Bess" in behalf of our country. But as this is a matter of history, I will not digress by a lengthy discussion of those unfortunate events, the clergy reserves, as is well known, being secularized in 1854.

It may be interesting to the young people of to-day to get a little insight into the postal arrangements of the good old times, ere railways were even thought of in this, the sunny west. I need scarcely tell you that our winters then were as severe as they now are, and at that inclement season the mails had to be carried overland, on horseback and sometimes on foot. In conversation, thirty years ago, with an old pioneer named Birtch, who had long lived in the neighborhood, he informed me that he carried the mails once a month on horseback, from Toronto to the Talbot settlement on Lake Erie. Nature, by her law of compensation, had formed the man to successfully perform and carry out the arduous and dangerous work appertaining to that of mail carrier in the days of the first settler. He was an old man when I first saw him, small wiry, and lithy as a whip, even in his old age. He said that for a long time Brown and Grierson were the only settlers on the Flamboro Mountain, and there were very few between that locality and Toronto. It appears that the Government had surveyed what is now called Dundas street, having ran a line westward to where London now is and also to the Talbot settlement, the surveying party cutting the underbrush out so as to make a trail. This must have been about 1812, or shortly after that time, from the description he gave of Waterdown Creek and its surroundings with the two inhabitants, and I had every reason to believe in his veracity. He said the greatest difficulty that he had to overcome was in getting over the streams on that wild and weary trail, there being scarcely a bridge over which he could safely pass. In our own day, 1832, the arrival of the mails were very uncertain, and the postage just as fluctuating. A letter from Scotland cost one shilling currency, sometimes eighteen pence. When the postage was reduced to ninepence we thought that we were doing well. On one occasion we heard that there was a letter for us in the Hamilton post office, there being no post office at Waterdown for many years after that time. I went to the former place to secure the letter, and on enquiry, found that I had to pay postage to the amount of three and ninepence before I could get it out of the office. It had gone past the little place called Hamilton, and once off the track it had wandered westward, and through no fault of ours we had to pay for all the extra mileage, receiving it eight months after date.

I may here be permitted to say a few words about the apparel of the people in those days, who generally were dressed in home-made garments. The women went to the meeting houses in their checked flannel dresses (spun and made up by themselves), and with a handkerchief for a bonnet, they jauntily stepped over the threshold quite unconscious of the future artistic attire of the Canadian lady yet to be. The men dressed in full cloth, grey or butternut in color. Frequently in warm weather they would attend the meeting house without their coats, and as a matter of course thought they appeared quite respectable in their shirt sleeves. Broadcloth was entirely out of the question, being found only in the possession of those who had brought it with them from the old land. We had no merchant tailors at the time, only some poor son of the shears travelling from house to house, doing the work as occasion would require. The shoemaker kept scarcely any stock; when a pair of boots was required, the customer would go to the tanner, get the leather and hand it over to be made up into anything but that which might now be called an elegant pair of foot gear.

Improvements were rapidly developed all over the land, the forest giving way in every direction to man's industry and perseverance. Side lines and concessions were opened and improved; leading roads, such as that from Hamilton to Galt, having been macadamized as early as 1842-43. Railways were introduced and completed, the Great Western being fit for traffic as early as 1853. The Northwestern was finished to Georgetown in 1876, and to Barrie in 1878. Post offices were established in every convenient location, and Her Majesty's mails received fast as well as satisfactory transportation. This gave a wonderful impetus to trade all over the country from the east to the far west.

Hamilton, the Birmingham of Canada, leaped with gigantic strides from a small population of eight hundred in 1832 to the pre-

sent population of well on to fifty thousand, and containing workshops and warehouses of every description. What a change in fifty-seven years! An improvement has transpired of which the settlers of to-day have no conception.

The first court house and jail was erected under a statute passed in 1816, chap. 19 of 56 Geo. III, whereby it was enacted "That a gaol and court house for the District of Gore shall be erected on lot number fourteen, in the third concession of the Township of Barton, to be called the Town of Hamilton." This must have been the old log jail and court house; the old stone court house was erected in 1828. I find no statute defining the boundaries of the town earlier than 1833, when chap. 16, of 3rd William IV, was passed, defining the boundaries of the City and dividing the same into four wards. This statute also made provisions for police government, etc., and gave directions for holding the first election on 1st March, 1833. If the boundary was not defined until 1833, although called the Town of Hamilton in 1816, it is evident that until 1833 the population was included with that of the Township of Barton. I can find no record of the number of inhabitants until 1834. The first court was held in 1819.

If we take a retrospective view of this progressive and lovely city, we will perceive that even in the disastrous year 1834, when the second attack of cholera had thinned the ranks of the people, there was a population of about 1,367; in 1836, 2,846; and, in 1837, 3,567. The rebellion breaking out in 1837 brought everything to a standstill, there being no work in the building line, and the best tradesmen were anxious to obtain laboring work at 75 cents per day. In the towns, the poor mechanic suffered fearfully; the country people, however, not feeling the effects of the stagnation to the same extent, in consequence of having raised their own supplies. A decrease in the population had taken place, for we find that in 1841 it was 3,446, less by 121 than that of 1837. Troops were constantly kept in Niagara, Hamilton and many other places until 1843, in case of another outbreak, and I had the honor of wearing Her Majesty's uniform for two years; but, immediately after 1840, the political horizon began to lose its dark and leaden hue, and the change for the better became rapid and encouraging. Hamilton had the honor of being made a city in 1847, and in 1851 we find that the population had risen to 14,112, the County of Wentworth in the same year showing 28,507. A better class of buildings were now being erected in every part of the city, the little foundry owned by Fisher & McQuesten, built in 1835 on the corner of James and Merrick streets, being succeeded by one on Wellington street much larger; while Gurney's foundry, established in 1843, and James Stewart & Co.'s, in 1845, with many other industries at a later period, gave employment to a great number of persons. The people, at that time, ceased to look to Ancaster as their base of supplies. Many fine and capacious churches were built by the various denominations, while a number of schoolhouses which grace the sections of the Ambitious City would do credit to the wealthiest city in Europe.

What a mighty change in fifty seven years! If I, after my arrival, had turned my back on Canada, and in my absence had heard nothing of the wonderful changes which have taken place all all over the country, and if you, Mr. President, with a becoming pride in the wealth and greatness of your native Canada, had invited me to see it to day, I would at once say "This is not the country that I saw fifty seven years ago, it cannot be." I would naturally ask, "Where is the forest? Where are the mighty monarchs of the soil?" You point out to me fertile fields, smiling orchards, substantial houses and outbuildings instead of the crowned kings who held sway for ages. You might, in joyfulness, lead me to the mountain top and say, "Behold the City of Hamilton!" But could I believe it to be the Hamilton that I knew of old, with its four brick buildings and few frame shanties which dotted the muddy streets of the future city. It cannot be, and yet it is, and we love it because it is our own handiwork, the work of the pioneer. We love it because it is our home, and we love it because its soil has been made sacred by the ashes of our fathers.

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS UPON THE ANNUAL REPORT, 1889 90

The Secretary presented the Annual Report. The President in moving its adoption made the following address :—

The report appears to me so complete, and embraces so accurately the leading features of our proceedings during the past year, that it seems needless to enlarge upon it. I would consequently recommend its adoption. I may, however, remark that the operations of the association have been materially retarded and its influence lessened because, as yet no suitable quarters have been secured wherein its property, such as relics, books, papers and manuscripts may be safely deposited. I therefore trust that the incoming council will view this matter of sufficient importance to induce activity on their part towards providing this necessary adjunct to the prosperity of the society.

I may perhaps further venture to suggest that a large field of usefulness seems to me open in the direction of introducing popular histories of this vast Dominion more largely into our common schools. To such an extent has this been neglected or overlooked in the past, that I am convinced the younger generations of our Canadian people are far behind the youth of the neighboring republic, in knowledge of the history of their country and this disparaging comparison between ourselves and our American cousins may, without doubt, be chiefly traced to the popular character of the histories in their common schools. Hence their advantage in this respect is in my judgment a fit subject for emulation. We should, I think, move promptly, but in union and harmony with other associations of kindred pursuit to ours to urge by petition and otherwise upon the Ontario government, and the public school department of that government especially, the great need of improving the existing system, which in many other respects is admirable. And, while referring to this part of the subject I should not fail to notice several interesting discussions during the year, touching the expediency of prizes issuing from the association, for essays upon the constitution and history of our country to be competed for by pupils in the public schools , and, although no complete or definite action has as yet been taken in that direction, I sincerely trust that the time may not be far distant when the society may feel financially strong enough to carry out in fact what so far has only been under discussion To most of you it is doubtless a familiar fact that the county of Wentworth, after which our society was named, once forming part of the old Gore district, would in itself present prolific food for the pens of young men who may be ambitious of becoming future historians of their country, and such laudable ambition should be fostered and strengthened by all the power of this association

One word as to the united action of the several historical and pioneer societies thoroughout the country—and there are many Without unity all are weakened in there efforts to spread more widely patriotic sentiments. With unity their joint influence could, with little exertion, accomplish wonderful results in that direction It was the confederation of scattered provinces that produced our Dominion, and it will be through that sacred union that national dignity may yet be attained. So should there be a confederation of all the historical societies of the country. Their aims and objects are identical, their operations to attain these should be in harmony, and not weakened by sectional aspirations for prominence or perishable fame I trust in this direction, too, some practical measures to effect a larger union may be set on foot during the current year We should, I think, always remember that however puny and insignificant our first efforts have as yet been, we possess the germs within our organization which, with steady perseverance on our part, will in the end—as our members and influence increase—confer immeasurable advantages upon those who come after us, and we will not have failed altogether in our duty if we succeed in even imperfectly laying portions of the edifice with which an affectionate regard for this grand country will be reared and perpetuated

Whether our society had or had not anything to do with stimulating a national sentiment, the fact remains that this year $2,000 were voted by the parliament at Ottawa towards the erection of monuments at Lundy's Lane and Chateauguay, and I am assured

that Burlington heights and Stony Creek will in due time be treated with like consideration, along with other memorable battlefields, until significant memorials shall mark the spots which have furnished the most brilliant chapters of our country's history, and left her sons an inheritance of imperishable loyalty to their possessions and their Queen

NOTES OF AUTOBIOGRAPHY

A paper read before the Wentworth Historical Society

BY THE VERY REV. J G GEDDES, D D

Dean of Niagara.

I was the second son of James Geddes, Assistant Staff Surgeon, and Sarah Hannah Boies Gamble, born in Kingston on the 29th of March 1811 I was one of a family of sixteen, of whom nine daughters and five sons survived and married, all with one exception had families Through my maternal grandmother, Mrs Gamble, I was descended from the U E. Loyalists Her father, Dr Clarke, removed with his family from New York to New Brunswick at the peace of 1783 Here my grandmother married Dr Gamble, Surgeon of the Queen's Rangers, and after fourteen years residence there, she removed to Canada to join her husband then quartered at Niagara She ascended the river St John with her five daughters (of whom my mother was one) in a bark canoe, traversing on foot the portages of the Tamiscouta Route, sheltered only by the heavens and the primeval forest She lived to the age of 92, when her immediate descendants had reached the large number of 204. My mother's family, as already mentioned, numbered sixteen, and of the ten surviving members at the present day the aggregate of ages amounts to the large sum of 750 years

The remarkable longevity of a large number of the American U E Loyalists, who came to the British Provinces after the American Revolution, has been noticed by the Lord Bishop of New Brunswick as a striking instance of the fulfillment of the promise contained in the Fifth Commandment, embracing as that Commandment unquestionably does, the duty of obedience to civil rulers The Gambles and Geddeses may well be counted among the number

I was educated at the Grammar School, Kingston, till I was seventeen years of age I was then appointed to a scholarship in Divinity, under the society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and studied at the Theological College at Chambly till 1834

I was ordained Deacon on the 10th day of August of that year, my father having died of Asiatic cholera on the preceding day Having served three months as Curate to Arch Deacon Stuart, in St. George's Church, Kingston, I was sent as Curate to Three Rivers in Lower Canada Not long after, in the month of March, 1835, I received the appointment of Rector of Hamilton and Barton and parts adjacent, and on the 10th of that month I entered on my charge in which I continued for the long period of forty-five years

The following statistics will illustrate the marvellous changes that occured under my ministry On my arrival I found there was no church in which to worship, and was glad to accept the offer of the Jail and Court House for that purpose The population at this time was about 1500 The number of my first congregation 35, partly accounted for by the fact that many leading church families had pews in the Presbyterian Church and were regular attendants there In December, 1879, when I retired and left the parish in the hands of a Rector in charge and accepted a living in England, I left behind me a population of some 40,000, five churches (including Christ Church Cathedral which had been rebuilt) and as many numerous and prosperous congregations My ministerial acts were as follows marriages solemnized, 1,250, baptisms, 5,186 burials, 3,000 and 1,000 young persons prepared for confirmation My ministry was exercised in times of varied public calamity, viz two visitations of Asiatic cholera, one of ship fever among the emigrants, one of rebellion and one of foreign invasion, and the appalling railway disaster at the Desjardines Canal Bridge Out of the 70 heads of families who were enrolled as members of the Church of England at the organization of the parish in 1835 only two remain in this year of 1889, and out of the first list of communicants in 1836 five only at present are to be found

Among the public offices which I was called to fill were Chaplain to the Jail and Hospital, a Grammar School Trustee associated with Dr Craigie and Father Gordon, member of Trinity College Council, Toronto, Chaplain to the Incorporated Battalion of Militia, commanded by Col Gourlay, also Chaplain to the 47th Regiment and the Rifle Brigade and other Regiments when quartered in Hamilton I was for many years Secretary to the Gore and Wellington Church Society, for many more Clerical Secretary to the Synod of

Toronto, Examining Chaplain to Bishop Bethune, of Toronto; Rural Dean, Prolocutor to the Provincial Synod, Dean of Niagara; Rector of Tatsfield, Surrey, England, member of the Council of the Diocese of Rochester, and, after my return to Canada, Rector in charge of Chippawa.

Between 1884 and 1886, I held missions in the following parishes in England: Leigh, Surrey, Upchurch, Kent, Weedon and Rushton, Northamptonshire, Stanton St. John, Oxford, Birchanger, Hertford, Ashley, Cambridge, Gloucester, and Primrose Hill, Regent's Park, London.

In 1845 I graduated at Kings' College, Toronto, having availed myself of a statute of the University, enabling clergymen, engaged in Parish work to attend examinations without residence or attendance on lectures. I subsequently took an adeundum B. A. at Trinity College and proceeded to my M. A. Subsequently I received from the same University the Honorary Degree of D. C. L.

I twice served on deputations for the Society for Propagating the Gospel—once in 1876 when I visited the following counties: Middlesex, Surrey, Kent, Gloucester, Somerset, Leicester, Oxford, Buckingham, Essex, Wiltshire and Suffolk—In 1880 I spent a fortnight for the same purpose, (advocating the cause of missions) in Cornwall in the following parishes: Salt Ash, Menheniot, St. Dominick, St. Mellion, Callington, St. Twinnel, Truro, Bodmin, Redruth, Kee-Tunis, St. Tudy, St. Bmard, Dandstowe, Camelford, Pillarton, Broadoak, Baconnia, St. Merom, St. Austell.

In 1841, September 23rd, I was married to Susan Davidson, second daughter of the Hon. John Stewart (of Marchmont) in the Cathedral at Quebec by Bishop Mountain, assisted by his Chaplain the Rev. George Mackie. Our children are two sons, John Gamble and George W. Allen, and three daughters, who were married as follows: Hannah Stewart to Constantine Brough, Susan Stewart to Major Phipps, and Mary Allen to Dr. John Walters. My son John married Josephine Magill, and George, Clara Gurnet.

In 1855 we visited England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Prussia and Belgium. In 1866 we again visited England and Scotland, and I was present at the Church Congress at York. In 1876 we again crossed the Atlantic. During this visit I had the honor of an invitation from the Arch Bishop of Canterbury (Dr. Tait) to attend the annual dinner given at Lambeth to the Bishops of

England. In 1880 I was the guest of the present Archbishop of Canterbury (when Bishop of Truro) and had the great privilege of attending (on invitation), his enthronization in Canterbury Cathedral, forming one of a procession of five hundred clergymen in surplices.

Our last visit to England was in January, 1880, when I went to accept the Living of Tatsfield, to which I had been presented by Mr. Leveton Gower, of Titsey. This I resigned in 1884, and after two years' additional in England, and two years' charge of Chippawa, I have returned to end my days in Hamilton, where I have my seat as Dean in the Cathedral.

CHAMPLAIN, THE FATHER AND FOUNDER OF CANADA

Historical Sketch read before the Wentworth Historical Society, Hamilton, Ont , December 2nd, 1890.

BY MRS JOHN ROSE HOLDEN.

BEFORE entering upon the subject of the paper, which I have the honor to lay before you this evening, I feel I must say, how difficult a matter it is, in presenting to such a Society as this, of what is but a simple historical sketch, to do much that may be considered as original work. The dry facts, causes, conditions and results, are all recorded in our Archives by eye-witnesses, contemporary and historical writers both French and English, with such minuteness, that a student of this fascinating pursuit, finds that he or she can only follow into already well developed paths clearly and graphically described by a host of authorities. The mass of writings on early Canadian History is so great that it seems impossible to do much more than grasp a general idea of certain epochs or movements, and form as correct a consensus as possible of the varied lights and shadows thrown upon the pages of our past by interested, and yet opposing recorders of the same event. I have attached a list of the authorities from whose pages I have drawn my information, and whose writings and revelations have deepened and strengthened within me such a firm faith in the grand and certain future of our native land.

No study is so fascinating and impressive as that of History. As the historian sways his magician's wand, the student is carried back to ages gone by, graves are opened and the dead come forth without disturbing their long repose, and present to us heroes, living, talking and performing wondrous actions, whose bodies have slept in the silence and oblivion of ages. We are made familiar with the intrigues of politicians and the stratagems of warriors, and there is nothing public or private in courts or councils to which an historian is a stranger—we see through a vista of ages past the illustrious and immortal personages who have "strutted and fretted" on the troubled stage of life

Canadian History is a subject which has been too long considered so trival and unimportant as to be unworthy the attention of scholars It seemed impossible that much of interest or of value could be found in the account of a country peopled by savages, and that a region only known for about two hundred and fifty years could possibly have anything to teach the Motherland, appeared absurd At one time a vague impression of perpetual snow and ice, Christopher Columbus wrestling over the "egg" problem, feathered Indians, bark wigwams and canoes, blanketted squaws, tomahawks, —mixed with uncertain ideas as to the means of transit, whether horses, reindeer, buffaloes or dogs were most in use—these and similar notions prevailed Yet how different the truth! Canada has a past of which we have every reason to be proud A roll of brave men and women who persevered and struggled for an existence facing fearful odds; heroes who never lost faith in the possibilities and potentialities of their adopted country, encouraged and inspired by women, worthy to be helpmates to such men, very often women delicately nurtured in their maidenhood, in refined British and French homes here in this New World, with all its unprecedented environments, ministered with their own hands, like the Apostle Paul, to the daily necessities of their own households; taught the heathen, fed the hungry, clothed the naked, nursed the sick and dying, and shrank not from the post of duty in the hour of danger, delicate women and brave children, breathing the same heroic atmosphere, could handle a musket or fire a gun in defence of their homes in the wilderness "For God, King and Country," was the watch word in those early days. The farmer as he cleared the forests, ploughed, planted, sowed and reaped, carried his fire arms by his side, unconscious of the old prophecy which he fulfilled of "turning the sword into a pruning hook"

The early history of the Maritime Provinces and that of Upper and Lower Canada, presents a perfect historical antithesis French colonization in Lower Canada represented the Phoenix of Feudalism and Mediaevalism—Church and State wedded together, embodied the dominant idea of despotism, through the arbitrary prerogative of the French Crown, exercised directly upon all matters temporal and spiritual concerning the colony, and individually by the rights and privileges of seigneurial tenure. French colonization limited and crippled by edict and enactment of the Home Government among her own loyal subjects, failed, as in Acadia, first of French settlements, settled by Huguenot thrift and industry and in full promise of self-supporting independence from home help and assistance, was destroyed and crushed by Jesuitical influences. In pursuance of the fatal Home policy in extending her dominions, France lost the supremacy she once held in the New World. The unequal partnership of French trade and commerce with religion, missionary zeal and military glory, merged into the pillage, peculation, rascality, and above all the treason to the Mother Land, of the administration of the Bigot coterie of 1748 to 1760, the effects of which paved the way for the comparatively quiet submission on the part of the French Canadian habitant to British rule and supremacy.

Upper Canada (Ontario) and the Maritime Provinces were permanently settled by British patriots, 45,000, United Empire Loyalists who came over from the United States of America after the war of Independence, and settled in what now is known as Canada—heroes in the great battle of faith, freedom and liberty, which had been upheaving the social and religious elements of Europe, the echoes of which strengthened and encouraged our noble pioneers to “suffer and be strong.” No promised land over flowing with wine, milk and honey tempted these heroes to emigrate in those early days of our history, in such numbers to found new homes for their wives and families in Canada—Canada as reported to them was a land of snow, intense cold, ice-bound, waters dense wilderness and dank swamps full of venomous reptiles, the home of savage beasts and still more savage and vindictive Indians.” The hardships, exposures and privations endured by the Loyalists in making their way from their confiscated homes to Canada were longer and more severe than any Everett has been able to tell us of the New England Pilgrim Fathers, and the persecutions which sent these Fathers of New England voyaging to Plymouth Rock was but a morning shower, when compared to the mobbings and imprisonments, confiscations and death, that fell in savage fury upon the faithful of old England, in the days of the American revolution and drove the remnant that was left into the wilderness of Canada. The Pilgrim Fathers could keep Harvest Home Festival of a week's duration at the end of the first year from their landing. But the Loyalists were in most instances forced to seek a home in Canada without food or shelter, and at a season too late for any clearing of the forest and seed sowing. While the New England Fathers were keeping Harvest Home the Loyalists of Canada were passing through all the rigours of famine.'

Though homeless and almost perishing they carried with them the "Ark of the Covenant' of God with man, counting as their most precious heritage the tables of the law, holy vessels and arms of old England—which they had saved from the burning ruins of their churches and homes in the U. S. of America—thus laying the foundation of our national existence in that 'righteousness which exalteth a nation,' and a freedom and liberty which has not degenerated into the license and lawlessness of a Proletariate, but that which is subject to the command "Render under Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's and unto God the things which are God's." It is this loyalty to "God and King' which has saved to Britain the greater half of the continent of America. And now what is the reality of our position as Canadians? Clothed by the lavish hand of nature, as befits the daughter of Imperial England, Canada stretches from the Atlantic to the Pacific, two hundred miles beyond the U. S. of America, which gives her an area greater than one half of the continent of North America—seas, lakes, rivers, canals, channels traversed by a merchant marine ranking now fourth among nations. If the United States shipping employed on the river and lake trade were included, Canada would rank second in the world; the total tonnage amounting to 4,684,759 tons. Railway communication connecting ocean with ocean, and a steamship service which links the hoary Eastern World with her young life. These two great arteries of commerce and civilization, with innumerable loop lines, vein the country in every direction—telegraph, postal and telephone systems, banks, public schools, colleges and universities, where women can enjoy the same educational privileges as man—private and technical schools in arts and sciences, steam and electricity, hand maidens of travel and the press, daily bring knowledge to the humblest—public libraries, churches, in number outvying any other institution, all testify to the brain, energy, integrity and pluck of the Anglo-Saxon race when aided by public and private enterprise The immense wealth of our mineral and natural productions lies far beyond the limits of this sketch

Having had this passing sketch of Canada of to-day, let us now go back to the 17th century A new phase in the evolution of the world's history was then unfolding, viz.– The second great emigration of the populations of the old world, dating from the dawn of christianity The first great convulsion was the overthrow, destruction and dismembering of Imperial Rome, by the Goths, Vandals and Huns, when ancient civilization, corrupted by effeminacy and profligacy, gave way before the brute force and rapacity of the barbarian, enthralling Europe for many centuries in a pall of ignorance and superstition, which was only dispelled by the penetrating light of the great Renaissance. The spirit of commerce, guided by the mysterious mariner's compass, had led navigators and bold adventurers beyond all known limits. Love of conquest and the power of the sword alone led to new discoveries in the old world The spirit of commerce and missionary zeal has in modern times opened up the continent of America and that of Africa in our own days Canada in particular fell under these new influences Frances I, king of France, fired by the fabulous tales of the riches and wealth found in the New World by the Spaniard and Portuguese, determined to dispute the assumed right the soverigns of Spain and Portugal laid to the entire new country rediscovered by Columbus, and commissioned Jacques Cartier to start on a voyage of discovery and claim all he could in the name of the French king. La Nouvelle France was the name then given to the vast and rich maratime domain, which we now know as the Maratime Provinces Cartier was a discoverer, he left the land very much as he found it Not until 1603 came Samuel de Champlain, the man of destiny to Canada, a man who has been described as "soldier, sailor, engineer, naturalist and statesman," with the heart and soul of a hero, the pure faith of a child, the courage of a warrior and zeal of a crusader, came the Father and Founder of Canada Champlain came of a family of fishermen, and upon the bosom of the restless ocean he early imbibed the love of adventures, and the fearless spirit which so distinguished him He was born of Huguenot parents at Brouage, a small seaport on the Bay of Biscay There is no record of his baptism, but his birth may be dated at 1567 Samuel was at that time a name never given to Roman Catholics, and was confined to the

Huguenots. The strict observance of the "Registres Civiles," is known. It is part of French national life, that the name of every Roman Catholic child should be enrolled on its pages. Again, in 1610, he entered into a contract of marriage with Helene Boule, who was a Protestant at the time of her betrothment, no record of the marriage in the "Registres" is to be found, so that when the ceremony took place a Protestant minister must have officiated. He was not only a naval captain but had also served as a soldier, fighting during the wars of the League, under that soldier of soldiers Henry of Navarre. The reign of Henry 4th, dates all that is great in modern France, at that period there were three great factions or parties in France. The party of the League, determined on the supremacy of the Pope, extermination of all heretics and religious unity. Second the zealous Huguenots, or Protestant, a quarter of the population of France, who having received no toleration gave none. The middle or third party, composed of moderate Catholics and Protestants, who before everything else were Frenchmen, whose strongest feelings were those for the welfare of their country. Each of these parties in its turn has left its impress on our country, and we find the national progress of the Province of Quebec to-day dwarfed and hindered by the followers of the same parties striving against one another in civil and political issues. First, the ultramontane or Jesuit, second, Protestants, third, the Gallican or native priesthood, who from love of their country would gladly allow the Protestant equal rights and freedom to worship God according to dictates of conscience. It should be noted *en passant* that the temperance cause which now wields such an influence in church and state, also in the days of Champlain, during the period of the one hundred associates, rent the feeble colony almost to disruption. Champlain, previous to his first voyage to Canada, had visited the West Indies, at that time a region of mystery from which Spanish jealousy excluded all foreigners. His adventures here occupied him more than three years. Champlain kept a diary and on his return to France drew up a manuscript, which was circulated and attracted the attention of King Henry, who bestowed upon him the title of "Geographer of the King," and granted him a small pension in recognition of his services as a naturalist. It is only within the last thirty years that this manuscript was discovered, it was published in 1870, brought out under the auspices of Laval University, and is contained in the Laval University edition of his work While at Panama his bold and active mind conceived the plan of a ship canal across the Isthmus, an idea, which 250 years later the great modern engineer of the world, Lesseps, has yet hopes of accomplishing. Upon his return to France from the West Indies, Champlain was induced by De Chastes, a pronounced Huguenot, who was then organizing an expedition to New France, to accept a position in the new company, and he joined Pont grave (also a Huguenot) in extending among savage tribes the Christian faith, " *Fey Christienne*," not " *Catholique and Romaine*," as given by Jesuit interpolators. Champlain is his own historian, and by his life and writings posterity judges him At that time no test of religious orthodoxy was necessary to join the expedition, and there is little doubt of the evil consequences of the departure from this rule, when at a latter period it was determined to exclude from the country all but professing Roman Catholics

1603 Two small vessels were equipped of twelve and fifteen tons burden, and like little sparks on the broad Atlantic, they crossed the stormy deep and sailed up the lovely St Lawrence, around whose lofty scenery much of the romance and legend of Indian races is associated, passed Tadousac, Orleans, the glittering cataract of Montmorenci and the giant rock of Stadacona into Lake St Peter, with its lovely archipelago, on to the Island of Montreal All was solitude, not a vestige of Stadacona or Hochelaga and their friendly populations described by Cartier, remained Champlain ascended Mount Royal, and beheld the transcending beauty of the scene around him. Looking towards the west, the majestic St Lawrence rolled on its eastward course to the sea, as it issued from Lake St. Peter, careering in mad frolic over the rapids of the " Sault " to the northwest the Ottawa glided and gleamed through the wooded plains and seemed to beckon the gazer with all the magnetic force of fresh discovery. Directly south, the future " Eastern Townships," with their many mountains, stood like guardian sentinels, protecting the treasures of the land till the coming of their rightful heritors. With the prescience of the founder of a nation, Champlain realized the immense possibilities of the new world, and with prophetic vision pierced the veil of the future, like Moses of old, from afar off he was granted a vision of the new " Promised Land," as it seemed to him for the persecuted Protestant children of France A fortified post might be built here, where as from a secure basis, the waters of the vast interior might be traced back to their source and a western route discovered to China and Japan, another of Champlain's grand prophetic glimpses, which the Canadian Pacific Railway of to day has fulfilled The very spot chosen by him, Lachine and Caughnawaga opposite sides of the river, now support terminal arches of the steel bridge spanning the St. Lawrence, connecting the south eastern traffic with the west and north-west This bridge must not be confused with the Grand Trunk tubular bridge which spans the river at St Lamberts on the south, and Point St Charles (Montreal Island) on the north. It was in 1603 that Champlain's much criticised yet famous alliance was made at Tadousac with the Algonquin races against the Iroquois, or powerful confederation of Six Nations It must be recollected that hostility between these nations existed long before Champlain entered the country, a long exterminating war between the native tribes had been raging He recognized the necessity of attaching himself and his cause to one side of the struggle in order to gain assistance in future discoveries The settlements of Stadacona and Hochelega no doubt were destroyed by hostile tribes

Kingsford writes : " It was not Champlain's policy which was at fault, ' the Mother Country was to blame. The fashionable influences of the French Court enabled the Jesuits to dictate the policy with respect to Canada. Their attempt was to establish the undisputed supremacy of the Church Champlain wanted soldiers, and by gaining over the friendly Indians by alliance and organizing them, win them over to Christianity and then civilize them If this had been done we would not read of the annihilation of the Huron race, the ruin of the Jesuit missions and the murder of the five missionaries, the latter events took place fifteen years after Champlain's death Returning (in 1603) to France, he found that his patron De Chastes was dead The King had appointed as his successor De Monts also a Huguenot. A new expedition sailed in 1604, its aim being to establish colonists cultivate the soil, search for mines, build forts and towns, and confer grants of land A large number of the company were Protestants, and by the terms of their charter all were allowed free exercise of their own faith but were bound to protect the Roman Catholic religion, and provision was made to convert the savages to that faith Only one of the two vessels passed Tadousac. De Monts and Champlain passed a disastrous winter in Acadia. In 1605 they returned to France, sailing again for Canada in 1608, when upon his arrival at Quebec Champlain writes, "I searched for a proper place for habitation." In the following year, 1609, he was solicited by his allies the Algonquins, Hurons and Montagnais Indians to assist them in a war against their enemies, the Iroquois. Champlain thought this was the moment to reconcile these savage tribes, or alienate them forever. With two or three Frenchmen, guided and accompanied by his savage friends, they ascended the Richelieu River in canoes and reached Lake Champlain, the first white man who saw its waters, the shores of which river and lake proved to be for one hundred and sixty years the battle ground and scene of contest between Indians and white men, French and English, the New England colonies and our Mother Country. In 1609 the scene of so many future warlike expeditions was a vast wilderness, possessed only by the deer and beaver, which Champlain tells us abounded. On the 29th of July, about ten o'clock, they met the enemy. The Iroquois disembarked from their canoes, two hundred in number, headed by three powerful chiefs, tall men covered with a kind of armour made of hardened twigs. They greatly outnumbered the allies and marched with proud assurance, like Goliath to meet David. When they came within shooting distance, Champlain armed cap-a-pie, in glittering steel, advanced alone to within three paces of the chiefs, who stared in mute astonishment at the wonderful apparition confronting them. Champlain, suddenly discharging his arquebus, killed two of the chiefs and dangerously wounded a third. Immediately one of the Frenchmen discharged his weapon, which so astonished the savages that they fled in confusion, broke their ranks and scattered in every direction, leaving behind them their camp, canoes and provisions. Champlain quaintly says: "They did not run to save their lives," but because they believed that they were contending with "supernatural beings." In the fall of the year, Champlain returned to France, and in March 1610 again set sail for Quebec with a number of artisans. He went to Three Rivers, and with his Indian allies, joined in another battle with the Iroquois. This time he was severely wounded in his neck by an arrow, but the enemy were defeated, all killed or made prisoners. Having again returned to France, he brought out with him Madam de Champlain, a gentle lovely woman who was much beloved by all the colony and the trading Indians during her sojourn of four years in Canada, when at the end of that time she was obliged through ill health to return to France. St. Helen's Island opposite to Montreal was named after this lady. In 1611 Chaplain made a settlement at the foot of Mount Royal, a trading post, on the spot where the Montreal Custom House now stands. He describes the spot unmistakeably in his account of voyage 1612. When, thirty years later Maisonneuve took possession of the Island of Montreal in the name of "Les Associes de Montreal," he but carried out Champlain's idea. Thus our hero may be considered the founder of Montreal as well as of Quebec.

The assassination of Henry the fourth by Ravillac, a Jesuit priest (1610), exercised grave influences on the fortunes of Canada. France was unsettled, the Jesuits were begining to be all powerful at Court and aimed only at the establishment of their authority, and by following out this policy in La Nouvelle France, brought the colony to the verge of destruction. The sad story of the settlement of Acadia proves the fatality of Jesuit interference and rule. In 1613 we read of New England and New France colonists in North America disputing about the boundary line and the "Fishery Question." Even in our own young country, we find history deigns to repeat herself. It is during this year (1613) Champlain worked his way up the Ottawa River from Montreal, about 200 miles, to the site of Fort Colonge, the gathering place at that time of the Ottawa Indians. Here he heard of the Nipissing and Huron Indians and entered into trading relations with them. In 1615 Champlain left France, bringing with him four Recollet priests. This Order is now represented in the Province of Quebec by what is known as the "Gallican Church." Arriving at Quebec a church was built, the first "mass" being celebrated in the presence of Champlain and the friendly Indians. The Fathers Denis and Joseph (Recollets), after having set up their portable altar on the river shore near Montreal, chanted mass. The savages were lost in admiration of the ceremonies, vestments of the officiating priests and ornaments of the service. The same year the great explorer set out in the direction of the Huron Indians, passing the limits of his former expedition he reached the mouth of Mattawan River 300 miles above Montreal, and turning up that stream along the Huron trail, he at length reached Lake Nipissing where now stands the important railroad town of North Bay, and proceeded on to Georgian Bay and Lake Huron, where he again joined the Hurons against the Iroquois, when he was wounded and obliged to retreat, and winter with the Indians. Up to 1619 little progress was made in the colony, concord did not exist, strife between the Huguenots and Roman Catholics continued, old religious beliefs were fought out on new soil, the conversion of the Indians much retarded if not altogether arrested by the unseemly quarrels of the two parties, each of which claimed to be the true followers of the "Prince of Peace." It is about this time that we read of the first "habitant," Louis Hebert. Those who had previously visited Canada had been traders and adventurers, the white men who had remained with the Indians affected their mode of life, so much so, that a class sprang up called "Coureurs des Bois" and "Voyageurs." The population at this time in Quebec was between fifty and sixty French, all connected with the traffic of the day, "the Pelleterie" or fur trade. Champlain had endeavored to open up timber traffic and had taken samples to France, but in this effort he failed. In 1627 we first read of a plough being drawn by oxen, all cultivation of land heretofore having been accomplished by human labor. This primitive method is still much in vogue in what is known as the "French counties," parts of the Province of Quebec both northeast and southeast of the St. Lawrence, where all the population is French and French only, and where we find the old fashions, habits and opinions of their forefathers still in full vogue.

In 1628, the Kirke brothers were commissioned by the King of England to destroy the French establishments in Canada. On the eighteenth of July David Kirke sailed up the St. Lawrence to Quebec and summoned Champlain to surrender. The little colony had been almost forgotten by the Home authorities and were starving, each reduced to a ration of seven ounces of pease flour per day and not fifty pounds of ammunition in the magazine. Champlain made such a defiant answer that Kirke, thinking him better provisioned and garrisoned retired after burning the barracks at Tadousac. The new Company of one hundred Associates were sending out supplies of every description and new colonists, but their vessels were captured by the Kirke brothers. The following year, David Kirke a second time appeared before Quebec, when Champlain, no longer able to hold out against the neglect of the Home authorities, was forced to surrender. On the 22nd of July, 1629, the lilies of France gave way to the red cross of England, and for the first time the banner of old England floated over the bastions of Quebec, amid volleys of guns from the anchored English vessels. Quebec was restored to France in 1632 by the Treaty of St. Germain en Laye. While in France during the interval, Champlain published a complete history of what had transpired in Canada from the foundation of the colony. In 1633 Cardinal Richelieu invested him again as Governor of Canada, and the father of this country joyfully returned to the land of his adoption, bringing with him two hundred persons, seamen and colonists, and two Recollets. July fourth, the town of Three Rivers (Trois Riviers) was founded. August thirteenth, Fort Richelieu (Sorel) founded. It was in pursuance of a vow Champlain erected a chapel called "Notre Dame de la Recouvrance," in memory of the recovery of the country and deliverance from shipwreck.

Christmas day, 1635, marked a day of grief and sorrow in the annals of New France. In a chamber of the old Fort of St. Louis, breathless and cold, lay the hardy frame, which war, the wilderness and the sea had buffeted so long in vain. At the age of sixty eight the Father and Founder of the Country lay dead.

All the morn the wan white mist is creeping,
Round the lone far habitation;
And the snow falls unceasing!
Heaven's sign of sympathy!
Pain is in the air—the year is dying;
Pain is on the faces of the crowd;
One—the Country's well beloved, is lying
In his shroud.

He is lying in a lighted chamber
The true heart and brave!
To all noble things devoted solely—
So he strays in fields of asphodel
Underneath the smile of God most holy,
Faring well!

Oh! be sure the dear Lord came to greet him
This true knight who did his cause espouse
Bending down with glad sweet words to greet him
To His home.

There is much to be learned from the review of such a life. A young man when he landed first on Laurentian shores, almost the same age as Wolfe when he gained immortal fame on the plains of Abraham, his heroic perseverance and calm endeavor of purpose, in spite of the weakness of his resources, neglect of Home authorities, sickness, hunger, rigorous climate and death of followers, combined with his deep religious life, rank him as "Chevalier sans peur et sans reproche." Thirty years of such continuous efforts to establish the Colony of Canada, testify to the perseverance and strength of his character. He added immense possessions to the crown of France, not by the power of the sword, so much as by the power of his daily Christian life. He may be ranked as the first missionary to the Indians, living among them and daily teaching them the truths of Christianity, he labored unceasingly with the help of the Recollets brothers to convert the Indians. His death was a sad blow to the Hurons, over whom he exercised unbounded influence. Suspicious of the influence of the Jesuits, he encouraged the less ambitious Orders in the Church to carry on missionary work. His manuscript, illustrated by maps and drawings, bear testimony of his fidelity as an author and ability as a writer. The hero of modern times to whom we can compare Champlain, is General Gordon. "True soldier and true statesman, whose object was ever the welfare of the country over which he governed, who in war sought not the glory of victory, but the riches of peace—soldier without shame or reproach, statesman of unsullied honor and integrity." A man who conquered savages and founded our Canada by vanquishing so few!

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CANADIAN HISTORY

Read before the Wentworth Historical Society

BY THE HON. DONALD MACINNES

PART I

FEELING convinced that no subject can be more instructive and interesting, or a knowledge of it of greater importance than the history of one's country, I have consented, at the request of your President and other members of the Wentworth Historical Society, to write a paper on the History of Canada. I have not undertaken this duty without reluctance and misgiving, because my own reading and study of the subject have not been such as to warrant a belief that I am able to convey much instruction to others; I have, therefore, at the outset to crave your indulgence; all that I shall attempt is to take a rapid glance at some of the most important events in the history of our country from its discovery and early settlement down to the conquest and the treaty of Paris, 1763.

I shall draw your attention to the various histories which have been written and to the various sources of information within my knowledge, and should I succeed in so interesting others as to induce a perusal of them, I shall feel that my paper has been of some use. My comments are intended to be purely of a national, historical and non partisan character.

Although the physical geography of our country must already be familiar to you, I think it well to commence by taking a glance at its enormous area, its fertile plains, its great lakes, rivers and mountains. The area is 3,740,253 square miles; it is greater than that of the United States excluding Alaska, and within 329,747 square miles of being as large as the whole of Europe. I venture the statement that the fact of the area of Canada being larger than that of the United States proper, or being very nearly as large as the whole of Europe, is not generally realized even in Canada. It most certainly is not outside of Canada, either in the United States or in England, and this too after losing a considerable slice of a most valuable territory down by the sea. The Ashburton Treaty did that; American diplomacy is certainly more successful than English diplomacy, at all events as regards this continent, and more recently we lost the Island of San Juan on the Pacific Coast, that was left to the arbitration of a great king, the Emperor of Germany, and his decision was in favor of American contentions, and their diplomacy was again triumphant

The fertile belt of our North West was described in the deed of surrender by the Hudson Bay Company at the time that country was transferred to Canada, as bounded on the south by the International Boundry, on the west by the Rocky Mountains, and on the north by the North Saskatchewan, and on the east by Lake Winnipeg, Lake of the Woods, and waters connecting them; but it is now established beyond a doubt that the fertile belt extends an average of one hundred miles north of the North Saskatchewan along its whole length, and that as we proceed westward along the River the fertile agricultural area extends much farther in a northerly direction, reaching the Peace River and the Athabasca valley as the mountains are approached, an area sufficient to support a farming and pastoral population vastly greater than the whole of the present population of Canada It contains within it no less than two hundred and seventy million acres of land, susceptible of cultivation and with a propitious climate

There is nothing in the known world to equal the marvelous chain of great lakes which are either wholly within our own territory or lying along its borders They are Lakes Ontario, Erie, Huron, Superior, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Great Slave, Great Bear and Mistassini, besides numerous smaller ones. The four first named lie along our borders, and of these Lake Superior is the greatest, its area is 32,000 square miles, and Lake Ontario is the most beautiful (Ontario is its Indian name and means "beautiful water") its area is 7,300 square miles or about the same area as that of the Island of Jamaica. The other lakes, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Great Slave, Great Bear, are within our Northwest Territory, and Lake Mistassini in our Northeast Territory This latter lake may be said to be of recent discovery, public attention was first drawn to it when the members of the British Association visited Canada in 1888 The Chairman of the Geographical Section, Sir Henry Lefroy, alluded to it in his address It is worthy of mention that the water of these lakes are singularly pure and clear

The rivers are The St Lawrence, the St John, the Restigouche and Miramichi in the East, the two Saskatchewans, Assiniboine and Red River in the West, the Mackenzie, the Peace and the

Churchill in the North, the Kootenay the Columbia and the Fraser in British Columbia The Mountain Ranges, extending 3000 miles from north to south, are the Rockies, the Selkirks and the Cascades The grandeur and scenery of these mountains are unsurpassed in any part of the world, the Canadian Pacific Railway crossing them on its way from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean These mountains, besides the regions at the head of Lake Superior, are known to abound in rich mines of silver, copper nickel iron and gold

British Columbia, on the Pacific coast, possesses a considerable area of agricultural lands and valuable forests of timber, and its climate delightfully mild

The Island of Vancouver contains rich mines of coal of a superior quality San Francisco and other cities in California on the Pacific coast get their supplies of coal mainly from these mines

To make the sketch of the physical features of our country more complete I should also take a rapid glance at old Canada At Ontario with its temperate climate, its fertile soil producing wheat and every kind of cereals as well as fruits, peaches, apples, grapes, etc, growing in the open fields in great abundance At Quebec with its great manufacturing possibilities, as well as its agricultural and mining resources At the Maritime Provinces with their rich mines of coal, iron and gold And lastly at Newfoundland with its great fishery interests It is the oldest of British colonies and its importance can hardly be over-rated as the nursery of colonial and British seamen from its discovery down to the present time These vast possessions are the inheritance of Canadian British freemen, under the aegis of one of the most powerful and greatest of nations, with the most perfect freedom to mould their own destinies Surely no people could be blessed with greater opportunities and if true to their own past history and achievements, it requires no prophet to foresee that they must make of this vast domain a great and powerful Canadian British nation, and that within the lives of men now living

It should be remembered that in 1820 Canada and the Australias were only geographical expressions with a population of about half a million, they now contain ten millions. The people of the United States then numbered less than ten millions and are now over sixty millions

This magnificent country which I have endervored to describe was a *terra incognita* to the nations of Europe until the discovery of Labrador and the Island of Newfoundland by John Cabot in 1497, and the beginnings of its colonization and settlement under French rule were laid in the 16th and 17th centuries. Columbus, who steered a southerly course, touched at San Salvador in the Bahamas in 1492, five years' prior to Cabot's discoveries in the north.

A brief reference to the condition of European nations at the period under review, the various courses pursued by them regarding new discoveries and acquisitions on this continent, the motives which actuated them and the trend of the events which followed will be more clearly understood and appreciated. Indeed, the history of Canada is so interwoven with that of European nations that in order to make the narrative properly understood and clear, a continual reference to the explorations, discoveries and conquests by the Spanish, Portuguese and French in South America, as well as the explorations, discoveries and settlements by the English in that portion of North America which has since become United States territory, is necessary.

With the revival of learning and the invention of the compass there was a general awakening of the western nations. About the 15th century Spain, Portugal and Holland, envious of the enormous wealth of the Italian republics, strove to take away their monopoly. This could only be done by finding a new way to the east by the open sea; they could not compete with the Italian merchants in the close waters of the Mediterranean. Christopher Columbus, a citizen of Genoa, who was doubtless well versed in all that was then known in science and geography, and as his own countrymen naturally did not wish him to engage in adventures which would open the western route to the Indies to the destruction of their own trade monopoly, offered his services to Ferdinand and Isabella. He was entrusted with a vessel and crew mostly convicts and criminals. They set sail from the harbor of Palos, in Portugal, their friends taking a sad farewell of them never expecting to see them again. When he touched first at San Salvador, October 12th, 1492, he thought that he had reached India, the Japanese and Malayan archipelagoes of the far east. In thus thinking he altogether miscalculated the earth's size. The great Pacific Ocean and the enormous continent of America were never known to Columbus. On this voyage he visited Cuba and some of the neighbouring islands, and sailed back to Europe.

To the Spaniards the returning discoverer seemed as one risen from the dead, and a most enthusiastic reception was given to him by the Queen and the nation. The spell was now broken and mariner after mariner followed Columbus' tracks and course westward.

Newfoundland, as has been already observed, is the oldest of British colonies. The events which have recently transpired and the misunderstandings which are taking place between the Government of the Island, the Mother Country and France, are of the greatest importance and are especially interesting to us. These misunderstandings appear to be reaching a crisis at the present time, but Great Britain, who may rightly be termed *Pax Britannica* will doubtless arrive at a peaceful settlement and understanding with the Islanders themselves and with the French nation. The bait required by the fishermen in the Newfoundland fisheries enters largely into these disputes. I take the liberty, as it is germain to the subject of my paper, to quote the following extract from a most interesting article on Newfoundland by Lady Blake—published in one of the periodicals of the day—after describing how stringent laws had been passed to prevent permanent settlement being made on the Island, with a view to prevent the formation of family ties in a land which England then sought to keep merely as a fishery station, and a nursery for her seamen, Lady Blake writes:

'Fishing is the staff of life in Newfoundland, and cod is the only denizen of the deep acknowledged to be fish in the Island. In a conversation with a fisherman one day, we enquired as to his luck so far that year, 'I have taken a sight o' salmon,' was his answer, 'but no fish yet this season.' When the capelin (a small fish used for bait) strikes the coast, it is a gay and picturesque sight to see the shores of the various bays thronged with an eager crowd ladling the glittering mass of little silver fish about the size of spratts into carts and baskets. The sea is alive with capelin swarming in headlong haste and heedless of the destruction which awaits them on land—whence they come and whither they go is unknown; possibly they resolve on committing suicide on the first land they encounter rather than fall into the jaws of the rentless whales that follow in their wake. They are a very delicate fish to eat and a bait irresistible to cod. When the capelin have disappeared their place as bait is supplied by herrings, and after these arrive the squid. The latter are in great shoals, and they individually measure about six inches when the shoals are first seen, and attain almost a foot and a half in length when like the capelin they disappear and are no more seen"

John Cabot, to whom allusion has been already made as the discoverer of Newfoundland, 1497, emulated by the example of Columbus obtained a charter from Henry VII conferring privileges on himself and his three sons, Lewis, Sebastien and Sanctus I think it worth while to quote what was written by an Italian named Soncius to the Duke of Milan concerning Cabot's intentions and objects He writes "The Englishmen, Cabot's partners, say that they can bring so many fish that his kingdom will have no more business with Iceland, and that from this country there will be a great trade in fish, but John Cabot has his thoughts directed to a greater undertaking for he thinks of going after the place is occupied along the coast further to the East till he is opposite the Island called Cipango (Japan) situate in the equinoctial region, where he believes all the spices grow and where there are also gems, and in the spring he says His Majesty will arm some ships and will give him all the convicts so that he may go to this country and plant a colony there, and in this way he hopes to make London a greater place for spices than Alexandria and the principals of this business are citizens of Bristol, great mariners who now know where to go They say that the voyage will not take more than fifteen days if fortune favors them after leaving Herma (Ireland), and I believe some poor Italian friars will go on this voyage who have the promise of being made bishops, and I, being a friend of the Admiral if I wished to go could have an archbishopric!"

Cabot evidently designed to reach the far East, the land of Cipango (Japan) had a marvelous fascination on the minds of all geographers and explorers, for here was the El Dorado, the treasure house of the world, but in the absence of maps or exact knowledge of geography they all miscalculated the distance John Cabot was not destined to discover this golden region of Cipango, but coasting along the shores of Labrador he came to Newfoundland, here fisheries were discovered infinitely richer than those of Iceland, here was opened up a new world of enterprise to the sailors of Great Britain, which has lasted from the date of Cabot's discovery to the present time—a gold or a diamond mine may be exhausted, but the harvest of the sea goes on forever—such was the substantial El

Dorado which Cabot and the British adventurers chanced upon, with them also rests the honor of first seeing the American continent. He returned to England, got a second charter from Henry VII in 1498, giving him authority to trade and colonize, and on his voyage he went in his search for the Northwest passage as far as Hudson's Straits, where he was turned back by the ice. In Henry the Eighth's reign his son Sebastian procured a royal charter, and, with Sir Thomas Pest again attempted the Northwest passage to India by Hudson Straits. It remained for the Canadian Pacific Railway to solve this problem. That company by its steamers on the Pacific Ocean and its railway across the American Continent, through Canada, is enabled to transport mails and passengers in twenty-one days from China to London.

Cabot, after his return to England became the governor of a company of merchant adventurers, received a pension from the Crown, and died at a ripe old age. Purchas, a writer of works of travel, and himself a noted traveler of that era, says that America should not be so called from Americus Vespucius, but rather Cabotiana or Sebastiana, after John and Sebastian Cabot.

MacGregor, the historian of British America, has written thus concerning Newfoundland: "For two centuries and a half after its discovery by Cabot, Newfoundland was of more mighty importance to Great Britain than any other colony, and it is doubtful if the British Empire could have risen to its great and superior rank among the nations of the earth, if any other power held Newfoundland. It undoubtedly occupies a strategic point as the outpost of America, and the key to the St. Lawrence, and the nursery of the colonial marine."

Cabot, by his discovery of Newfoundland in 1497, had given England a prior claim by right of discovery to the continent of North America. In 1540 Francis de la Roque, Lord of Roberval, obtained from the French king a commission as Lord and Viceroy, with full authority over the immense territories and islands which were in the Gulf and along the River St. Lawrence. This clashed with the charter of the Cabots, given them by Henry VII and VIII, assigning to them all lands that might be discovered, with sole right to trade.

In June 1578, a royal charter was given to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, with license to discover such remote lands as were not actually possessed by any christian king or people, and to hold and occupy the same for himself and his heirs. But it was not till 1583 that he unfolded the flag of England in the Island of Newfoundland and exacted homage from the fishing fleet. In 1655 New France meant according to French claims, Newfoundland, Labrador, Acadia Canada and the country to the west. A continual rivalry was thus kept up between the English and the French for the possession and control of Newfoundland and its fisheries.

The first attempt at organized settlement was made in 1624, when Lord Baltimore (Sir George Calvert) obtained a special patent for the southern promontory of the Island, to which it is said he gave the name of "Avalon" after the hallowed spot in the west of England, where, according to legend, Joseph of Arimathea took refuge, carrying with him the holy grail.

Sir David Kirk (of whom we shall hear more) became grantee of the Newfoundland settlement, and lived and died there. During the civil war he offered King Charles an asylum in Newfoundland, of which he might have availed himself, and, like King Arthur in the Island valley of Avalon, healed himself of his grevious wounds, if Cromwell had spared his head. Prince Rupert upon Kirke's invitation, set sail for Avalon to recruit his fleet there from amongst the hardy fisherman, but he was compelled to abandon his intention as a fleet of the commonwealth was sent to intercept him.

The first appointment of a regular Governor was made in 1728; prior to that there was no regular Government. Power was vested in a class of sea captains styled Admirals and who, according to the order of the arrival of their ships in any harbor, were admiral, vice admiral and rear admiral of the port. They were servants of the merchants who sent them out, and were coarse and illiterate. In 1715 a representation to the Home Government was made, asking for the appointmt of a regular Governor, which was done as stated in 1728.

By the Treaty of Ryswick in 1702 various places on the south coast, of which Placentia was the French capital, were kept in possession of the French, and in 1702 they held nearly the whole of the Island in their possession. The Treaty of Utrechet, 1713, secured the complete sovereignty of England, but it conceded certain fishery rights which have been a continual source of trouble ever since, down to the present day.

If the great English minister Pitt had been in office at the period of the Treaty of Paris, in 1762, these rivalries about Newfoundland and the fisheries, and the troubles and disputes arising therefrom, in place of being living issues, would have been then set at rest and would in all probability be past history to the present generation.

In 1761, during the negotiations for peace between England and France, the French minister while negotiating with Pitt who was then in power, had made a secret treaty with Spain, known as the family compact, having for its object the union of the various members of the House of Bourbon in common resistance to the then growing power of England. Pitt divined the secret treaty and soon found evidence of it. He resolved at once to demand a full explanation from Spain, and, failing to receive a satisfactory reply attack her at home and abroad before she was prepared. He laid his plans before a Cabinet council, there being present: Earl Bute, Duke of Newcastle, Earl Greenville, Earl Temple and others of the ministry. Pitt urged his views with great warmth. "This," he exclaimed, "was the time for humbling the whole House of Bourbon." His recommendations did not prevail and he resigned.

Power fell to Bute, and great was the fall! The mass of the nation were with the defeated minister. The financial condition of France was desperate; her people were crushed with taxation. The French minister, Choiseul, felt the need of immediate peace, and George III and Bute were hardly less eager for it to avert the danger of Pitt's return to power, and give free scope to their schemes for strengthening the prerogative of the crown, concerning which they were more anxious than for the welfare and prosperity of the nation.

In September, 1762, negotiations for peace were resumed. In November the plenipotentiaries of England, France and Spain agreed on the preliminaries of peace. The points interesting to us are that France ceded to Great Britain all her possessions on the North American continent east of the River Mississippi, except the city of New Orleans and a small adjacent district. She renounced her claims to Acadia, the Island of Cape Breton and all other islands in the Gulf and River St. Lawrence subject to certain restrictions. France was left free to fish in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and off a part of Newfoundland, and two little islands, St. Pierre and Miquelon, were given her as fishing stations on condition that she should not fortify or garrison them. The effect of their concession has been to furnish a bone of contention and to perpetuate the troubles and disputes about Newfoundland and its fisheries down to this day and generation. In December, when the question of approving the preliminaries came up before both Houses of Parliament, Pitt, confined by gout was not present till late in the day, when the House was startled by repeated cheers from outside. The doors opened and the fallen minister entered carried in the arms of his servants and followed by an applauding crowd. He spoke for about three hours, sometimes with a burst of power, sometimes with the accents of pain and exhaustion. He highly commended the retention of Canada, but denounced the leaving to France a share of the fisheries. Had Britain's greatest statesman been at the helm at that period, it is safe to say that all cause for future trouble and disputes concerning them would then have been swept away.

I think it will be interesting, and clear the ground as it were, if we take a rapid glance at the explorations and easy conquests in South America by the Spanish and Portuguese, before recounting the story of the struggles, difficulties and hardships encountered by the English and French to found colonial empires in the North.

We are apt to forget that England as a European power, in the 15th and 16th centuries, held a secondary place as compared with other European powers, notably Spain and Portugal and even Holland. Spain and Portugal were the most powerful, and their American possessions were vastly greater than those of any other nation.

In the early history of America charters and concessions were granted to favored individuals and companies with a lavish hand.

In May, 1493, the year succeeding Columbus' discovery of the Bahamas, Pope Alexander issued a *Bull* in which with a grand simplicity he drew an imaginary line from the north to the south pole, one hundred leagues west of the Azores, assigning to Spain all that lay west of the boundary, while all to the east of it was confined to Portugal. This imaginary geographical definition was not accepted by other nations, Frances I, of France, exclaimed, "*What*, shall the Kings of Spain and Portugal divide all America between them without suffering me to take a share as their brother? I would fain see the article in Adam's will that bequeathed this vast inheritance to them."

Sir Edward Creasy, in his fifteen decisive battles, has pointed out that prior to the dispersion of the Great Armada it was hard to realize the weakness of England as compared with Spain. England then had no Indian or Colonial empire, save the feeble germs of North American settlement which Raleigh and others had planted recently, concerning which we shall learn later on.

Scotland was then a separate kingdom, and Ireland in rebellion. Queen Elizabeth had found and encumbered revenue, a divided people, and an unsuccessful foreign war; she had also a pretender to her throne favored by all Roman Catholic powers. France and Spain were about this time planting colonies on the American continent. In 1564 Coligny planted a French Protestant colony in Florida. Coligny had long wished to establish a Protestant French Empire in America and obtained an ample concession from Charles IX; it proved a disastrous failure.

This attempt of French Protestants to found colonies in America, occurring as it does 58 years before the exodus of the Pilgrim Fathers and the beginning of New England, has sometimes been contrasted with it, but Coligny's expedition differed widely from the Puritan exodus. Coligny's object was to encourage French emigration to the new world assisted by the State, while the Puritan exodus was expatriation caused by religious persecutions. It incurred the hostility of the Spaniards, and an expedition under the cruel Pedro Menendez was sent out and the French colony was ruthlessly destroyed, and Philip II, of Spain, proclaimed monarch of all North America. The Spanish power was firmly established around Hespanola, Porto Rico was the centre and the Gulf of Mexico their "mare clausum;" from the furthest cape of the Caribbean along the shores of the Cape of Florida she was undisputed mistress by sea and land.

The progress of Spain to the south, as can be learned from their annals, was one of rapid conquest. The prizes of victory were prodigiously great; the wealth of despoiled Mexico and Peru was almost fabulous; broken adventurers and bankrupt noblemen went to South America to recruit their broken fortunes. Ferdinand Cortez, 1518, marched into Mexico, pillaged the rich capital of the Aztecs and treacherously laid hands on the aged monarch Montezuma. Further south, Pizarro, 1527-30, conquered the rich empire of the Incas. The American continent from Mexico to the Straits of Magellan was at their feet, and Pope Alexander's Bull which gave all the world west of the Azores to Spain was about to be fulfilled.

When Bilboa, a Spaniard, crossed the Isthmus of Panama and saw the waters of the Pacific Ocean, he rushed forward and plunging into the waters took possession of the ocean in the king's name. Spain and Portugal after gaining an American colonial empire, lost it by their corruption and ignorance in the art of governing. But there remains a splendid series of free states from Chili to Mexico and from the Argentine Republic to Brazil. South American republics have sprung from Spain and Portugal, Brazil from Portugal; their populations are to a large extent of Indian blood. Together with the first conquests of Spain came the triumphs of geographical discovery. Juan Ponce de Leon, an adventurous Spaniard searching for the fabled fountain of youth, discovered Florida on Easter Day, 1513. Francisco Fernandez, of Cordova, sailing from Havana, discovered the peninsula of Yucatan and the Bay of Campeachy, 1517, and next year his pilot explored the whole coast of Yucatan towards Panuco, bringing back much gold and rumors of the empire of Montezuma. In 1519 Francisco de Gama, a companion of Columbus on his second voyage and Governor of Jamaica, explored the west of Florida and discovered the Mississippi, called at first Espritu Santo. From the Bahamas northward to Carolina and to the Bay of Delaware, called in Spanish geography St. Christopher, the Spaniards pushed their explorations and in January, 1525, Stephen Gomey, a Portuguese explorer, sailed as far north as the Hudson in an attempt to find the northern passage to Cathay. But the Spaniards were content to leave the frozen regions of the north to the French and British whilst they carried on their exploration for the treasures of the kingdoms of the warm south.

One of their most intrepid pioneers was Cobeza de Vacca who, like the great Frenchman, Champlain, whose deeds and heroism we shall find recorded in the story of Canadian explorations, lived amongst the natives, learned their ways, and became a skilful pathfinder. He reached Texas, travelled as far north as lat. 36, long. 104 west, and wandered on westward till he drew near to the Pacific Ocean in May, 1536. The narrative of Ferdinand de Zoto, of Zeres, Pizarro's favorite comrade who after terrible sufferings in his explorations in the valley of the Mississippi, died and was buried in the waters of the mighty river itself, bequeathing the honor of discovery to the Spaniards

In the north the story of exploration, conquest, and colonization reads differently The native tribes, such as the Iroquois or the Five Nations were made of sterner stuff than the Mexicans in the south The annals of northern explorations are full of never ceasing conflict with the natives, unlike those of the ravaging bands of Pizarro who had only to put out their hands and keep

In both instances the course of conquest had its moral effects In the north every energy of body and mind were called into requisition to subdue the natives and to till the soil, its history is a record of fierce struggles and great hardships The moral effects are apparent down to the present time; in the one case instability and uncertainty prevail, governments are overturned, revolution after revolution follow each other, while in the north there is stability of government, law and order prevail, civil and religious liberty, as well as security to life and property—blessings inestimable, worthy to be guarded at all hazards

JACQUES CARTIER AND THE FRENCH EXPLORERS.

It was during Henry VIII's reign in 1534-5, while Francis I was reigning in France, that North American exploration was boldly carried on by Jacques Cartier The French king, thinking that his country should have some share in the world's riches, sent out his noted navigator on voyages of discovery He sailed three times from France, making new explorations on each occasion He first visited Newfoundland, sailing through the Straits of Belle Isle, entered Bay Chaleur and landed in Gaspe. While at Gaspe he heard from the Indians a wonderful account of the St Lawrence The next year he fitted out a second expedition, and sailing up the river discovered Stadacona, an Indian village, on the site where Quebec now stands Donacona, the chief who ruled over the Algonquins, welcomed him and treated him very kindly Further up the river he found the Indian town of Hochelaga, belonging to the Hurons, here also he was kindly treated by the natives who had never seen Europeans before and believed them to possess supernatural gifts Cartier spent the winter at Stadacona, and in the spring he sailed to Europe taking Donacona and many Indian warriors with him 1536 Cartier did not revisit the St Lawrence for five years, when he returned for the third time. He was associated with Sieur de Roberval, who was nominated Vice Regent of Canada and of the colonies to be established there but Cartier and Roberval were unable to agree The natives were less friendly than they had been before. Cartier and the little band of colonists led a miserable existence at Cape Rouge and they returned to France It was nearly fifty years before the French again made any serious attempt to colonize

We will leave the narrative of French explorations with this preliminary sketch and take it up and follow them continously later, and in the meantime it will be both interesting and instructive to follow the course of English adventures which finally led to the founding of an American Colonial Empire—a Greater Britain England, during the greater part of the 16th century, made no attempt to colonize the great valley of the St Lawrence, although the French may be said to have abandoned it for about half a century after Jacques Cartier's third and last return to France from the small settlement which he had established at Cape Rogue.

The apathy of the English may be traced to various causes. English sailors were too much engrossed with the fisheries of Newfoundland and Cape Breton to undertake the settlement of the country inland, and the climate of the portion of the Gulf of St Lawrence then known to them, they considered unfavorable for the beginning of an infant colony, and moreover, during the 16th century English mariners were more specially interested in the search for the northwest and northeast passages Robert Thorne, of Bristol, who accompained the Cabots on their first voyage, expressed the general feeling He said "If I had the faculty to my will the first thing I would undertake ever to attempt would be to ascertain if our seas northward be navigable to the Pole or not." Sir Frances Drake, the first Englishman to pass the Straits of Magellan, sailed up the west coast of the American continent as far as latitude 45° north, purposing to return east by the way of the northeast and northwest passage, but was stopped at what appeared to him after the tropics, the intolerable cold of the Californian climate Sir Martin Frobisher, one of the boldest of the Elizabethian captains, regarded this northwest passage as the only great thing left undone and made three voyages in search of it

Geographers then took for granted the strait connecting the

North Atlantic and North Pacific, and in old maps it is delineated and made to correspond with the Straits of Magellan, and on the far side lay Cathay separated only by the narrow "Straits of Anian" and there was a mythical rumour that the Greek sailor, San Juan de Fuca, after whom the straits of that name on the Pacific Coast are named, thirteen years after Drake's voyage, wished to go there to fortify it against the possible inroads of the English.

In 1587 Davis, under the patronage of secretary Walsingham, made three voyages in search of the Northwest passage and reached the high latitude called after his name The idea was a life project with Henry Hudson—after whom Hudson Straits were named. This passion for Northwest passages helped to withdraw the eyes of the English from the St Lawrence and set them in the direction of Hudson Bay.

English colonization in North America began first of all with private enterprise, individuals set out on voyages of discovery at their own cost.

Raleigh devoted his life to schemes of North American colonization, and sacrificed to his faith in them his property and then his life. He was the brightest star of that galaxy of great men who lived in the stormy times of Queen Elizabeth In addition to commanding courage, he possessed in a more than ordinary degree, light knowledge and enthusiasm. Had he turned his attention to the great St Lawrence valley and to the great inland lakes of North America as eagerly as he did towards Virginia and Guiana, English colonists would probably have cultivated the fertile lands bordering them, explored the Mississippi and opened up the Northwest regions long before the French who for so many years seemed to halt at the gateway of the continent

The reign of Charles II stands out in the history of Great Britain as a period of remarkable progress, it was then especially that the American colonies took the character which they had when they attracted so much attention in the next century of an uninterrupted series of settlements extending from south to north along the Atlantic coast, for it was then that the Carolinas and Pennsylvania were founded and the Dutch were expelled from New York and Delaware Considered as a whole and judged by the standard of the time, this American settlement begins now to be imposing, its distinction is that it has a population which is at once large and almost purely European. The row of English colonies on the Atlantic was perhaps already the most solid achievement in the way of colonization that any European state could boast, though it would seem insignificant enough if judged by a modern standard.

The population of the twelve oldest colonies,—the two Carolinas and Georgia, Virginia and Maryland, Pennsylvania and Delaware, New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Providence, and Massachusetts,—is calculated at about 207,000.

We learn from the history of the New England colonies, that from their commencement in 1620, for twenty years there was, until the meeting of the long Parliament, a steady exodus from England, but for a special reason, viz., because the Anglican Church was then harsh, and New England offered a refuge for Puritanism, Brownism or independence. Parliament met, the exodus ceased, and afterwards for a hundred years there was so little emigration into New England from old England that it was believed to balance the counter movement of colonists quitting the country. The steady stream of emigration to the New World did not begin till the peace of 1815.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT,

MR GEORGE H MILLS

Read at the open meeting for the season of 1890 91, Tuesday evening, November 18th, 1890

It has become an established precedent that the President of every organization or Association shall some time during his incumbency deliver some sort of an address. Whether such an address shall be edifying or an infliction upon his audience, is rarely or never considered It is in compliance with this inexorable rule that I purpose speaking to you very briefly this evening

I may say at the outset, that the inception of all Associations with objects and aspirations similar to ours, has been the legitimate offspring of what may be properly designated "patriotic sentiment" That where these Associations have proved successful the spread of this sentiment has been the chief cause of success, and where they have ended in failure, a decline of that sentiment has been apparent. Assuming this to be substantially true it may be asked, what then is patriotism? Our language thus defines it "Love of one's country, the passion which aims to serve one's country, either by defending it from invasion or protecting its rights, and maintaining its laws and institutions in vigor and purity, patriotism is the characteristic of a good citizen, the noblest passion that animates a man in the character of a citizen' Historical societies formed and fighting under such a banner can be no discredit to any country They know no party they simply love their country They are free institutions and as such "their submission to the authority of government is no more than a compliance with laws which they themselves have helped to enact, and while the national honor is firmly maintained, and while justice is impartially administered, their obedience will be voluntary and cheerful, possibly unlimited."

The influence of such Associations ought to promote manhood, furnish strength to the arm raised in defence of right, and paralyze the designs of traitors It should nurture power to protect the weak, guard the innocent and punish the guilty. Nations draw their stability from the patriotism of their subjects. It is indeed, the keystone to the arch of national construction, and in a free country the greatest safeguard to liberty, independence and progress, its decline a prelude to national degeneracy, its spread an indication of national vigor. Without patriotism, Canada, with all her wealth of resource, and her almost boundless territory, may never hope to take a prominent place among nations; with it, that destiny would seem inevitable.

The Roman Empire fell because patriotism declined and cupidity flourished. So it was with other nationalities whose histories tell of perished grandeur and decaying patriotism. If what I have stated be true or even faintly approaching the truth, why should popular patriotic histories of this grand Dominion not be encouraged? Why should our common schools and our universities be comparively destitute of them? Why should full knowledge of this priceless inheritance manfully acquired and heroically defended by our forefathers, be withheld from their children? Why, in a word, should Canadian history take any but a foremost place in all our educational institutions?

There can be no rational answer to negative the demand. It is indeed gratifying to have observed, during the past two years, the increasing interest taken in the demand for a larger representation of Canadian literature in our schools, as indicated by letters and leading articles in our newspapers, and it may not be speaking beyond the fact to say, that the Historical and Pioneer Societies throughout the Dominion—becoming daily more influential—have had something to do with the existing popularity of the subject. The good work in this direction already accomplished by the Pioneer and Historical Society in Toronto, so ably presided over by the venerable Dr. Scadding, and the Lundy's Lane Association, with its energetic president, Canon Bull, entitles these organizations to the highest regards of thoughtful and cultivated men. But while they as united bodies are attracting public attention, individual interest and energy are not wanting. Only a few days since I noticed in the papers that a patriotic gentleman in Ontario had offered $2000 as a reward for the production of a Canadian history suitable for our schools. Whoever the gentleman may be, I think you will endorse the opinion that the country at large will appreciate his landable proposal His money could scarcely be better applied, while the subject for which he has so generously offered this prize is sufficiently interesting to attract the attention of the most capable writers in the Dominion

If I have rightly understood their motives, the many historical societies throughout the Dominion have a common object, and that is to assist with all the power of their influence, in laying broad and deep the foundations upon which the future of this larger part of the continent of North America may assuredly and safely rest, and this they believe may be attained by encouraging patriotic sentiment United, their efforts will certainly be crowned with success separated, the result may be doubtful I am, therefore, impressed that no time should be lost in calling a convention of delegates from all of these associations, and that such convention shall arrange for a united membership, and adopt rules to direct and govern the entire combination Such a confederation would attract to itself enlarged membership and enhanced resources, sufficient to enable it to propagate its principles and extend its influence to the utmost borders of the Dominion

The rugged manhood of this Canada of ours has *so far* overcome every obstacle in the way of progress, from the first French colonies planted in Quebec, only to be decimated by starvation and the rigor of the climate, to the war of 1812-14, when the total population of the two provinces barely reaching 275,000 successfully resisted the invasion of a nation at the time possessing a population of 8,000,000 In no boastful spirit should all this be remembered, but still it should be remembered

To-day we are in the full enjoyment of peace, plenty and prosperity, governed and protected by laws and institutions unsurpassed for their purity equity and intelligence Let us do our best to transmit these blessings to those who come after us, and we will have accomplished a work that we shall never be ashamed of But patriotism must be guided by freedom of thought, to promote progress, to be effective in the accomplishment of great designs and lasting results

Freedom of thought is healthful to the mind, as exercise to the body, yet the clashing of thoughts unlike the forcible collision of material bodies, is followed not by disaster and destruction, but by increased vigor clearer conceptions and a nearer approach to truth

The brilliant achievements of the latter half of this century are clearly the outcome of unhampered thought The new era now spread before us, indicating still grander developments, is a product of the same agency, and far more astounding results will hereafter be reached at lessened intervals

If absolute truth be desirable, there can be no possible argument in favor of thrusting obstacles in the way of its attainment Yet, until very recently, he who ventured an opinion at variance with preconceived dogmas, at once became the object of scorn and derision Not so now; liberty of thought after centuries of bondage, has struggled on, and is to-day a recognised prerogative. Its gems of beauty and truth are treasured up, its dross and tinsel repudiated The incumbus of restraint is passing away, while mental activity is encouraged The world grows in wisdom and morality, as the knowledge of right is dispensed, and wrong disproved, by that marvellous agency, unhampered thought It is the strong grasp of unrestrained intelligence, that draws from the darkest recesses of nature proofs of an over ruling providence, it is the same force that accelerates the progress, and assures the amelioration of mankind.

Wonderful events have happened in this busy, ever-changing world, within or nearly within my memory In 1819 the first steamship, the 'Savannah" crossed the Atlantic The "Savannah" was an American vessel, fitted as well with sailing as with steam appliances It is now however stated—with what degree of accuracy I do not know—" that she did not steam across the ocean at all, that her paddles were safely stowed away in her hold until she entered the British channel' She was twenty-six days going from New York to Liverpool Previous to that date efforts had been made in England and Scotland to propel boats by steam, but partial success only had attended their efforts, canals and rivers had been navigated by steam, but the rate of speed had only reached from five to eight miles an hour, and the discovery had attracted little public attention

It has been generally claimed in the United States that Robert Fulton, an American engineer, was the first to propel vessels by steam, but this, as in the case of the Atlantic cable, is an error Fulton obtained his idea of boat propulsion by steam from William Symington, a Scotch engineer, who in 1802 had constructed a steam boat, the "Charlotte Dundas," for Lord Dundas, and who ran it on the Clyde and Forth Canal

Fulton examined this boat with great care, took copious notes of its construction and applied his knowledge thus obtained, in constructing the "Clermont," which in 1807 commenced running for accommodation of passengers between Albany and New York. Symington's boat ran at a speed of six miles an hour, Fulton's at less than five. Even after the trial trip of the "Savannah," scientific men declared that the ocean could never be successfully navigated by steam but their predictions were disproved seventeen years after. For on the 4th day of April, 1836, the "Sirius," an English vessel with a tonnage of about seven hundred tons and three hundred and twenty horse power, started from London with 94 passengers and arrived at New York on the 22nd, having been seventeen days clear on the passage. She was followed by the "Great Western" from Bristol where the latter was built, she left on the 7th April, and arrived at New York on the 23rd, having been out 15 days. The average speed of the "Great Western" was 9 knots, she was 212 feet long, twenty five feet six inch beam, and twenty three feet six inches in depth, drawing from sixteen to eighteen feet of water, her engines 440 horse power. The success of these two boats established the practicability of transatlantic steam navigation. Now, from twenty to twenty four miles an hour are made by ocean steamers, and three are being constructed averaging over six hundred feet in length, each with engines of 30,000 horse power. These mammoth vessels will probably cross the Atlantic Ocean in less than five days, with perfect security and comfort to those who embark in them.

The first passenger railway served by steam was opened for traffic, 27th September, 1825. George Stephenson was the construction engineer. Edward Pease, a quaker, was the chief promoter. It ran from Darlington to Stocktown. The second railway served by steam, to carry passengers, ran from Liverpool and Manchester. It was opened in 1829. George Stephenson designed the engine. Its rate of speed was from fourteen to seventeen miles an hour. Now the world is covered with a network of railways, some of their trains running at a rate of a mile in less than a minute. By these we may travel in days where before their introduction months were required for the journey. Our most gracious sovereign Queen Victoria was crowned in 1838. The American nation has grown from less than ten to sixty-three millions in my time, but fifty-one years before, this mighty republic was a colony of Great Britain with a population less than half that of Canada to-day Since my recollection nearly every kind of industry required for the support and luxury of mankind, was performed by the hand of man Now machinery and steam and electricity do all this, and each succeeding year adds to their power and efficiency The electric telegraph came into existence less than fifty years ago The year 1858 was rendered memorable in the annals of the world by the successful laying of the Atlantic cable This magnificent design to unite the continents of Europe and America was conceived by Frederick Newton Gisborne an Englishman, and for a time a resident of Canada, who was ably seconded by Cyrus W Field, an American. The latter with unparalled energy and perseverance, secured sufficient capital for the enterprise, and patiently watched its progress to completion These two names will pervade all future history I quote from a writer who thus describes the event "On the 17th of July 1858, the 'Niagara' and 'Agamemnon with the Valorous' and 'Gorgon' as tenders, bearing the Atlantic cable, put to sea and on the 29th met in mid ocean, joined the ends of the cable between the two ships bearing it, and commenced laying it in 240 fathoms (14 400 feet) water The Niagara continuing westward, and the Agamemnon returning to the east On the 5th of August the two ships cut the cable, and left the ends on shore on the two sides of the Atlantic, the telegraph was thus established between Valencia and Trinity Bay But this magnificent work was doomed to failure For a time messages were read, one was sent by Queen Victoria to the President of the United States, and an answer from him received. But the days of the first Atlantic cable were numbered On the 1st of September it conveyed two military messages on the following day it conveyed one congratulatory message for a public meeting in New York, addressed to Cyrus W Field, but on the same day it failed to convey a similar message. From that time till its death struggle on the 20th October it was silent, but human enterprise was not to be baffled by this failure, the principle was established " The revolution of the world had commenced, yet the first connecting link uniting the old and the new world, was lying useless at the bottom of the ocean, and has never been recovered Another cable with additional scientific appliances was laid, and this has never been silent. The telephone, a child of the telegraph, is of still more recent date; you have witnessed its coming. Every day new developments are appearing from the application of this marvellous electrical power. We have scarcely time to stop and wonder before our attention is attracted to some new achievement through this agency, far surpassing all marvels of the past. While we think the telegraph has been carried to the possible limit of its application, we are astonished with the intelligence that messages can readily be exchanged from moving railway trains. While we are arguing that the telephone can be a success only in a limited way, we hear that people are conversing with each other who are separated a thousand miles. What will the end of all this be? Who can tell? Will communication by electrical signals yet be possible with other planets? Will the space above be yet controlled as the waters below have already been? Fanciful as the idea seems, as much opposed to existing scientific knowledge as it certainly is, these achievements would be scarcely more astounding to the coming generation than the first introduction of the electric telegraph was to me. The knowledge and control of electricity is as yet but feeble. If forty years have produced such wonders, what may not be expected within the coming twenty, when the lever is already in the hand of genius? Still improvement and amelioration in the condition of mankind have kept pace with the onward progress of steam and electricity. Education and culture have spread over the world; science has removed doubtful and speculative theories, and established immutable principles. Human life has been sensibly prolonged by sanitary provisions, a result of the profounder knowledge of nature's laws. Telegraphs, tunnels and canals have joined continents, spanned oceans, and pierced mountains; new planets and new worlds have been discovered; superstitious fears and imaginings have been allayed by a more comprehensive understanding of the universe. The bible has been carried to every land and printed in every language. All these things and far more have I witnessed. What wonders are in store for those who are now in the spring time of youth. Old England and her enterprising offspring, the United States, aided by German mental activity, have been the prime movers in these intellectual conquests. Still, without the religion of the Reformation this generation would not have been dazzled with their brilliancy, as thrift and progress have ever followed the standard of protestantism. Skepticism and doubt, social and labor theories, are now apparently making great advances and claiming many adherents in the world, but learned and thoughtful attention are directed towards, and master minds are investigating these with the view of understanding the difficulties that surround them, exposing their fallacies and removing their grievances. The development of a wider intelligence, and a closer study of the designs of Providence will, as surely as a Providence exists, find ample remedy for every evil, and ultimately remove the cause. Copernicus and Newton, Columbus and Darwin, Savonarola and Bruno and many others have done magnificent work towards disenthralling a cramped and darkened intelligence. Those who shall come after them will still further extend the good work, until *hope* not *despair* shall dominate the human mind. May this, with kindred societies, do something to strengthen the forces now combining to reach that end.

"I know there are no errors
  In the great eternal plan
And all things work together
  For the final good of man
And I know when my soul speeds onward
  In its grand eternal quest.
I shall say as I look back earthward,
  Whatever is—is best."

THE UNITED EMPIRE LOYALISTS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY AS IMPERIAL FEDERATIONISTS.

BY THE REV. E. J. FESSENDEN, RECTOR OF CHIPPAWA

THE American Revolutionary struggle had a *two-fold* result—the birth of Canada, as well as the independence of the Thirteen Colonies, and the last word of history will never say that the cause which created Canada failed, in the centuries, to be triumphant.

A fair and intelligent statement of the origin and progress of the American Revolution, so far from pointing, as is sometimes held, to the eventual independence of all the colonies, as the natural goal of their growth and development, reveals the fact that nothing but a sinister combination of adverse circumstances, such as can never occur again in the Empire, made the separation that then took place possible.

A true analysis of that conflict, which has in the past and must in the future so dominate our Canadian destiny, gives the most incontestable evidence that the principle and sentiment of loyalty and devotion to the Mother Country and the United Empire, is all powerful in Colonial national life and best conserves that life's highest interests. Let us make that analysis.

Like our present, the Peace of Paris in 1763 marks a turning point in English history, brought on then by the growth and position of the American Colonies.

Three classes in the Empire had taken part in the creation of her Colonies. The Home Government sought by colonizing to extend England's power. English merchants and manufacturers promoted colonization for the enrichment of their trade, while the Colonists left the Home Land to improve their own condition and that of their posterity.

The problem given English statesmanship to solve was, by her Colonial legislation to harmonize this three-fold interest of the public weal; to bring all three into cordial co-operation in advancing the one Imperial object of growing greatness and well being. In the past this had been fairly well done, without any perilous conflicts of rights and interests.

But the Colonial legislation following upon the Peace of Paris was conceived in the impolitic design of strengthening the parent state in the Empire by weakening the Colonies Each act of this ill starred policy robbed the Englishmen on the western shores of the Atlantic of some birth-right or privilege sacred to them under the constitution.

The Colonies, with an irrefragable unity of public conviction and purpose, stoutly resisted these measures, and the whole Empire was plunged into the throes of a great constitutional struggle, in which an appeal to arms was made.*

But such a struggle was no new thing in English history, it had more than one parallel in the past.

It has ever been through such struggles that England's constitution has broadened its freedom and deepened its rights

While the issues that inspired the victors in the past, however great they had been, could not touch the heart and move the judgment with such brilliancy of sentiment and force of conviction as those then at stake, the Colonists, like the Barons of Runnymede, were contending not for their Magna Charta, but the Magna Charta of the Greater Britain They would be unworthy of their ancestry and unfaithful to their cause, not only in the Colonies but in the whole

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*The Congress of 1775 declared the Colonies to be a unity in their determination to defend their rights and John Adams stated at the same time "All America is united in sentiment, every colony county city town and hundred upon the whole continent One understanding governs one heart animates the whole" Quoted by Bancroft History of the United States vol VII chapter XXV, p 284

Sabine an American historian gives in his "Loyalists of the American Revolution" repeated instances of leading Loyalists defending the constitutional rights of the Colonies and taking the lead in this defence till the declaration of Independence made such defence no longer possible Evidence of this is given in Ryerson's "Loyalists and their Times" vol I p 479 Frothingham's "Rise of the Republic of the United States" pp 438 9 The first opposition in 1768 to the infringement of Colonial rights proceeded from the General Assembly of New York The majority of which Assembly were afterwards of the Loyalists.

Bancroft (Museum Edition) vol III, p 368 The same edition vol IV, p 582 —We are told that Dickinson the Loyalist in the second petition of congress to the King drawn up by him did not ask merely for relief from Parliamentary taxation—he required security against the encroachment of Parliament on charters and laws etc and he was included in the King's proclamation issued upon the receipt of the petition among "the dangerous and designing men" whom together with every member of Congress, as rebels and traitors, the civil and military officers were ordered to bring to justice —Bancroft commonwealth, if, by renouncing their citizenship in the Empire, they gave up as hopeless their maintenance of the constitutional rights and liberties of Englishmen on the American shore. And, however much the conflict had deepened, their cause was anything but hopeless to English force of will, when Franklin and his fellow leaders created the Independence party and out of the "blue" of those secret sessions of the Continental Congress, confounded the friends of the Colonial rights, throughout the Empire, by the rebel bolt of American Independence.*

Up to that fateful moment the Thirteen Colonies were as one man in the defence of their rights. Only a few Imperial office holders and their retainers had dreamed for an instant of yielding to Lord North's Ministry, and they were too insignificant to breathe even the semblance of a dissentient public voice.†

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*John Adams in nominating Washington Commander in Chief before the question of Independence had been broached in Congress said:— "Millions in England think it unrighteous to make war upon us. The City of London has bound her members under their hands to assist. Bristol has chosen two known friends of America. Many of the most virtuous of the nobility and gentry are with us, among them a St Asaph, a Camden, and a Chatham—the best bishop, as great a judge as the nation can boast and the greatest statesman it ever saw." Bancroft VII, p 235. Bancroft in the IV vol of his history (The British Museum Edition) says of the debate in the House of Lords of January 1775, that it went forth to the Colonies as an assurance that the inevitable war "would be a war with a Ministry and not with the British people—it took from the contest the character of internecine hatred—showed that the true spirit of England which had grown great by freedom, was on the side of America."

Congress and Washington called the army they were fighting before the declaration of Independence not the Royal or English but the Ministerial army. Life and Correspondence of President Reed by his grandson vol I pp 166 and 175. Lord Mahon's History vol VI p. 92.

Washington to Reed March 19th 1776

"Dear Sir:— Cambridge

We have at length got the ministerial troops in this quarter on shipboard," etc.

†President Dwight of Yale College says (in his Travels vol I p 158) "In July 1775 I urged in conversation with several gentlemen of great respectability and my intimate friends the importance and even necessity of a declaration of Independence on the part of the Colonies but found them disposed to give me and my arguments a hostile and contemptuous instead of a cordial reception, and these gentleman may be considered as the representatives of the great body of thinking men of this country."

Jefferson says in his Memoirs vol I p 8. "I took the ground that our emigration from England gave her no more rights over us than the emigration of the Saxons gave to the present authorities of the mother country over England. In this doctrine I have never been able to get any one to agree with me but Mr Wrythe; our other patriots stopped at the half way house of John Dickenson."

The party in opposition in the Imperial Parliament had made Colonial rights the burning question of the hour. Chatham, and Cambden, and Richmond, and Burke, and Fox, and Cavendish, with their splendid following, were chivalrously and brilliantly vindicating the action of the Colonies.

And these great statesmen found their supporters in and out of Parliament daily increasing. The merchants of London, and of all the large towns of England, were sending up petitions asking for the repeal of the trade regulations and duties rejected as illegal by the Colonies.

The party in power at home began to feel themselves caught in the fateful draw of their impending overthrow.

They had staked their existence as a Ministry upon the accomplishment of their Colonial measures and upon the truth of the statement that there was a party in the Colonies in their favor.

Their statements had been falsified and their measures had utterly miscarried, and they were discredited accordingly.

Though they put forth every effort to divide it, the solid phalanx of Colonial indignation remained unbroken, and picked English troops, with no heart to fight against Englishmen defending their liberties, were everywhere repulsed by half armed Colonial volunteers.*

Tottering to their fall, they made their last venture. They charged the Colonies with the political crime of hiding under their contention for constitutional rights, a sinister purpose of separation from the Empire.

And this last accusation would have been proved false had the Congress of 1776 adhered to its own declaration of principles and avowal of purposes—principles and purposes for the furtherance of which, alone, it had been created and convened. But for its surreptuous declaration of Independence, 1777 would have seen the friends of Colonial rights triumph in England—would have seen the unity of her Empire and the vindication of her constitution firmly secured beyond reasonable chance of future miscarriage There is strong evidence that Lord North felt this—had ceased to believe in his own declarations and policy—had decided to yield, and was opening up negotiations through which he hoped to carry out his purpose *

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*In the debate in Parliament upon the motion to enforce the Stamp Act "I shudder at the motion" cried General Hammond while the crowded House listened as if awed into silence "I hope it will not succeed lest I should be ordered to execute it. Before I would imbrue my hands in the blood of my countrymen I would if ordered, draw my sword, but would sooner sheathe it in my own body." Bancroft vol III pp 568-9

Bancroft tells us vol IV p 25:

"Many of the best officers in the English army would not willingly bear arms against their kindred in America."

He has also recorded vol V p 25

That in July 1776 the merchants of Dublin applauded the Earl of Effingham for refusing to draw his sword against the laws and liberties of his fellow subjects in America.

With such a victory within measurable distance, the declaration of Independence was sprung upon the Loyalists That declaration brought to them not only the pain of their own confusion, but the bitter shame of the betrayal of their friends in England, who had fought their battle there, confiding in their good faith, repeatedly pledged †

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*Bancroft vol V p 244

Letters patent were issued on the 6th May 1776, conferring power on Lord Howe to offer terms of reconciliation to the Colonies in arms Lord Howe was one of the leaders of the party of constitutional rights of the Colonies He was at the time on the most friendly relations with Lord Chatham and he caused it to be stated on his authority that he would not go on this mission to America unless he had power to offer the Colonies their constitutional rights and liberties and proclaim pardon to those who had taken up arms (Dr Reed's correspondence vol I pp 195 6)

On the very day that the declaration of Independence was read in the camp of Washington at New York the English fleet bearing Lord Howe stood off the harbor (Bancroft vol V pp 345 4)

Upon landing Lord Howe wrote to Dr Franklin, with whom he had been on terms of closest intimacy in England telling him that "he had really powers to negotiate with the Colonies as *friends* for terms of lasting peace" and Franklin would know that this from Lord Howe meant the Colonies would be assured their liberties Franklin's harsh answer given in the name of Congress, was "No peace except America be independent" When Howe read this "his countenance grew more sombre; tears glistened in his eyes He looked within himself and was conscious of aiming at a reconciliation on terms of honor and advantage to both parties" Dr Reed's correspondence vol I

†Bancroft vol IV (Museum Edition) p 197 admits that "the question was looked upon in England not as a narrow Colonial one but as involving the reality of representative government the cause of the people—everywhere the same" He tells us "that under the leadership of Yorkshire, societies were formed in England and public meetings held to defend the liberties of England and America alike from being trampled upon by a venal parliament

Again vol III p 676 "After the repeal of the Stamp Act the crowd pressed on Grenville with hisses and reverently pulled off their hats to Pitt and applauded During the debate the lobbies were crammed with men trembling and anxious

Bancroft says vol III pp 443 4 5 Grenville was in favor of an American representation and was resolved on proposing it and Jackson joined him in this

The Earl of Chatham, before he delivered his famous speech which electrified all England, sought a personal interview with Dr. Franklin, as a distinguished representative of the Colonies, and ascertained from him distinctly, that there was neither "tendency nor danger of the Colonies separating from the Mother country, but that they were universally loyal to her," and with this assurance the noble Earl warmly eulogised the American Congress, not only for its loyalty, but for its generous recognition of England's rights under strong provocation to deny them.

But while his words were still on everyone's lips in England, the news came that the Congress so warmly eulogised, had renounced all connection with England, had repudiated her authority and the principles of her government.

And it was not known that the Congress had done this, proclaimed to the world as its unanimous action, by a catch majority, and with no commission from the Colonies to do anything of the kind.

The political effect was to gibbet the friends of Colonial rights in England, at the cross-roads of public opinion, as either deceivers or dupes, and to turn the impending defeat of the Ministerial policy in Parliament into triumphant victory.

From the Loyalist point of view, not only was the declaration of Independence an ignoble surrender in sight of victory, and a most unwarranted desertion and misleading of friends who were generously risking much for their sake, but it was a *coup d'etat* more violently unconstitutional than the Revenue Acts of Lord North's Ministry the Colonies were resisting.*

The Congress that passed this declaration had been elected, as stated in the credentials given to its members, as delegates from the several Colonies, to obtain redress of their grievances, and to restore harmony between them and their Mother Country, which, it was said, all good men desired. And it was hoped this could be secured through a Bill of Rights, in which the powers of the Mother Country and the Colonies might be defined.

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*Bancroft, vol. IV., p. 567.

The Congress that passed the declaration of Independence formed no confederacy; they were not an executive government; they were not even a legislative body. They were committees from twelve Colonies, deputed to consult on measures of conciliation, and held by explicit and implicit instructions.

And when the second petition of Congress had been rejected, and the King's proclamation, declaring all to be rebels who resisted the acts of the Imperial Parliament had been received, and the delegates of Pennsylvania were asking for further instructions the Legislature of that Colony being then in session, Dr Dickenson, the immortal farmer whose masterly letters had done so much to enlighten the public mind in England and America on the rights of the Colonies, reported and carried in the Pennsylvania Legislature, the following instructions to its delegation —

' We direct that you exert your utmost endeavors to agree upon and recommend such measures as you shall judge to afford the best prospect of obtaining redress of American grievances, and restoring that union and harmony between England and her Colonies so essential to the well fare and happiness of both. Though the oppressive measures of the English Parliament and Administration have compelled us to resist their violence by force of arms yet we strongly enjoin you that you, in behalf of this Colony dissent from, and utterly reject any propositions should such be made, that may cause or lead to a separation from our Mother Country, or a change of the form of this Government '*

Upon the meeting of their several Legislatures, Pennsylvania's example was followed by, among others, Delaware, Maryland, New Jersey and New York

The Congress created and empowered under this mutual understanding and good faith between the Colonies, passed its declaration of Independence in utter contravention of the purpose for which it was created, and in opposition to the repeated instructions sent up from many of the Colonies †

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*Of the nine delegates Pennsylvania had elected to Congress in November 1775 Franklin stood alone as an advocate of Independence Bancroft vol V p 65

The Pennsylvania Legislature gave these instructions to her representatives when all the resentment awakened by the odious measures of Parliament and the King's answer to their petition and all the enthusiasm awakened by the recent victories of Bunker's Hill and Lexington were at their highest pitch and at the same time that it called upon the people to take up arms and voted £80,000 to the war expenditure.

† "The Independence resolution of the Virginia Legislature was not presented to Congress till June 5th Life and Correspondence of President Reed vol I Dr Reed says "That this action was taken in Congress without a single imprimatur from any Colony He is speaking of the introduction of Lee's Independence resolution in May and of Adams' resolutions advising the Colonies to re model their governmental organizations.

This Congress revolted from England in the face also of its own proclamation, issued when it appointed Washington commander-in-chief and organized the higher departments of the army, and issued bills of credit for £3 000 000 to defray the expenses of war, and after the battles of Lexington and Bunker's Hill, and when the English army was shut up in Boston by the Provincial Volunteers—a proclamation in which they say "We are reduced to the alternative of choosing an unconstitutional submission to an irritated Imperial Ministry or resistance by force of arms. This last is our choice Honor, justice and humanity, forbid us tamely to surrender that freedom we received from our gallant ancestors, and which our innocent posterity had a right to receive from us"

And they go on to say "Lest this declaration should unquiet the minds of our friends and fellow subjects in any part of the Empire, we assure them that we mean not to dissever that union which has so happily subsisted between us and our Mother Country, and which we sincerely wish to see restored. We have not raised arms with ambitious designs of separation from England"

The sessions of Congress were held with closed doors, and their proceedings, except such part as the majority chose to reveal, were kept inviolably secret. Three members—Jefferson in his Memoirs, and Dr Reed in his Correspondence, edited by his grandson, and Joseph Gallaway—have given us most conflicting statements of what took place. As to the majority in Congress in favor of Independence, Jefferson says in his Memoirs, note B, appendix vol I 'It appeared in the course of the debates that took place in May, 1776, upon Lee's resolution of Independence, that the Colonies of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania Delaware, Maryland and South Carolina were not yet matured for falling from the parent stem that means that the Legislatures and Representatives in Congress of these Colonies were Loyalists Only twelve Colonies were at that time represented in Congress Jefferson says that, finding the vote would be a tie, the Independence party did not divide the House but adjourned the debate

It is clear the debate was adjourned that the gerrymandering measures the Independence party were taking to change the character of the recognized institutions of government in the Colonies might have time to take effect in their favor

"The Life and Correspondence of President Reed," vol I, pp.

1845, tells us that Jack Adams, immediately upon the adjournment of the debate, May 10th, 1776, introduced his resolution recommending the Colonists to re-model their governments. Lee introduced a preamble, which, after *earnest debate*, says Dr. Reed, was passed, which denied the necessity or reasonableness, while the King's present proclamation was not withdrawn, of allegiance to any Government under the Crown, and that the exercise of all authority under the Crown should be discontinued.

Strengthened by this action of Congress, the Independence party changed the character and *personnel* of the Colonial Legislatures so as to obtain control of the Loyalist Colonies.

The institutions of government then existing under the Colonial charters, in the Loyalist Colonies, such as the Pennsylvanian Legislature, of which Mr. Dickenson and his fellow Loyalists were members, contended that all that Congress professed to desire by its resolution could be effected by the existing representation of the people, that there was a Government in every Colony sufficient to the exigencies of affairs, and the Loyalists refused to sit in any Legislature where no oath to the King was taken of its members. But the new Legislatures, where organized, and the new delegates chosen by them, were the only ones of their Colonies recognized by Congress.

If we accept Jefferson's statement, followed in the main by Bancroft, without the gloss of either, it was the Independence resolutions and delegates, sent up to Congress from the new Legislatures sprung upon the country as a Home Rule Policy, in a crisis of greatest confusion and perplexity, that enabled the separatist party to force their declaration of Independence upon the Colonies. "The true inwardness" of the Independence movement is very much the same whether, in unravelling its history, we follow a Jefferson, a Gallaway, or a Reed.*

By a master stroke of policy, on the part of the Independence party it had been agreed upon, before hand, to take the vote by Colonies and that the decision on the question, whatever might be the state of the vote, should appear to the world as the unanimous vote of the Congress. By this means the signatures of those who opposed, as well as those who voted for it, were affixed to the declaration

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*Mr. Sabin, vol. I., introduction, shows that the large majority of the patriot press of the country up to 1776, was in favor of maintaining at all costs the connection with England.

By such devices, after such a struggle, did the Independence party carry its resolutions in Congress

But when they had carried them there, they never ventured to submit them to the people A popular vote upon the American Independence was never taken The statement that the Loyalists took the side of England *against America* is utterly misleading America was never given her plebiscite, never was permitted to choose her own destiny, never was allowed to tell us whether she looked upon the Loyalists or the Independents as her children, and the defenders of her cause On the contrary, the Independence party, having obtained control of Congress in the manner above described, and, by this control, possession of all the resources of political and military power in the Colonies, denied to their fellow subjects all liberty of Loyalist speech and opinion They outlawed as traitors and followed with confiscation, imprisonment, and death, all who refused to renounce their allegiance to England and make their oath to the Congress.*

The result was, that by the most vigorous pressure they could bring to bear upon popular opinion, enforced by the infliction of the most extreme Legislative and mob violence upon the citizens, the party was only able to secure the adherence, passive and active, of possibly something more than half the population

The unauthorized and tyrannous action of the Independence party in Congress changed all the issues of the conflict with those in power at home, and compelled the Loyalists to choose one of two alternatives, not at all of their making or to their liking If they fought for the unity of the Empire in its great peril, they must take up arms against their fellow Colonists, who, up to that moment, had been their trusted compatriots They must put off for a more convenient season their defence of Colonial Rights, and they must join hands for the time, with the odious faction of office holders, the hated minions of Lord North's Ministry

But if they accepted the declaration of Independence, they must turn their hand against the Mother Country, dearer to them than life, and bid adieu to all their cherished hopes of the ever broadening England of their Colonial homes; they must seek an unnatural alliance against England with France, the hated ogre of their Colonial life, the France who for a century had mercilessly sought their utter extermination by fire and sword, had filled the encircling forests of their frontiers, for those hundred years, with the spectre and horror of the Indian's tomahawk and scalping knife, and France would form the alliance that she might wreak her vengeance on England for delivering them out of her hands.*

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*As to the inhuman cruelties inflicted upon the Loyalists see introduction of Sabin's American Loyalists vol I

Amid this craft of friends and breaking up of old issues, hunted to the death by the Independence party, looked upon coldly and askance by Lord North, whose tyrannous Colonial policy they had effectively opposed, the cause of England in the war misdirected and suffering, through the contempt of those in power for them and their councils, amid all this the founders of Canada remained steadfast and unmovable in their loyalty.

Abdiel faithful found,
Unshaken, unsubdued, unterrified,
His loyalty he kept.

The declaration of Independence has been portrayed for us as the spontaneous uprising of an oppressed people. As a matter of fact it was, if we may adopt a Lincolnian illustration, "a forced swapping of horses in mid stream" that divided the Colonies, up to this time enthusiastically one, into two bitterly hostile and outraged camps.

The declaration of American Independence has been proclaimed the birth of a nation; for those who became the Canadian Loyalists it was the breaking up of the oneness of the Anglo-Saxon race in the unity of an Empire, which carried in the ark of her destinies all that is worthiest in the present and future of the world.

The declaration has been held up to a people's gaze as an heroic venture for liberty.

It was unquestionably an heroic venture, but it was risked for American Independence. It was anything but the free, constitutional action of the people in whose name it was made, and it was an abandonment of their "rational ordered English freedom that through centuries has advanced from stage to stage of progress, deliberate, calm, never breaking with her past, but making every fresh gain the basis of a new success, enlarging her people's liberty while bating nothing of the height and force of individual development"

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*Bancroft tells us, vol. IV, p. 109, that Samuel Adams from September 1768 struggled deliberately and unremittingly for Independence. And the same historian also tells us that Samuel Adams, long after this prepared the instructions sent by Massachusetts to Dr. Franklin as her agent in England, commissioning him to assure the English Government that the people of Massachusetts wished for nothing more than a permanent union with England on a constitutional basis.

I shall speak very briefly of the part taken by the Loyalists in the war after it became one of Independence

The American historian Sabine is my authority for saying that probably the Loyalists in the King's army exceeded in number the army enlisted under the Continental Congress *

But probably the Loyalists did not number more than half the population, and if not, then they were more ready to defend their principles with their lives than were the so-called Liberty men and the fortunes and interests which the Loyalists sacrificed to take the side of the Empire were far greater than those of their opponents. We have evidence of the soldierly qualities and patriotism of the Loyalists in the changed fortunes of the war upon their leaving the Provincial forces after the declaration of Independence The brilliant and all important victories gained in 1775 and the early part of 1776, by the United Colony army, unprepared and deficient in arms as it was, upon the Loyalists leaving were turned into the disastrous defeats of 1777 and 1778. And even when France and Spain came to the rescue of the Independence Congress, nothing but the unparalleled skill and courage of Washington, opposed to the no less unparalleled incapacity of the English Generals, turned the fortunes of the war against the Loyalists

As to the inhuman cruelties practiced in the war, it makes all the difference who began them as to the relative guilt of the contending parties, and the Independence men were the first offenders.

Upon the Loyalists refusing to be torn from their inheritance, with its memories of the past and hopes of the future, when they would not consent to have the ragged ends of their lives spliced by Congress surgery upon whatever might be left dangling for them in

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*Sabine's American Loyalists vol I p 48

"In nearly every Loyalist letter or other paper that I have examined, and in which the subject is referred to it is either assumed or stated in terms that the Loyalists were the majority, and this opinion I am satisfied, was very generally entertained by those who professed to have a knowledge of public sentiment And p 72 of above "In an address of Loyalists in 1779 presented to the King it is said that their countrymen in His Majesty's army exceeded in number those enlisted by Congress" its new world of American Independence, Congress pursued them with its legislative violence, outlawed them as traitors, and sent the Indians upon the war path against them, voted £40,000 at once as bounties to the Indians, not indeed for scalps, but for every King's man who might have fled to them for protection, or might have his home on their frontiers.

The Massachusetts Legislature in one of its acts designated by name and occupation and residence 380 of her people, and denounced against them death without benefit of clergy, and without judge, jury, or opportunity of defence, simply because they were reported to be Loyalists, and similar measures were passed in other Colonies.

In political brutality the little finger of the Independence party was thicker than the loins of Lord North's Ministry. Instigated by this legislative violence, the party blackened its cause still further by their "mob violence," their brutal tarring and feathering of their Loyalist neighbors, hissing and hooting them, burning down their houses and maiming their flocks. These things they did to such families as the Robinson's and Sewall's and Doane's, and many another.

Against this cruelty and tryanny the Loyalists aimed their revenge, and let him who thinks that under such provocation he would have been without sin cast the first stone at them.

Then the tales that have come down to us of what the Loyalists did were published by the Independence party for political effect, and were of the most exaggerated and inflammatory character, full of the grossest misrepresentations, and doing them the greatest injustice.

It is now known that Dr. Franklin went so far in political enterprise of this kind as to write a purely fictitious story of Indian and Loyalist massacre, and let it be published as true, that it might stimulate recruits for the army and apportionments from the people. And this story in many quarters was long supposed to be authentic, and passed into American history as such.

When Franklin did not think connivance in this sort of thing beneath his position and character, it can easily be imagined what a sorry trade may have been done by others.*

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*Ryerson's United Empire Loyalists Chapter on the Wyoming Massacre and the authority he quotes —

Ramsay's United States vol II p. 321 "Wyoming"

In this remote settlement, whose government was feeble the Tories

The Wyoming massacre is a striking instance of this picturing of Loyalists as inhuman monsters. Instead of Wyoming being the peaceful and innocent settlement described by the historians of Congress, and immortalized in Campbell's song, it was a virulent hot bed of the revolution.

It had sent several hundred volunteers to the Congress army, and the Royalists who planned its capture were its own people, who had been driven from the valley, whose property had been confiscated and whose families had been mobbed by the very settlers whom they attacked.

The settlement was not surprised. The first fort attacked had surrendered, and the American commander, a Colonel Butler, sought by a quick movement of attack to surprise the Loyalists on their march against the remaining forts, but was discovered by an Indian scout, and found the Loyalists prepared to receive him, was defeated and fled into Fort Wyoming, and, with the American regulars, escaped. The local garrison then surrendered on condition that the settlers in the valley should not be molested, they stipulating that the Loyalists should be restored their property and allowed to return to their homes.

The Colonel Butler who commanded the English force, did all in his power to fulfil these terms, but the Indians broke away from his control and entered upon a scene of plunder. The garrison, however, escaped down the river and the people had already fled into the mountains. On this basis of fact, painful no doubt, but not anything like a massacre, was built up the revolutionary myth of Wyoming, with its burning houses filled with women and children, and its army decoyed by a flag of truce into a deadly ambuscade of Indians. The employment of the Indians on either side makes one of the darkest pages in this cruel war. But we must remember, in defence of the Loyalists, that, driven from their homes, their property seized, their lives made a prey, there was no place for the soles of their feet but among the Indians,—and Congress followed them there. One of its first acts after the Declaration of Independence

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were under his control. Nevertheless twenty seven of them were taken and sent to Hartford in Connecticut but were afterwards released. These and others of the same description instigated by revenge against the Americans, from whom some of them had suffered banishment and loss of property, made a common cause with the Indians and attacked the settlement.

offered large prize money for every Loyalist the Indians should betray to them The Massachusetts Legislature wrote a secret letter to a missionary of great power among the Indians of Western New York, entreating him to send the Indians on the war path againts the Loyalists, though this same legislature publicly expressed the greatest indignation against the English use of the Indians at a later period.*

The employment of the Indians by the English was brought about in this way When the Indians who had given them refuge were attacked the Loyalists joined in the defence, and they accepted the alliance of these Indians when, in turn, they sought to regain their homes And what else, as men, were they likely to do?

The Indians themselves suffered at the hands of the Congress Army far greater cruelties than they inflicted The stain of their tragic fate is on American history as indelible as the blood of murdered Duncan on the hand of Macbeth

When at length negotiations looking to a recognition of American Independence were begun at Paris, what should be the fate of the Loyalists proved to be one of the most difficult questions of the treaty

England, after the custom of the civilized nations, asked that the Loyalists should be restored to their property and civil rights

But Franklin arrogantly and bitterly opposed this with all the resources of his ingenious and fertile diplomacy, and England yielded and left the Loyalists to the tender mercies, or, as it proved, the gauntlet of their implacable foes In these negotiations one knows not at which most to marvel—the boldness and skill of the American Commissioner, or the subserviency and ignorance of the English They were very unequally matched—Franklin, a man of remarkable parts and great public spirit, Mr Oswald, an ordinary merchant en

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*Congress on June 3rd 1776 passed a resolution to raise an army of 2 000 Indians for the Canada expedition Washington advised Congress to engage the Indians on their side in his letter of April 19th, 1776 Doctor Andrews History of the American War vol II pp 301 2 and the Ludlows History of the War of Independence p 126

Lord Mahon in his history vol VIII pp 420 1 gives the letter of the Massachusetts Legislature to the Indian Missionary, and gives as his authority the letter of Lafayette to Washington, June the 12th 1779 and also Life of President Reed etc, vol II p 18

The Americans have never had the self respect to erase from the forefront of their Constitution the misleading charge against England—embodied in the Declaration of Independence—of "endeavoring to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless savage gaged in the American trade, and knowing nothing of the matter in hand except as it affected his private interests. The one was a palpable tool in the hands of the other. Franklin's plea that Congress had no power in granting amnesty to the Loyalists because it had no power over the action of the Colonial Legislatures, was manifestly a mere pretence.

If true, how could Congress agree as it did, under the treaty, that those Legislatures should make no more confiscations and conscriptions; and, if the plea had been good, Congress had ample resources at hand for compensating the Loyalists in that vast territory comprising the present States of Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, and the States west of them to the Rockies, a domain ceded to Congress by England in the treaty, and in which not one of the thirteen Colonies held any separate rights. Besides, there was no necessity, as Mr. Oswald urged in defence of his surrender, that England should continue the active prosecution of the war, if she insisted upon Congress acknowledging the rights of the Loyalists. She was mistress of the seas; she had only to continue to hold the American forts on the Atlantic—New York, Charleston, Long Island—until Congress granted what England was in all honor bound to claim. And it made all the difference whether the rights of the Loyalists were secured to them under treaty from the American Government or whether they were to come before an English Board of Commissioners *in forma pauperis* asking for help out of the pockets of English ratepayers, a thing which some who suffered most did not bring themselves to do. There were some 30,000 Loyalists who settled in what is now Canada, leaving out those who went to England, the West Indies and elsewhere, while only between 3000 and 4000 ever sent in their claims for compensation.

When the treaty was signed, England hastened to make all the amends possible by most generous treatment of her faithful subjects beyond seas, who had suffered the loss of all things in her cause. But do what she might, it was then impossible to prevent the untold sufferings and hardships the Loyalists had still to pass through in that noblest epic migration of modern times, their settlement of Canada. “Why did you come here,” was asked of a distinguished Loyalist of New Brunswick, “when you were certain to endure all the sufferings and absolute want of food and shelter you have narrated?” “Why did we come here?” replied he, with emotions that could not keep back the tears, "For our Loyalty' That was the clay, baptized in their sufferings, which the hands of the coming years were to mould into Canada. It was with no light heart the Loyalists set their faces northward, that once more their feet might find English soil Canada, as reported to them was a land of intense cold, wilderness and swamp, full of venomous reptiles, prowled by savage beasts and still more by the dreaded Indians.

The hardships, exposures and privations endured by the Loyalists in making their way from their confiscated homes to Canada were longer and more severe than any Everett has been able to tell us of the New England Pilgrim Fathers, and the persecutions which sent these Fathers of New England voyaging to Plymouth Rock was but a morning shower when compared to the mobbings and imprisonments, confiscations and death, that fell in savage fury upon the faithful of Old England in the days of the American Revolution, and drove the remnant that was left into the wilderness of Canada. The Pilgrim Fathers could keep harvest home festival of a week's continuance, at the end of the first year from their landing But the Loyalists were in most instances forced to seek a home in Canada, without food or shelter, and at a season too late for any clearing of the forest and seed sowing, and the supply of food and other necessaries the English Government was endeavoring to send them, by some mismanagement, were frozen up in the River St Lawrence

While the New England Fathers were keeping harvest home, the Loyalists of Canada were passing through all the rigors of famine In some instances the cattle that were browsed upon felled trees in the forest were from time to time bled, that the blood might be had for food so fierce and close was the struggle for life

On the Bay of Quinte and in the Niagara District ladies brought up in luxury and comfort might be seen in the early spring woods gathering in their aprons and baskets, the swelling buds of the basswood for food for themselves and their children, and, later on, plucking the rye and barley heads as soon as the kernel began to form No wonder that even to their brave hearts the swallows sang in those days

"Hard times in Canada

The early Loyalist life that came to the Canadian forest is full of romantic interest, tragic and epic

In it our poets may find more than a Miles Standish or an

Evangeline to enrich at once our literature and history. Such a theme some Canadian Wordsworth might find in the story of Robert Land, a Loyalist, whose home was in one of the loveliest vales of the Delaware, and whose knowledge of the country and known ability had enabled him to perform valuable services for the King's army and placed him in the way of being intrusted with important missions.

While engaged upon one of these, and having upon his person valuable despatches, he was discovered by the enemy and fired upon and wounded. But, by heroic exertion and fertility of resource, he hid himself away from the foe in a dense undergrowth of bushes. The rebels, finding traces of his wound, which bled profusely, reported him slain. But he finally made good his escape and delivered his despatches. When at length he was able to visit his home, to his horror he found it in ashes, and, believing his family massacred, he finally escaped to Canada, and came first to Drummondville at Niagara Falls, and afterwards acquired a farm of 300 acres, in what is now East Hamilton. Here he built a log cabin with one window, having a wolf skin for glass, and became for several years its solitary occupant. Returning from the field and forest one day, to his great surprise, he found a wearied and travel worn woman had crossed his threshold, accompanied by two grown up young men. His wife and two sons had come to him. His home by the Delaware had been fired by the rebels, but his wife had escaped with her children and hearing the report that her husband had been slain, broken hearted and in despair she fled with her family to New Brunswick. But, ill at ease there, clinging to the fond hope that her husband was still alive, her widowed heart sent her, a Canadian Evangeline, with a happier fate, searching through the Loyalist settlements to Niagara Falls. Here she learned that a man named Robert Land had, at one time, dwelt in the neighborhood, and now lived a *solitary* under the shadow of the mountain beyond Stony Creek. Thither she at once set out, and, accompanied by her two sons, walked the whole distance some fifty miles, through the then forest, to restore to the arms of her husband the long lost wife of his youth, to gild that lonesome cabin, between the mountain and the shore, with the glad halo of the joy and happiness of the united family.

Upon their settlement in Canada the Loyalists took an important and dominant part in shaping the history of the country. They included the cleverest and the most able of all classes; discharged

soldiers, lawyers, clergymen, merchants, farmers and mechanics, and all were in indigent circumstances, but willing to build their fortunes afresh and develop those of the country by honest toil.

They renewed at once, in the Canadian Colonies, their old endeavors after constitutional rights for Englishmen beyond seas; and this time there was no American Independence party to surprise and checkmate them. The Loyalists who settled in Nova Scotia asked for a larger representation of the people in the Colonial Government and then for a division of the Province; and both requests were finally granted. Those who settled in Old Canada objected to the Quebec Act of 1773, and obtained the Constitutional Act of 1791, and the creation of Upper Canada into a separate Province, more in accord with English institutions. This constitution of representative Government obtained for us by the Loyalists of the Maritime Provinces and of Old Canada, with enlarged application, after the manner of English constitutional history, is the basis of the British North American Act of the Canadian Dominion. The Dominion is the splendid monument of the Loyalists' constitutional victory won in the Greater Britain. The country steadily prospered from its settlement up to 1812. The government was satisfied; the Colonial parliaments held short sessions, devoted to making provision for the building of roads, the establishment of schools, the making, in short, such necessary improvements as the public need required; and when this was done the Loyalist members of Parliament gave very little time or heed to what occupies so largely the party politic of to-day. They gave their time and energies to the enlargement of their farms and mills, and of this action of theirs we, to-day, reap large advantage. They kept themselves from that besetting temptation of English colonists, the running heavily into debt, handicapping their future with the necessity of an exorbitant public revenue. No civilized country was less burdened with taxes than was Canada West during that period of its history. £3,500 met its annual expenditure.

During the closing years of the last century and the first of the present, France, now with her anarchy and now with her despotism, threatened the overthrow of civilization with all its rights and liberties, and England stood between her and victory. In 1812 the United States strengthened the hand of the French despot by declaring war against England, and Canada became at once involved in the struggle. The spirit of the Loyalists shone out again in all its

ancient splendor, they gave the strongest example in this century of the attachment of a people to their Mother Country, and of their determination at whatever sacrifice, and against whatever disparity, to maintain their connection with her. The Loyalists were the larger part of the population, and gave to the public spirit of the country its tone and sentiment. That sentiment found fitting expression in the address of the House of Assembly to the people of Upper Canada, made in response to the noble appeal of General Brock. Its tone may be seen in the following extracts:

"That the Government of the United States, while professing to be the friend of man and the supporter of his liberties, should, bribed by the tyrant of France, light the torch of war against England, the last pillar of true liberty and last refuge of oppressed humanity, is a madness altogether incomprehensible. * * * Our enemies in this war are they who once drove us from our homes and possessions, to this province. Their lands are manured with the blood of our friends and kinsmen. They drove our wives and children into the woods, or threw them into dungeons. Remember, when you go forth to combat that you fight not for yourselves alone, but for the parent State contending for the oppressed of the nations."

There were Canadian boys of ten years in Brock's army which captured Detroit, and they volunteered out of families like the Ryersons. The Loyalists formed the greater part of the English forces, while their wives and daughters ennobled Canada with the heroism and daring of her Secords.

"A race
Of manly hero heart
In all high ventures."

The Canadian Loyalists were ready at every crisis in their history to imperil life and fortune, personal and national, that they might secure for themselves and their children their home in the United Empire under her constitution. Their history gives abundant proof that England has the power to make us all, everywhere in her world wide home, Abdiels of her cause—that she can take us Canadians, Australasians, or whatever we may be, and make us all one in our common fealty.

The Loyalist devotion of Canadian life for the United Empire, as shown in the American Revolution, the epic migration of Canada, and the war of 1812, gives its eloquent answer to the question—

Will not Imperial Federation prove a broken reed to lean upon for purposes of statesmanship in critical moments, when the more immediate and local interests and patriotisms may have such perilous tendency to become the *demons* of all centrifugal organization and life in the constitution and cosmos of the Empire?

Though holding the geographical position Canada does to the American Republic, one with her to a large extent in race and speech, no part of the Greater Britain can ever have its loyalty to the Empire put to a severer test than is ours, and yet no colony is more loyal. Canada, in any "dark forest" of popular despair or passion, tempted by any annexation "Stanley's handkerchief," however brilliantly dyed in any "Commercial Union" bartering her Loyalist inheritance of a United Empire with all its possibilities of material greatness, its coming "days of King Solomon" within measurable distance—an Empire the crowning growth of time and nature, and that great impersonal artist, the English constitution—an Empire dowered by the ages with poetry and beauty, all that can charm the imagination and win the loving loyalty of the better feeling and higher intelligence of mankind, and hallowed in Canadian eyes by our Loyalist past—Canada parting with all this for American machine politics would be the most dismal performance ever enacted by man. Whatever surprises the future may have in store, it certainly cannot give us this. Canada at her birth was consecrated by her Loyalist martyrs and confessors a Nazarite of their cause. As the Silurian and Devonian rocks of England re-appear across the Atlantic, in Canada so the Loyalists made Canada in all that creates a people's heart one with England. They gave to Canada her English nationality to be our Canadian sentiment and instinct, made up of memory and hope, to be our national spirit, which swells every Canadian's heart—makes what else would be common earth, or the Indian's land, his Fatherland of loyal English life sacred and dear, sending up to him brave messages from her loyal past, and bright prophesies of her future—a future ever revealing the lofty secret of our parentage and destiny—a future that, issuing forth from our Loyalists' heights, and broadening our Canadian Dominion like our St. Lawrence, shall merge into the world-wide Imperial responsibilities, powers and glories of the United Empire, enthroned amid her encircling seas and sceptered with the never setting sun.

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

A paper read before the Wentworth Historical Society, November 18, 1891.

BY MRS. S. A. CURZON.

WHEN your president through Mr. Fearman, conveyed to me your kind invitation to read a paper before you, the honor came to me with all the force of novelty. I did not hope that anything I could say would be of sufficient value to arrest the attention of your honorable society, seeing that I am but a dabbler as it were in historic records, nor did I think that you had sufficiently understood that I was one of a sex that had never been recognized as in its right place when found upon a platform, even the very modest platform of the essayist. So that at first I felt compelled to decline your courteous invitation lest I might offend some whom I would be sorry to displease, or place my sex at a disadvantage to the eyes of others whose good word we shall always desire to deserve.

There was, however, two considerations which presented themselves as a set off to the first objections, and by right of authority naturally overruled them and imposed a due respect for themselves upon me. These were, that for twenty years I have been upholding the doctrine of the equal rights of woman as a human being, and again that your society had tacitly admitted, if it had not ever intentionally encouraged the doctrine, by throwing open your roll of membership to my sex from the first. Under these circumstances the aspect of matters changed. You had considered the question of sex, and in full knowledge of what you were doing had honored me by your invitation, and I had no option but to accept the honor. In the name of my sex I thank you to-night, rejoicing that a subject so full of rich and valuable material as that which this society has undertaken for its object has been placed in the hands of both sexes. Together, men and women built up this noble country by whose name we call ourselves; together they must preserve and develop it, and together they will stand or fall by it.

It is a matter of history that three times, one of the thirteen

Colonies—I think it was Rhode Island—was settled by men only, and that three times the settlement ignominiously failed. And why? Because a man alone cannot make a home, and without homes there can be no country. Home is the incentive, the anchor, the object of nation building, and hard, rough and discouraging though the pioneer's task be, woman has never shrunk from her share in it.

Fitting indeed, then it is, that women should be members of societies like this, and that in their hands as well as in those of men shall be placed the holy task of rescuing from oblivion the deeds of our forefathers, whether they be deeds of peace or war. For, I ask you, who suffers the more, the husband and father, or the wife and mother, when the red hand of conflict lifts its fiery torch on high? And who contributes the most to the public welfare in the "piping times of peace," the man who develops the resources of nature or the woman who puts them to their proper uses?

Many of you present here to-night have personal recollections which will reply with vivacity and feeling to questions like these. But I must proceed more directly to my subject—"The value to the National Life of the Historical Society."

In considering a special subject, therefore, on which to speak, it occurred to me that the old but ever new sentiment of patriotism would serve our purpose best, and, as you know, one of the great lights of literature has lately, according to a custom of his, been decrying the sentiment, at least for Canadians, it may be well to look at this his last public utterance.

In the Toronto *Empire* of November 10, Professor Goldwin Smith is reported to have said to the Young Liberal Club, whose members he was addressing, that he "agreed with the movement to erect a monument to the heroes of Lundy's Lane, but desired that it should be a monument of reconciliation rather than to perpetuate the enmities which had existed between the two nations taking part in that event." Mr. Smith concluded his address by stating that "annexation was the inevitable destiny of Canada."

Certainly, if Canada's people consisted of Goldwin Smiths, annexation to the United States would be inevitable; it might however, even in that case be impossible, for no astute and patriotic Government would be anxious to admit into the national life a people that did not believe in itself, thus confessing that it knew not

even the very first element of progress. As Canada has not yet arrived at such an emasculated condition, we may safely leave Professor Goldwin Smith's opinion to work out its own destiny.

It is, however, the same bloodless, timid condition of mind that would carry Canada into annexation that dictates Mr. Smith's objection to national monuments. He would have them international, like the statue of "Liberty Enlightening the World," at New York harbor—for which, however, no American would admit that any other proper site could be found than one furnished by American soil.

A statue of Jupiter or Venus would serve Professor Goldwin Smith's idea of the character that ought to mark our national monuments, just as well as a statue of Brant or Brock; nay, much better, since these heroes of our past have left traces upon our history which can never be dissociated from them. According to such a view, never ought a memorial to the patriotic and loyal Tecumseh to arise in our valley of the Thames, nor another to De Salaberry on the field of Chateauguay. Laura Secord ought still to be unnoticed and unknown in Drummondville Cemetery, and our monument to the men who fell at Ridgeway ought no longer to remain to affront the sensibilities of any stray Fenian sympathizer who may find his way into the Queen's Park at Toronto.

But the ground on which Professor Goldwin Smith bases his approval of his nondescript monuments, requires our attention, and is found on examination to be wholly untenable. He speaks of "perpetuating the enmities that had existed between the two nations taking part in the event."

Here Mr. Smith joins Canada and England as *one*, to which we do not object, as Canada *is* part and parcel of England. But what does he mean by "the enmities which had existed between the two nations"? If he goes back to the period of the thirteen colonies—there were then no enmities—the nation was as one, and the revolution sprung out of a disagreement which, irritated and inflamed by the interference of meddlesome interlopers, became at the last a bitter quarrel, out of which indeed enmities sprang. But those enmities were limited entirely to the two sections of the disagreeing colonists; England had no part in them, as her forbearance, generosity and self sacrifice plainly show, study subsequent events which way we will. Thus, therefore, it only remains to charge enmity on the United Empire Loyalists who, with bitter feelings in their hearts, born of the persecutions, losses and evictions that had been inflicted on them by their fellow colonists, had sadly forsaken the land of their birth or adoption and had retired to the shelter of the flag they loved, though it waved over a virgin forest; where they whose hands had already built up a country, its governments, judiciary, commerce, universities, churches and homes in the land they had left, should have to begin again at the very A B C of life, take again the axe, the plough and the spinning wheel and once more lay the foundations of a new England, a new Britain, to be the boast, the pride of all time to come.

Enmity! yes, no doubt there was enmity in many a Loyalist breast as he contemplated the losses he had endured, as he looked at his wife driven to the roughest toil, at his children ill-clad and untaught. But, did it make the Loyalist a guerilla, a bandit? No: he was content to toil, to strive, to suffer, to hope. All he asked was to be let alone. All he expected was to be allowed to work out his future unmolested. Not his the hand that took the sword, not his the foot that invaded another's territory. The war of 1812 was no collision of angry neighbors burning to be at each other's throats. It was an assault of the weak by the strong. It was a deliberate invasion of peaceful territory by an inimical government. It was an expression of enmity to England by an attack upon her defenceless offspring.

God defend the right; British pluck and bull dog tenacity won the day; Canada was saved. But she dyed her soil with her own blood. She gave her sons and her daughters as a sacrifice for her freedom. She fought for every foot of ground she holds. And when the invaders were driven ignominiously back to their own territory she set her house once more in order and turned again to her task of providing for her children and opening out a future for them.

But, we are not to remember all this lest our neighbors be offended; lest our memorials of that heroic time remind them unpleasantly of their sins. Do we think they will respect us any the more for our subserviency?

Why, they themselves are erecting monuments to their heroes of 1812, and are we going to be offended? Why should they not if it pleases them? They often gave us "foemen worthy of our steel," and we gave one of them to day a quiet and not unhonored resting place upon the field where his country was worsted—Capt. Abram Hull, United States infantry, who was killed at the Battle of Lundy's Lane, and lies buried near to where he fell. His countrymen marked his grave by a low headstone, and the Lundy's Lane Historical Society keeps the grave in order, and where we hope yet to place a monument commemorative of our victory in our own defence.

During the last summer a friend sent me a little newspaper called the *Creston Commonwealth*, for July 31, 1891, published in Creston, Iowa, and in it I find under the heading, "Some Historic Spots," an account of a local movement for the erection of national monuments at various points. The article opens thus: "The national movements to mark by appropriate monuments points of historical interest have suggested to the citizens of North western Ohio and North-eastern Indiana the preservation of the sites of the battle fields and forts along the Maumee River rendered conspicuous in the early history of the North West Territory by the memorable campaign of General Wayne against the Indians, and the subsequent campaigns of the war of 1812."

Wayne's career is so sketched as to show the points about to be commemorated, all uncertain or unpleasant memories of broken treaties, a few whippings, etc., being conveniently dropped. The cost of sites, monuments, etc., is liberally named. That of the Battle of Fallen Timbers, where Wayne scattered a few Indians, is cited at about $5,000, and others at similar rates.

"The two other points determined upon for commemoration," the article goes on to say, "Fort Meigs and the Put in Bay burial ground, belong to the period of the war of 1812, when the Maumee Valley became again the scene of military operations."

The writer of the article has a pretty sketchy style, and combines Fort Meigs, the battle of the Thames and Tecumseh with General Harrison in a most captivating way. The British arms and Colonel Proctor have no place within his horizon. "The victory," he airily remarks, "was with General Harrison, and Tecumseh was killed during the war."

At Fort Meigs fifty five acres of land, embracing the fort and the burial ground, are to be purchased for $100 per acre. One large monument is to be erected at Fort Meigs, at a cost of $10,000, three others at $5,000, each to mark the burial places, make up a total of $25,000 at one spot.

At Putin Bay, the scene of poor Barclay's disaster, the burial ground upon the island where Perry is said to have buried his dead, a granite shaft, at a cost of $2,500, is to be erected to mark the graves. "the site being already enclosed and in the possession of the corporation in trust for the public," having been given under a conveyance, by Mr. J. D. Rivera, which assured the spot against obliteration.

"The Maumee Valley Monumental Association," with headquarters at Toledo, Ohio, and with Rutherford B. Hayes as President, has "introduced a Bill into the United States Senate by Senator Sherman, calling for an appropriation sufficient to preserve these old landmarks of the early history of the country, as indicated above. The total cost would be $60,000."

I have quoted the above account, as constituting an all-sufficient answer to Professor Goldwin Smith. If Canadians want an incentive to keep the memory of their own history green beyond that warm love of country that distinguishes every patriot heart, they may find it in the action and example of the very people we are to be so careful lest we offend by the erection of monuments to our victories. Victories over them, to be sure, but that we cannot help!

Why, what a country would Canada be if she followed the lead of Professor Goldwin Smith! Loyalty dead, patriotism smothered, she would be a spectacle to the world.

But, that loyalty is not dead, nor patriotism smothered, witness this society. If the past were nothing to us, we should not be here. Nor could we cast our eyes on every side only to have them rest on other societies, all bent on the same generous end as ourselves! Our hearts are strengthened, our hands cheered, when we know that every Province in this wide Dominion boasts an historical society that is gathering and has gathered from our past, records of enduring value, and has laid them up in our archives for further service as guides, beacons, and land marks,—records which are the food of loyalty and the drink of patriotism.

What a land would Canada be with no historic points to which we might direct the eyes of our children! Where would be the source of our honor? With what face should we look in the faces of other nations?

Is there a spot on this wide earth where patriotism does not find a home? No island in the warm Pacific but gives its quota to patriots—men ignorant, rude, of strange habits, if you will—but they will fight for the land they love like the heroes of Lacedæmon—or shall we say,—of Queenston. Not an icy peninsula within the Arctic or Antarctic circles but will furnish a patriot, if it furnishes an inhabitant.

Patriotism is the soul of national life, and we are not to be told by any philosopher whose liberality is so exalted that he recognizes no nation as distinct from another, that we are not and never can be a nation. *We are a nation.* Of that nation that is at the head of the power, the civilization, the piety of the world, England is Canada, and Canada is England, and our youth may not forget that Canada will be whatever they like to make it.

Nor does there seem to me any means by which the high sentiment of patriotism may receive fuller exposition than these societies of ours, the Historical Societies of the Dominion of Canada. The last issue (Nov. 14) of our excellent periodical, the *Dominion Illustrated*, contains matter that is sufficiently demonstrative of the work that such societies can do, because it shows what has been done in one or two notable instances. The sketch of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, the president being Sir Adam Archibald, gives a list of papers of a most important character that have by its means been added to the historical literature of the country.

And another sketch in the same issue of one of whom we are all proud as a cultivated and patriotic young Canadian, the compiler of "Songs of the Great Dominion" and the author of "The Young Seigneur," Wilfred Duouw Lighthall, who I am sure you will be glad to hear was born in this your rising commercial city of Hamilton, gives another list of equally valuable papers contributed to the Society for Historical Studies of Montreal. I believe Mr. Lighthall is sponsor to that Society, which, however, was not the first of its kind in that literary centre. The Ormstown and Chateauguay Historical Society owes its inception very much to the same patriotic spirit. Nor will we overlook the Leeds and Grenville Historical Society in the eastern part of the Province, where a rich mine of historic memories has yet to be worked.

I need hardly cite to you the highly valuable lectures by Captain Ernest Cruikshank on the various battlefields of 1812 in the Niagara Peninsula, that were delivered before the Lundy's Lane Historical Society, and since published by them, together with some

other contributions made at various times to the anniversary occasions that that Society regularly celebrates The transactions of the York Pioneer and Historical Society have long been known to you, identified as they are with the names of Dr Scadding, D B Read, Q C, and others The Canadian Institute, the Toronto National Club, are further examples of much important national and historical work being called for and done, which would otherwise have remained unaccomplished.

I am sure that new as your society is, you have already received and put on record much historical information that you would not lightly give up, and your members will not willingly be outstripped in ardor of research, industry of collection, and careful preservation of the rich treasures of past times which lie so thickly around this historic district There is much of interest only waiting to be recorded I learned while at Grimsby for a day or two during the summer that the part of your beautiful mountain range that shadows that delightful little village was the site during the war of 1812 of a beacon signal between Niagara and York. What anticipations cluster about that bit of news How we long to have a record of the messages flashed between those two great points during the war

And I was told that Sir Allan MacNab and a number of Hamilton gentleman, members of a forgotten society, something like this, used to go to the mountain at Grimsby every 13th of October and commemorate the victory of Queenston Heights Can nothing be done to put on record those events?

Then again from that small place I procured the loan of a treasure, a document faded and yellow containing the names in their own handwriting of the first subscribers to the first English Church built there The first of those names is that of Abraham Nelles, a name of note with us even to day

Thus I beg to indicate a little to your younger members, whence history may be gathered Patriotism is the key that will unlock these treasures, and I am happy to stand to night among so many who already have taken that key to Canada's greatness into their hands

For the love of country is like the love of kindred, it is a word of honor, an incentive to duty, a tie of affection It urges us to live nobly, to work faithfully, to give our best, to serve gladly to forego luxury, to love simplicity, to be honest, independent and fearless in short to be our best and do our best for the sake of the beloved And it carries its own reward

Thanking you, Mr President, and ladies and gentlemen, for the opportunity afforded me on this occasion, I beg also to be allowed to express my pleasure at being here to-night.

RECOLLECTIONS OF COL TALBOT AND HIS TIMES—SACRIFICE OF THE PUBLIC DOMAIN

By the Hon. Arch. McKellar

Thomas Talbot was born at the ancient Baronial Castle of Malahide, in the county of Dublin, Ireland, in the year 1771. In accordance with the custom of the time, among noblemen's sons in Great Britain, young Talbot was early provided with a commission in the 24th Regiment, and in 1786, 1787 and 1788, was with Arthur Wellesly—afterwards Lord Wellington—aide-de-camp to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. In 1790 young Talbot came to Quebec with his regiment, and in 1791 became attached to the suite of General John Graves Simcoe, the first Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada, and remained in that capacity four years, when he was called home as Major of the 5th Regiment then ordered to Flanders. While Col Talbot was Governor Simcoe's aide-de camp and private secretary, he became acquainted with the fertile and picturesque belt of country along Lake Erie. After a few years' service in the army Col Talbot resigned, and for reasons unknown, other than what madam rumor reported, that it was a disappointment in a love affair, and his conduct would indicate that was the case, for he was a woman hater, and would have none in his house. Whatever were the reasons he decided to leave the comforts of civilization in the old world and plant a new civilization in Upper Canada, which he did, and in a manner which shows the reckless way in which the public domain was managed, or rather mismanaged in those days.

Governor Simcoe left Canada before Talbot's return. Col Talbot, however, applied to the British Government for a grant of land, the nature of which can be best understood from ex Governor Simcoe's letter, which is as follows:

"Somerset Street, Portman Square,
"11th February, 1803.

"My Lord,—Upon my arrival in Canada, to carry the constitution which had been granted to that colony into effect, Mr Talbot

accompanied me as my private and confidential secretary into Upper Canada. He remained in my family four years, when he was called home as Major of the 5th Regiment, then ordered to Flanders. During that period he not only conducted many details and important duties incidental to the original establishment of a colony to my entire satisfaction, but was employed in the most confidential measures necessary to preserve that country in peace, without violating on the one hand the relations of amity with the United States, and on the other alienating the affections of the Indian nations, at that time in open war with them.

"I consider these circumstances, my Lord, as authorizing me in general terms to recommend Mr. Talbot to your consideration and protection. Mr. Talbot's specific application which I beg leave to support to the utmost of my power, consists of two points: the first is the grant of 5,000 acres of land as a field officer, actually and bona fide, meaning to reside in the Province for the purpose of establishing himself therein. The king's bounty having been extended to the field officers who had served during the American war, in grants to a similar extent, it was judged expedient by myself, Mr. Chief Justice Osgoode, and other confidential officers of the Crown in that colony to extend the provisions to any field officer of character, who bona fide, should become a settler therein, it being obvious that it was for his Majesty's interest that a loyal set of European gentlemen should as speedily as possible be obtained to take the lead in the several districts. In consequence, my Lord, had Mr. Talbot been totally unknown to me, except by his character, and the high rank he has borne in the king's service, I should have thought him a most eligible acquisition to the Province, and on this public ground, without hesitation, have granted him 5,000 acres on the same principles that had been laid down and acted upon. This is the first part of Mr. Talbot's request.

"The second request is, that these 5,000 acres may be granted in the township of Yarmouth, on Lake Erie, and that the remainder of that township may be reserved for such a period as may appear advisable to government for the purpose of his settling it on the following specific plan, namely: That 200 acres shall be alloted to him for every family he shall establish thereon; 50 acres thereof to be granted to each family in perpetuity and the remaining 150 acres of each lot to become his property for the expense and trouble in collecting and locating them. His plan is to introduce himself amongst a large body of Welch and Scotch families who arrived at New York in the summer of 1801, and who have temporarily fixed themselves in the interior of the state, many of whom are already disgusted with the dissolute principles of the people there, and feel a strong inclination to return under the Government of England, but do not possess the means of purchasing land or paying the fees demanded by the Province on grants.

"It remains for me only to add that Mr. Talbot, having been very successful in the cultivation of Hemp, is induced to prefer the distant township of Yarmouth, as the soil is well adapted to the growth of that valuable commodity. It is his object to extend this cultivation through the whole township, and by precept and example to enforce principles of loyalty, obedience and industry amongst those with whom he will be surrounded."

I have the honor to be, etc.,

To the Right Honorable J. GRAVES SIMCOE
LORD HOBART

The grants were made in accordance with the request, and such additions were afterwards made to them that they covered in all about 28 townships with 618,000 acres of land.

The township of Yarmouth in which Talbot wanted his 5,000 acres is on the shore of Lake Erie, in the County of Elgin, and on the south west end of it stands the beautiful city of St. Thomas, so named in honor of Col. Thomas Talbot. Yarmouth, however, which the Colonel had thought so well adapted to the growth of hemp, was already beyond his reach, the south part of it having been sold at a nominal price to Colonel Baby, and the remaining portion of the township was sold to the Canada Company, a wealthy English company, who purchased from the British government two million five hundred thousand acres of the choicest lands in Upper Canada at 3s. 6d., or 70 cents per acre. For these same lands the hard working settler, who made his living by the sweat of his brow, paid from $5, $10, $12 and $15 per acre. By this improvident sale of our public domain, millions of money which should have been used to beautify and enrich our own country, were sent out of the country to fill to overflowing the coffers of the millionaires of the mother country.

Colonel Talbot having failed to obtain his 5,000 acres in Yarmouth, went westward to the township of Dunwich, which is on the shore of Lake Erie, and the second township south-west of Yarmouth. On the 21st May, 1803, he landed at the mouth of a winding creek, in the said township of Dunwich, where he located the 5,000 acres on both sides of the creek and called it Port Talbot, a name it retains to the present day. At this time the Long Point region, 60 miles east, contained the nearest white settlement, chiefly made up of U. E. Loyalists, who settled there in 1783, and from whom the chief supply of the necessaries of life were obtained for

the settlers for a number of years. The progress of the settlement was slow, not more than twelve or fifteen families having settled in it during the first ten years, and these were in Dunwich. The township of Aldborough, which adjoins Dunwich, is bounded on the south by Lake Erie, and is the most westerly township in the county of Elgin, and its first settlers were named Ward, Fleming and Gibb, who located in 1812. In 1815 another settlement was located. In 1816 a number of Scotch families came from the States and became settlers.

In 1817 my father, mother and myself, then 15 months old, and two other families, came from Scotland, and with a number of Scotch families from the States settled in Aldborough. My father and the three men of his party selected their lands, and walked 17 miles through the woods on an Indian trail to Col. Talbot's where they entered their names for 50 acres each, and for his trouble and expense in supplying them with pen and ink and a book in which to make the necessary entries, the Colonel received 600 acres. The Colonel transacted business in a room in his log house; he was curt, and at times uncivil to applicants for land. A stalwart Highlander named Duncan Patterson called upon him to enter his name for a 50 acre farm. The Colonel said something that offended Patterson, who by way of punishment put his arms around the Colonel's waist, carried him out and laid him on his back on the lawn, where he left him; ever after this incident the Colonel transacted his business with applicants for land through an open window. All the townships were withdrawn from settlement by Talbot except the townships of Aldborough and Dunwich, the most westerly in the County of Elgin. In 1818 and 1819 both townships were being filled up by the most desirable class of emigrants from the British Isles, men and women of intelligence, courage, bone and sinew, fully prepared to encounter and overcome the trials and hardships of pioneer life. In a few more years every lot in both townships would have been taken up by the same class of people, but alas, at the close of 1819 when less than one fourth of the lands in both townships was occupied, Col. Talbot ceased to make grants, and instead of keeping 150 out of 200 acres for his trouble and expense, he kept the whole 200 acres without either trouble or expense. And as a result the unsettled portions of both townships remained a wilderness until Talbot's death some forty years later. Colonel

Airey, a British officer, who distinguished himself for skill, bravery and courage in his country's service was a nephew of Col Talbot, and was to have been Talbot's heir He came to Canada when a young man and spent some time at Port Talbot with his uncle, whose habits and surroundings he soon discovered were distasteful to him, and after a few months sojourn at Port Talbot he returned to Ireland I have been told that the separation from his aged uncle was not of the most friendly nature, which accounts for the disposition Talbot made of his vast estate which cost him nothing Instead of bequeathing his estate to Colonel Airey, his lawful heir, he bequeathed it to George McBeth, a son or grandson of one of the Highlanders that Lord Selkirk brought out to the Red River near Winnipeg in 1812, and who from boyhood was Col Talbot's valet Mr McBeth was for some years M P P for West Elgin He died when a comparatively young man, but left a highly respected family who are managing his estate with prudence and care. In justice to Col Talbott, I beg to add that he was a member of the Provincial Executive Council from 1803 to 1840, when Responsible Government was established

CANADIAN HISTORY.—(CONTINUED.)

BY THE HON. DONALD MACINNES.

PART II.

JACQUES CARTIER, after making three voyages from France, did not succeed in establishing any permanent settlement in Canada, and after his third and last voyage there is no further record of him in Canadian history. (1540.) He was a bold and intrepid navigator and explorer. He made a name for himself earlier than Drake or Frobisher. It was nearly fifty years before the French again made any serious attempt to colonize the great valley of the St. Lawrence. For the purposes of commerce, however, the connection between France and Canada never ceased. The trade in furs was a most lucrative one.

During the reign of Henry IV (1598), about fifty years after Cartier's last voyage, the Marquis de la Roche, a nobleman of Brittany, received a commission from the king as Viceroy of Canada, Acadia and the adjoining territories, to colonize, and with sole right to carry on the trade in furs with the Indians within the bounds of the domain granted to him. He made but one voyage, and his expedition was a most disastrous failure. In 1600 another expedition was organized by Chauvin, a naval officer of Rouen, and Pontgrave, a sailor merchant of St. Malo. They obtained a monoply of the fur trade from the king, with the condition to establish a colony of 500 persons. They failed in establishing a colony, and on a third voyage Chauvin was taken ill and died. In 1603, De Chastes, the Governor of Dieppe, succeeded to this enterprise, and Champlain now appears on the scene. He received an offer from De Chastes to take part in it.

It does not come within the scope of these papers to write the biography of the early explorers, but Champlain, who may rightly be termed the Father of French colonization in Canada, and who is otherwise exceptional from the nobility and probity of his character, merits a fuller record of his life and achievements. The best record of him is in his own books, the books mark the man, and they bear on every page the palpable impress of truth A manuscript was discovered within the last thirty years, it is contained in the Laval University edition of his works, and gives an account of an expedition of which he was Pilot General for explorations to what was then Spanish America, and extends over a period of twenty six months Champlain kept a diary, which was circulated in manuscript form, and attracted the notice of Henry IV The king allowed him a pension This manuscript is the one contained in the Laval University edition The first Canadian record of him is in 1603, and his name embraces the next thirty two years of Canadian history, years of quiet and repose, as compared with the next thirty years of struggle and discord which followed

He was a true hero after the medieval chivalrous type He always held to his purpose with undaunted tenacity where Champlain was present there was no room for despair his dauntless courage was matched by unwearied patience He was less statesman than soldier,—he leant to the most direct and boldest policy A soldier from his youth, in an age of unbridled license, his life had answered to his maxims It is recorded of him that when a generation had passed, after his visit to the Hurons, their elders remembered with astonishment the continence of the great French war chief I quote a few lines from a recent Canadian poem on Champlain —

'He dwelt a winter among the guileful tribes
Of Huron joining in their distant wars

* * * * * *

'Sans peur et sans reproche. Thou blest of God,
Thy name still dwells unsullied never spot
Of greed or cowardice or lust or hate
Stained thy white scutcheon — worthy thou
To be a nation's founder and may we
Be not unworthy of thee, may thy faith
In our Dominion's fortunes and thy truth
And love of duty guide us on our course
So shall our country flourish thine as ours
So long, no longer'

Such was the manner of man whom De Chastes had enlisted in the enterprise. We shall see how he became the head and front of it, was left with a free hand to act as he pleased in Canada, and when the office of Vice Royalty was abolished was made Governor

De Chastes had influence with the Court He had rendered signal service to King Henry IV at the desperate battle of "Arques," in which, with less than half the number, he defeated the Duke of Mayence. De Chastes, who was Governor of Dieppe, undertook, without making any conditions, to admit King Henry and his army in case of necessity, the service was never forgotten, even after De Chastes' death a sum of money was given to the children. Champlain sailed with the expedition in 1603, ascended the St Lawrence as far as the Sault St Louis (Lachine), when he was stopped by the rapids. He thus followed in the wake of Cartier. He returned to France. De Chastes, the patron of the enterprise in the meantime had died, and the association was broken up. He was determined to pursue the enterprise, went to Paris and laid a chart of the country which he had traversed before the king. He was graciously received, and De Monts, a Calvinist gentleman of great wealth, who was in favor with the Court, joined him, taking Chastes' place.

De Monts' patent included all the country between the 40th and 46th degree of latitude, that is the country between Philadelphia and Montreal, with supreme governing powers. De Monts set sail with a larger expedition than had ever yet gone to Canada (March 1604). After examining the coast of Acadia (Nova Scotia), the expedition landed at St Croix and wintered there, in 1605 it was removed to Port Royal. The country to the south was explored as far as Cape Cod but no French colony within the borders of what is now United States territory was founded until 1615. De Monts' object was to develop the resources of Nova Scotia, but Champlain's preference was for the St. Lawrence. There was an idea prevalent in the minds of navigators and explorers in that age that Asia could be reached by a short route across the American continent, and "La Chine" rapids were so named from a belief that beyond them was the way to China. They were right, the shortest way to China is across the American continent, but by land and not by water as they believed was possible. It was a problem which for centuries they labored to solve. We have very recently (July 1891) witnessed how China has been brought within twenty-one days of Europe across the North American continent *via* the Dominion of Canada.

With Champlain lies the honor of founding Quebec. On the 3rd of July, 1608, he fixed upon a promontory not far from the spot where sixty seven years before Cartier had erected a fort and passed a winter there. I quote again from Mr. Dawson's poems.—

> "That wondrous strait where close th' opposing hills
> To build the stately Portal of the West
> There at the foot of that tremendous rock
> Which towers above a basin sheltered round
> By mountains slowly stooping from their height
> In terraces of verdure to the deep
> And ever tranquil water In that charmed spot
> Of solemn beauty was the cradle placed
> Of our Canadian Empire Grand the site
> And great the founder. Mark his forehead calm.
> His serious eyes but prone to gleam with mirth
> As fit to gaze on danger—resolute mouth
> Adorned with grim moustache and courtly beard
> Showing a man as skilled and apt to tread
> The Gallant Bearnais court as the slant deck
> Slippery with foam and ice when northern storm
> Swoops on the treacherous gulf and through the dark
> Aloft demons hurtle through the air
> With hiss and shriek

In 1611 De Monts, on his appointment to the Governorship of Saintoge, abandoned the North American adventure He committed everything to Champlain and advised him to seek some powerful patron He found such in the Count de Soissons, who obtained the title of Lieutenant General of New France, and then delegated the functions of his high office to Champlain The Count dying shortly afterwards Champlain found a still more powerful patron in the Prince de Conde Practically speaking Chaplain had a free band to do as he pleased in North America.

To the South he explored and discovered Lake Champlain (so-called after himself) and Lake George, and in 1613 he undertook exploration to the North He was greatly assisted by the Algonkins, whose friendship he had gained Champlain, in his intercourse with the native races, by his judicious and generous kindness, commanded their confidence and secured them as friendly allies The feuds and enmities which existed between the various tribes, or more properly speaking nations, notably between the Algonkins and Iroquois or Five Nations, made it impossible at times to prevent conflicts from taking place This expedition to the North was prompted chiefly by the report of one Vignau, who lived among the Indians, and had accompanied Champlain on his travels Vignau represented that the Ottawa issued from a lake connected with the North Sea, and reported that on the shores of this sea he had seen the wreck of an English vessel, and that the crew, eighty in number, had been killed by the natives. He set out upon the expedition, and after great hardships was compelled to return with the conviction that he had been deceived by Vignau. The journey, however, was not without its results, and was the prelude to a far more fruitful and important one in 1615. In that year he followed the course of the Ottawa, taking advantage of numerous small lakes and portages reached Lake Nippising from whence he followed the course of the French River to the Georgian Bay and entered Lake Huron, coasted it for several leagues, and turning about near its extremity struck into the interior, and found his way up to Lake and River St. Clair, near the site of the present city of Detroit, which was the furthest point of this exploration. The geographical results were important. He obtained the key to the far West, and after suffering great hardships and conflicts with the Indians, he was compelled to take part in the eternal fued between the Algonkins and Iroquois. He returned to Quebec in July of the following year, 1616. For ten years after this expedition he prosecuted his projects of Canadian exploration and colonization. He went every year to France laboring with zeal and fortitude for the interests of the colony. The difficulties of his task were increased by the apathy or open opposition of his countrymen. There was no overflow of population from France and towards the close of 1621 the European settlers of Canada were very few in number.

THE RULE OF THE ONE HUNDRED ASSOCIATES.

In 1627 all former charters given by the kings of France were cancelled chiefly through the advice of Cardinal Richelieu, and the fortunes of the French Empire in North America handed over to a company of a hundred associates, of which Champlain was the leading spirit. Among its members were not only Cardinal Richelieu and Champlain, but many noblemen and rich merchants were included. New France, according to the charter of Louis XIII, meant the basin of the St. Lawrence and of such other rivers as flowed into the sea. It also included Florida by virtue of Coligny's attempt to found a Huguenot colony there, 1564, and which as we have seen had been so ruthlessly destroyed by the Spaniards. The Association undertook definitely to send out 300 tradesmen first of all, and to find them with tools, food, and all the necessaries of life for three years

The French did not emigrate willingly,—they did not follow in the wake of explorers. The Association was formed to inaugurate a guide to a national exodus. The office of Vice Royalty, which had existed for 86 years, was abolished and Champlain was made Governor. Misfortunes overtook New France at the very beginning. In 1628 David Kirke, with an English squadron, captured the first ship laden with stores for the emigrants, and in 1629 the English took Quebec and held Canada until 1632, when by the Treaty of St. Germain *en laye* Canada—that is the valley of the St. Lawrence, Acadia and Cape Breton—were restored to France. This was a time of domestic embarassment for England during the reign of Charles I. and France profited by it. The Commonwealth disposed of King Charles and set the Kings of England aside for a time. In New France Champlain was reinstated with full power as Governor of Canada, and it looked as if he was a last destined to carry out his life long projects and build up a French Colonial Empire in North America, and he began to address himself immediately to the work before him. In the following year he came to Quebec with stores and a number of settlers, but on Christmas day, 1635, he died. The Colony could ill spare him, for about thirty years he labored hard and ceaselessly for its welfare, sacrificing fortune, repose and domestic peace to a cause embraced with enthusiasm and pursued with intrepid persistency. With the life of the faithful soldier closes the opening period of New France, heroes of another stamp succeed, and it remains to tell the story of their lives, their faults, their follies and their virtues.

I think it will be interesting to pause in the narrative of the early pioneers in the basin of the St. Lawrence (then called Canada) and in Acadia (now Nova Scotia and New Brunswick) to contrast their position at Champlain's death with that of the English further south. It may here be remarked that Quebec was founded under the guidance of Champlain about the time of the voyage of the Mayflower 1608. The French population consisted of several small settlements extending from Tadusac to Lachine, the most important of which was Quebec and Three Rivers. In Acadia, which included Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, there were only a few ports along the mouths of rivers. This was the extent of New France in 1635, exactly one hundred years after Cartier's expedition, 1535, up the St. Lawrence.

The settlements of the English further south were Virginia, first commenced by Sir Walter Raleigh off his own bat as it were, and nothwithstanding many failures his faith never wavered "I shall yet see it an English nation," were his phophetic words Massachusetts, settled by the Pilgrim Fathers, 1620, New Hampshire, 1623, Maine, 1625, Rhode, Island, settled from Massachusetts, Maryland, settled by Lord Baltimore, 1634 Connecticut, settled from Massachusetts, 1635, of the others New York was settled by the Dutch in 1609, and New Jersey and Delaware founded by the Dutch and Swedes in 1627 This group of plantations was inhabited by a race who did not subsist by the chase or trading with the Indians but by the labor of their hands in tilling the soil They had, however, the advantage in point of climate which was more temperate than that of the colder north On the other hand the settlements along the margin of the St Lawrence was like a camp where an army lay at rest ready for the march or the battle and where war and adventure, not labor and tillage, seemed the chief aims of life The owners of the soil were petty nobles for the most part soldiers, or the sons of soldiers, proud and ostentatious, thriftless and poor, fond of the chase, rightful heirs to French valor they had an eager love of wandering and adventure. No sharper contrast could be found than that between the French and English colonists The English colonist was strong in native vigor, grew yet more strong with conflict and with striving, patient and laborious and seeking for the solid comforts rather than the ornaments of life, no lover of war, yet if need were, fighting with a stubborn indomitable courage, then bending with stedfast energy to his farm or his merchandise

By the zeal of the priests and daring enterprise of soldiers and explorers, Canada spread forts and missions through all the western wilderness, feebly rooted in the soil she thrust out branches which overshadowed half America, a magnificent object to the eye, but one which the first whirlwind would prostrate in the dust The enterprises pursued by the early French pioneers may properly be likened to those of a great trading company such as the Hudson Bay Company, but unlike the French pioneers The Governor and Factors of that company did not attempt to convert the heathen or establish missions but devoted themselves to the work for which they were incorporated The trade in furs with the Indians gaining their confidence and making allies of them through the probity, the fairness and the integrity of their dealings, and we have the evidence of the moral effects produced on the Indian in the peaceful contentment, law and order which prevail among them to this day in the enormous territory over which they had rule

NATIVE RACES

The name 'Indian" was given to the aborigines of North America by the early searchers after the kingdoms of the east by a northwest passage, believing that along the valley of the St Lawrence they were skirting the fringe of some Asiatic empire, and that the races whom they saw were those of the Indies, and the name has remained The tribes with whom the European colonists were brought into contact include *first*, the Eskimo, always found near the coast , *second*, roving hunters and warriors from the shores of Hudson's Bay to the Gulf of Mexico, keeping the valley of the Mississippi as the western boundary, known as the Algonkins , *third* the Iroquois and Mobilian groups The Eskimo are exclusively maritime and Arctic race and rarely found south of 65 north latitude They are supposed to number about 18,500 all told

The North American tribes, best known in Canadian history as the Algonkins, Hurons and Iroquois, there is hardly a page of early records or an incident of Jesuit trade or adventure but contains some reference to these natives The history of Canada has been simply a narrative of continual warfare with these tribes, who guarded the gateway to the prairies The Algonkins took the side of the French and the Iroquois that of the English speaking generally, but the real nature of the warfare underlying all partisanship was civilization against barbarism, European rule and law against the untutored regime of the wild nomads. Not till Pontiac's conspiracy, 1763, was crushed did the conflict cease A lucid and interesting account of Pontiac's conspiracy will be found in Parkman's works.

The North American aborigines were never very numerous According to Bancroft's history of the United States, two hundred years ago there were no more than 180,000 distributed over vast spaces of country reaching from the shores of Hudson Bay to the valley of the Mississippi The Algonkins numbered about 90,000 , it was an Algonkin that Cartier first met on the St Lawrence , it was an Algonkin Chief whom he unceremoniously took back with him to

France on his first voyage. The Huron or Wyandot tribes spoke a kindred language with the Iroquois and inhabited the peninsula between Lakes Huron, Erie and Ontario; their numbers were about 20,000. They were conquered in 1649 by the Iroquois who invaded them in the depths of winter, and by attacks and surprises scattered their clans, some finding refuge with the French near Quebec where their descendants still live at Lorette. The Iroquois or Five Nations, viz. Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas, stretched from Lake Ontario to the Ohio, Susquehanna and the Delaware. We hear more of them now than any other native tribes in the conflicts between French and English. When the Tuscaroras, a tribe of North Carolina, became merged with them they were known as the Six Nations, 1714. An eternal fued raged between the Iroquois and the Algonkins. The Iroquois, according to Parkman, were foremost in eloquence and savage acts. They were the conquering tribes of North America. They owed their triumphs partly to their advanced organization and partly to their indomitable courage and to their geographical position in their own country which was within the present limits of the State of New York, from whence there is easy access to any other parts by means of the lakes and rivers. Longfellow has described in Hiawatha the life, the ideas and romance of the race, their stern courage and occasional tenderness. They were cultivators of the soil; in 1696 Frontenac, the Governor of Canada, found miles of cultivated fields extending from their villages. Notwithstanding their victories and renown it is estimated that Iroquois warriors never exceeded 4,000. The regime of the Hundred Associates continued for twenty five years after the death of Champlain; his immediate successor was M. de Montenagny, (1637). He commanded the respect and confidence of the colonists, the Indians and the French court. He was esteemed a model for colonial Governors; the limit of time assigned to the office was three years, and in the midst of his usefulness he was recalled.

M. de Ailleboust followed. He had some knowledge of Canada, having been military commandant at Three Rivers. He conceived the idea of forming an alliance with the English colonists of New England, but one of the conditions being a combination against the Iroquois or Five Nations it was not carried out. This attempt to crush them aroused the wrath of the Iroquois and increased their enmity against the French. M. de Lauson, M. de Ar-genson and M. de Avaugour succeeded as Governors. M. de Avaugour was the last appointed under the regime of the Hundred Associates. As a trading and colonizing company, the Hundred Associates, in spite of good Governors and large concessions, was a failure. At the suggestion of Bishop Laval, the King of France cancelled the charter of the company. It had dwindled down to one half its original members, and the whole territory was brought under the direct rule of the Crown. Before their reign had expired, 1660, the English colonists proposed to the Governor of French Canada, that the colonists of France and England should take no part in the quarrels of the mother countries but should live in amity, Protestants and Catholics; but it was then urged that it would be impossible to dissociate colonial from imperial policy, and yet such an arrangement was subsequently agreed to between the parent countries. A treaty of neutrality, in the event of war in Europe, was made between France and England in 1686, but it was destined that Canada was to become one of the battle fields of England and France. Missionary enterprise and the conversion of the natives were the main features of the regime of the Hundred Associates. Champlain availed himself of the services of the Franciscans, an order noted for their austere and simple habits; he regarded them as the most fitting missionaries to send as pioneers into a new country, as they were free from ambition, but afterwards the task was entrusted solely to the Jesuits as being better instruments.

In 1640, Montreal, the site of which had already been indicated by Champlain in 1611, was founded, that there might be a rendezvous nearer than Quebec. In August of the year 1640 a general meeting of French settlers and Indians took place there, the new crusading spirit took full possession of the enthusiastic French people. The niece of Cardinal Richelieu founded a hospital for the natives. The French missionaries much as they might desire it, could not keep outside the intertribal strifes of the natives around them, but succeeding to Champlain's policy they continued to aid the Algonkin Hurons against their inveterate enemies the Iroquois, who retaliated by the most revengeful cruelties; there was no peace, and missionaries and colonists carried their lives in their hands. The method of colonization and settlement pursued by the English to the south on the Atlantic coast were, as we have seen, in marked contrast with that pursued by the French in Canada. The French were first in the field, but it was not until Champlain, who may be said to be the father of French colonization, appeared on the scene, that the colonization and settlement of French Canada may fairly be said to have commenced (1603). Quebec, as we have seen, was founded by Champlain about the time of the voyage of the Mayflower—a brief reference to that famous voyage and the causes which led to it may here be interesting. The history of our own time records the stupendous consequences which flowed from it.

In April, 1614, John Smith, a noted explorer and leader of colonists, when President of Virginia, had sailed on a voyage of discovery to the northern shores, examined the coast from Penobscot to Cape Cod and called it New England. The title was confirmed by Prince Charles. To this land the Pilgrims in the "Mayflower" and the "Speedwell" turned in 1620, leaving their native land as victims of religious persecution; they held no charter or concession and were simply adventurers. On the 9th November they cast anchor in the harbor of Cape Cod. Before landing, the following document and compact was drawn up affirming their loyalty to the King of England, covenanting together reverently to obey the laws which they might make for themselves.

"In the name of God, amen. We, whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread King James, having undertaken for the glory of God and advancement of the Christian faith and honor of our King and Country a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do by these presents solemnly and mutually in the presence of God and of one another, covenant ourselves together into a civic body politic for our better ordering and peservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid, and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions and officers from time to time as shall be thought most convenient for the good of the colony, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience."

This document was signed by forty-one men, representing one hundred and two souls comprising the whole colony. They landed at New Plymouth at a spot still marked by posterity. Here was the beginning of New England. The main idea of these colonists was to secure for themselves a place in the world where they could worship God in the way that seemed best to them. They were not rebellious or disloyal. They trusted to themselves for success and leaned neither upon privileges or chartered rights. They had gone to Holland, where they heard there was toleration for all, and conducted themselves with piety and honesty while there. But they desired to live under the British flag and believed they could secure that best by crossing the Atlantic. The Council of Plymouth, two months after the Mayflower had sailed, obtained a charter from King James which gave them absolute power over all the territory between the 40th and 48th degrees of north latitude, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

New England was reinforced from time to time by fresh arrivals from the old country, who were driven out for political or religious opinions. In May, 1638, the Privy Council interfered to stay a squadron of eight ships which were in the Thames preparing to sail for the New World, both Hampden and Cromwell were said to have been on board. After the execution of King Charles and the establishing of the Protectorate, the colonies were left free to do as they pleased for nearly twenty years. In 1614 the government of Massachusetts was established in its liberty and laws. Harvard College had been founded in 1638, public education was provided for all classes. In 1642 the colony of New Hampshire was incorporated with the earlier settlements on equal terms, in 1643 there was a union effected between Massachusetts, Connecticut, Plymouth and New Haven. Within the first fifteen years there came over to Puritan New England 21,000 persons, or 4,000 families. Their descendants in 1834, about two hundred years afterwards, mustered about 4,000,000. The settlements from New Haven to Pemaquid were composed chiefly of agricultural communities planted along the sea. As early at 1675 it was an easy task for Massachusetts, Plymouth and Connecticut, to raise a force of 1,000 troopers to deal with the Indians both to the north and south, from Virginia on the one hand and Massachusetts on the other. British colonists were growing and prosperous. Along the coast from Maine to South Carolina a young nation was growing. To their force of character and indomitable pluck, their fierce spirit of liberty, Edmund Burke, in his great speech on "Conciliation with America," gave ample testimony. Adam Smith, in his estimate of the American character, lays stress on their inborn virtues, and native hardihood. "In what way therefore has the policy of Europe contributed either to the first establishment or to the present grandeur of the colonies of America? In one way and in one way only it has contributed much *magnum virum mater*, it bred and formed the men who were capable of achieving such great actions and of laying the foundation of so great an empire, and there is no quarter of the world of which the policy is capable of forming or has ever actually formed such men. The colonies owe to the policy of Europe the education and the great views of their active and enterprising founders, and some of the greatest and most important of them, so far as concern their internal government owe to it scarcely anything else." Such was Adam Smith's estimate of the New England colonists. Can we not claim this estimate to be equally applicable to the present generation of Canadian British men? Are they not capable of performing achievements equally great? It has been asserted by a writer who is an acknowledged master of the English language and who aims at moulding public opinion at the present time, that the existence of a Canadian British nationality on this continent alongside of the Republic to the south engenders a spirit of hostility on the part of that great country, that therefore it behooves the people of this Dominion to change their allegiance, if they allowed themselves to be influenced to such a course by a menace they would be exhibiting a spirit the reverse of Adam Smith's estimate of the New England colonists; it might rightly be called a spirit of poltroonery, and the hostility, if such exists on the part of the people of the United States, would assuredly be changed to that of contempt; better a spirit of jingoism, whatever that may mean as applied to Canadians, than a spirit of pusillanimity or treasonable teaching. Canadians have always shown and may be trusted to show a proper spirit of self-reliance and manliness, and while duly respecting their neighbors maintain their own self respect.

It may be asked why French colonization to the north lagged so much behind that of the English to the south? A glance at the internal condition of France at this period will tend, partly at least, to reveal the cause. France, in the 17th century, was powerful and ambitious and aimed at keeping the supremacy amongst the nations of Europe, and at consolidating a transatlantic Empire but the internal religious wars and dissensions which prevailed between Roman Catholics and Protestants prevented the realization of its policy.

Henry IV, a wise and pacific king, granted the Edict of Nantes, 1590, which ushered in the principle of religious toleration a great boon to Catholics as well Protestants. The King was assassinated by Ravillac, 1608, and religious wars broke out again and much blood shed on both sides until the Edict of Nantes was confirmed, 1628. The evils of this internecine warfare were enormous. France became a nation divided against itself. It was estimated that the religious wars cost the country a million of lives, and in treasure 150,000,000 livers besides causing the destruction of nine cities, four hundred villages, two thousand churches and two thousand monasteries, a serious hindrance to colonization was one of the consequences.

Cardinal Richelieu, during the reign of Louis XIII, and Colbert, in that of Louis XIV, were fired with the ambition to extend the industries and commerce of France and to create a transatlantic empire, but the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 1685, was one of the chief causes of the ruin of their commercial and colonial policy. This relapse into religious intolerance rallied against them not only England but the powers of Europe, and William III became not only a champion of English nationality but of the territorial freedom of Europe, which appeared to be menaced. In her defence of Protestantism England could count as we shall see later on, upon the co-operation and assistance of the New England colonists. Another result of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes was to drive skilled Huguenot artisans and mechanics into other countries, many sought an asylum in England and Holland, etc. In England a persecution for faith and principles did not make aliens of English exiles. The Pilgrim Fathers were always loyal to the crown and staunch supporters of the national cause in America. The tremendous struggle which was closed for a time, and only for a time as we shall see, by the Treaty of Utrecht, was a fight between England and France for commercial and colonial supremacy.

A brief review of English history at the period under review is necessary to a proper understanding and appreciation of that struggle and of the different wars which were waged between the two countries in all parts of the world during the 17th and 18th centuries, and which ended in the expansion and triumph of England—commencing with the revolution, 1688, and ending with the battle of Waterloo. England waged seven great wars, the shortest of which was seven years and the longest about twelve. Out of 126 years, 64, more than half, were spent in war.

The great English navy first took definite shape in the wars of the Commonwealth, and the English army was founded on the mutiny bill, and dates from the reign of William III. England had of course been at war before this period, but at the commencement of it her debt was less than one million, but at the end of this period (1817), it was 840 *millions*. If we pass these wars in review, the first was the European war in which England was involved by the revolution of 1688, it lasted eight years, until the Treaty of Ryswick, 1697, there was then the war of Marlborough's great victories, called the Spanish succession, it lasted 11 years, 1702, till the Treaty of Utrecht, 1713. A truce of twenty-six years followed. The next war lasted nine years, 1739 to 1748, when the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle was made. Then comes the seven years' war, and the notable and interesting incident in it for us was the battle of the heights of Abraham, the death of Wolfe and the conquest of Canada. That victory was one of a long *series*, which to contemporaries seemed fabulous, so that the English nation came out of the struggle intoxicated with glory, and England stood upon a pinacle of greatness which she had never reached before. This is the fourth war and is in striking contrast to the *fifth*, the American war, which from the first outbreak of hostilities to the peace of Paris, lasted eight years, 1775 to 1783. This war, the American part of it, had been as inglorious not to say ignominious as the previous war had been splendid and triumphant, but its latter part became a great naval war in which England stood at bay against all the world, and through Rodney's victories ended creditably. The sixth was the war with revolutionary France, lasting nine years, 1793, till the Treaty of Amiens, 1802, and the seventh the Napoleonic wars, the war with France under the empire of Napoleon which continued for twelve years, 1803, and ended with the peace of 1815, and abdication of Napoleon. Then followed the battle of Waterloo, when he fled to the sea coast, surrendered himself to a British naval commander, and he who had lorded it over the nations expired six years afterwards a captive on a rock of the Atlantic.

On examination it will be found that all these wars or nearly all of them may be traced mainly to this struggle for commercial and colonial supremacy, although the ground of quarrel may seem quite accidental, hostilities may break out in the low countries or in the heart of Germany, but the war is waged everywhere and anywhere, at Madras, or at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, or on the banks of the Ohio Macaulay says, in speaking of Frederick's invasion of Silesia, "In order that he might rob a neighbor whom he had promised to defend, black men fought on the coast of Coromandel and red men scalped each other by the great lakes of North America"

A truce of twenty-seven years followed the peace of Utrecht, which was but the natural effect of the exhaustion of Europe When this truce was over, all the wars which followed may be regarded as constituting one war with occasional pauses, at any rate the three wars between 1740 and 1783; these three wars make one grand and decisive struggle between England and France Nominally the first of these three wars was ended by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, 1748, nominally there followed eight years of peace between England and France, but in reality it was not so at all, whatever virtue that treaty may have had towards settling the quarrels of other European powers concerned in the war, it scarcely interrupted for a moment the conflict in America between England and France, for the question of the boundaries of the English and French settlements in Acadia and Canada was disputed with as much bitterness after the treaty as before it, and not in words only but by arms just the same as if a war was going on This was equally true of another frontier along which the English and French met each other, namely, in India, and some of the most memorable encounters which have ever taken place between English and French in the course of their long rivalry took place in these eight years when nominally England and France were at peace We learn how the French built Fort Duquesne on the Ohio, how the English colony of Virginia sent a body of 400 men under command of General Washington, then a young man, to attack it, how he was surrounded and forced to capitulate, and also of the defeat and death of General Braddock, and the struggle between Dupleix and Clive in India, and the deeds which led to the founding of England's Indian empire All these were parts of a desperate struggle between France and England for supremacy The most of them took place after the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, 1748, and before the commencement of the second war in 1758

This great conflict lasted from 1744 to the peace of Paris, 1763 for a period of twenty years, it ended in the most disastrous defeat that has ever, in modern times, been suffered by France, except in 1870, but fifteen years later England and France were again at war by land and by sea for five years It was not for a moment dissembled that France now, in the hour of England's distress, avenged herself for what she had suffered from England This was her revenge for the loss of Canada, mainly to create the United States, in the words which on a latter occasion became so celebrated, 'she called a new world into existence to redress the old'

During the American war France lost all her possessions in India, and as the result of that war England lost all her American possessions except Canada The French were first in the field in India as they had been first in America. The great Colbert in 1664 had formed a French India Company, their principal settlements were at Pondicherry, on the coast of Coromandel The Portuguese, 1580 to 1595, made rapid conquests more than three quarters of a century before they possessed the Moluccas, the coast of Ceylon, the Isles of Sunda, and the trade of China and Japan, and were all powerful on the coast of India. The Dutch, 1595, had also formed a company, their first settlements were in Java, Banda Amboya, and Polerm The English appeared in India a few years after the Dutch These three powers, Portugal France, and Holland, were far more powerful at this period (1600) than the English Sir Edwin Arnold, in an able and most interesting article recently published in the North American Review, which will reward perusal has given an amusing account of the first beginnings of the English settlements in India He says "In point of fact our Indian empire was forced upon us by the irresistible logic of events It began in the utmost simplicity with a merchant's charter and with a doctor's perscription Some London traders got a monopoly of buying and selling goods at the mouth of the Ganges as well as at Bombay and Surat, and were doing a quiet wholesale and retail business, when one of their doctors cured the great Mogul Ferozeshah of a boil on his back, and the princess, his daughter of a fever For a fee he received the land where Calcutta now stands and sold it cheap to the Company, who erected a factory there called Fort William After this the merchants became princes in spite of their earnest effort to remain brokers'

A stupendous and fierce struggle, continuing for about a century, ensued until it ended by England's gaining the golden prize, the

sovereignty of India, from the aspirants who had disputed it, from the French, the Portuguese, the Dutch, the Mogul, the Mahratta, the Madras Islamites, and the Punjaub Sikhs—'thus fell to that band of respectable merchants who started an empire with a physician's prescription and established a commerce of one hundred million sterling with an original order to their agent at Calcutta for a dozen pounds of the best tay you can get."

And as between France and England this struggle was world wide, in the east and in the west, in America and in India, in the end victory declared itself for England. We thus see the relevancy of Macaulay's saying that in consequence of European disputes, black men fought in Coromandel and red men scalped each other by the great lakes of North America. The loss by England of her American colonies, now the United States, was at the time doubtless felt to be most grievous, but is it not in the interests of succeeding generations, in the interest of human progress and civilization? Is it not better for England herself that another great English speaking nation, composed of men of her own race, should have grown up and flourished in a manner to command the wonder and admiration of the world? Is it not a blessing to India to be brought under the benign rule of the Empress of India? Is not England vastly benefited, if in no other way, by the duty imposed upon her by the noble task of governing and doing the right by these hundreds of millions? And is not the decree of Providence visible in the mighty events which I have thus briefly related?

We shall now resume the story of the French pioneers in Canada, and perhaps this dip into English history may help to increase its interest for all of us. In 1665 the Hundred Associates abandoned their charter to the King, and Canada became a part of the royal domain, an integral part of France. About the same time the history of Acadia (Nova Scotia) became intermingled with that of Canada. We have already seen that De Monts and Champlain in their second expedition from France landed at St. Croix and wintered there from whence they afterwards moved to Port Royal (the Annapolis of to day). De Monts' preference was for Acadia, but Champlain elected to explore and colonize the great basin of the St. Lawrence, then designated as Canada. While Champlain was engaged in opening up and developing the basin of St. Lawrence and the country inland and founding Quebec, De Monts and his successors were developing Nova Scotia and the adjacent main land, but they were not successful in carrying out any practical scheme of settlement; some Indians were converted and the fur trade pursued, but without much energy or success. Rivals at home who had the king's ear caused the recall of De Monts, and he was deprived of his office and charter.

In 1621, during the reign of James I, Englishmen succeeded to French attempts. Sir William Alexander, a Scottish knight, favorably known at court, obtained from the king a charter granting him the Peninsula of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and the Gaspe Peninsula. Four years after this charter was granted Charles I succeeded to James I, created an order of knights called "Knights Baronets of Nova Scotia" to the number of 150, each of them to receive a large grant of land on condition of bringing out emigrants and settling the country. The experiment was interrupted by European complication—under the Treaty of St Germain en Laye, 1632, Canada, Nova Scotia and Cape Breton were ceded back to France. Much disappointment was created on the part of English. Under Sir David Kirke they had practically expelled the French from Nova Scotia, conquered Port Royal, and even destroyed the trading station of Tadousac and held Quebec. The French held possession for twenty-two years, 1632-1654, undisturbed. England was then in the throes of civil war and her distinct settlements were entirely neglected. In 1654, Oliver Cromwell held the reins of government; under him England's foreign and colonial policy were administered with a firm hand. The Puritans of New England recognizing their danger from raids by the French in Acadia, backed as they were by the power of the French nation, protested against the surrender of Acadia, and urged the Protector to retake it. The Protector with his usual energy determined to retake the country and it was retaken accordingly, and the English flag was hoisted on Port Royal. Sir Thomas Temple was appointed Governor and ruled the settlement for thirteen years, 1654-1667.

In 1667 Nova Scotia again changed hands under the Treaty of Breda; a long truce between France and England followed but the French and English settlers from this date until the Treaty of Utrecht, 1713, and after the Treaty as we shall see, did not live together in amity, there were constant feuds and disputes about the fisheries, the fur trade, as well as intrigues with the Indians and continual petty strifes—at one time the colonists formally waged war with each other. A night raid in midwinter by French and Indians on the New England colonies made them rise as one man; two expeditions, one by sea against Port Royal and Quebec; the attack on Port Royal succeeded, that on Quebec and Montreal failed. A desultory warfare followed which was carried on by both sides in a barbarous manner, and the most ghastly cruelties inflicted. Villebon, the French Governor of Port Royal, left his post as being too exposed, and intrenched himself in a forest at the mouth of the St. John River. He kept a large pack of bloodhounds with which he hunted down his enemies, and with him lived a pirate, Baptiste by name, who plundered all who came in his way.

The English were destined to win the day in North America, and they won it here in the island and peninsulas first of all. Subercase, the brave French commander, was compelled to surrender Port Royal after a gallant resistance, in September, 1710, when the French flag was hauled down; one of the greatest and most important bulwarks of French power was destroyed, and in honor of Queen Anne its name was changed to Annapolis. Shortly after the Treaty of Utrecht the French built Louisburg in Cape Breton, which was still left to them, and made it the centre of their power; many of the French colonists from Newfoundland and Nova Scotia removed thither. It occupied a commanding position with regard to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and was for many years a menace to the British colonists.

One of the most notable exploits of New England colonists was the capture of Louisburg in 1745. Colonel Pepperall took command of 4000 volunteers, and early in the spring reached Canso. Here he was joined by Comodore Warren and several British men of war. After an interval of three weeks the combined forces approached Louisburg. The landing was difficult, the Massachusetts men had to struggle through the surf to a precarious beach, the French disputing every inch of ground. The defenders had a great superiority in artillery. The garrison consisted of 600 Regulars and 1,000 Breton militia. The attacking colonists exhibited great daring and courage, though as a body they knew little of discipline. The "Vigilant," a French ship of 64 guns, laden with supplies, was decoyed into the harbor and captured by the English fleet after some hours fighting, the hearts of the besieged failed them, and on the 17th June the city, fort and batteries, constituting the strongest fortress in North America, capitulated to the New England levies, consisting chiefly of mechanics farmers and fishermen. The French soldiers were sent home on condition that they would not bear arms against Great Britain for twelve months. The news of the fall of Louisburg, the Dunkirk of America, was received with the greatest joy in Boston and London, 1745. In 1746 the French determined to revenge the fall of Louisburg. D'Anville sailed from Rochelle with the greatest fleet that had ever sailed for the New World, but its fate was like that of the Spanish Armada. D'Anville reached Chebucto harbor (now Halifax) with a miserable remnant of his fleet, and in a frenzy fell upon his sword.

A body of French soldiers under Ramezey was sent from Quebec to co-operate with D'Anville's squadron—they distinguished themselves by a murderous and treacherous attack upon a body of New England colonists under Colonel North. French and Indians advancing quickly over the snow burst unexpectedly on the Massachusetts men, who were quartered at Grand Pre, and killed eighty of them in their sleep. In 1748, Cape Breton, by the terms of the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle, was restored to the French in exchange for Madras.

Attention has already been directed to the world wide contest between France and England—we see here an exchange of territories taking place between them according to the fortunes of war in regions so far apart as Cape Breton and Madras, and that not only in America but in Asia also, France and England in that age advanced side by side, one region having been laid open by the discoveries of Vasco de Gama and the other by those of Columbus and Cabot, followed by Cartier and Champlain. As a consequence of this exchange, Cape Breton for Madras, England was impelled to consolidate her power in Acadia by two means, one of colonization, and the other of expatriation. It was perceived that the possession of Louisburg, which the French at once made very formidable in strength and power, would constitute a source of great danger and anxiety to the English settlements, and it was determined as a precautionary measure to found another place equally strong by means of immigration and Chedabucto (now Halifax) was selected

In 1749 a British fleet lay at anchor where what remained of D'Anville's shattered vessels sought refuge three years before, it had on board more than 2,500 emigrants, who had been tempted with offers of free land grants, a year's provisions farming implements and other tools In addition to Halifax the town of Dartmouth was founded the following year, 1763; no fewer than 2,000 Germans came out and settled at Lunenburg Expatriation, the other measure, was made necessary and forced upon the English government by the policy which may rightly be termed a policy of deceit and untruth, pursued by the French towards the French Acadians who had become English subjects under the Treaty of Utrecht At this time their number was about 15,000 They were credulous and easily influenced, and under malign influences had been prevented from making the oath of allegiance required of them as subjects of the English crown, and their loyalty was questionable, although when left to themselves they were peaceable and law abiding It must be borne in mind that the struggle between the French and English was of a desperate character, and that as has already been observed, notwithstanding the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle, when peace was declared between the countries, forts were captured and recaptured many times over Frontier disputes respecting the fur trade were continued, and boundary difficulties, whether in the peninsula of Nova Scotia or in the valley of the Ohio, were never really settled, and it was felt that the English and French could not live together as neighbors under the same government

Expatriation has been made pathetic by Longfellow's poem of "Evangeline," which is founded on poetical imagination rather than on the facts of history It is an episode in the history of Acadia on which it is interesting to dwell

But the true facts of history are as follows, chiefly gathered from Parkman's works Acadia, the peninsula of Nova Scotia, with the addition of the present province of New Brunswick and some adjacent country, was conquered by General Nicholson in 1710, and transferred by France to England three years later under the Treaty of Utrecht By that treaty it was expressely provided that such of the French inhabitants as were willing to remain were to be subject to Great Britain, and to enjoy the free exercise of their religion according to the usages of the Church of Rome as far as the laws of Great Britain allow the same, but that any who choose might remove with their effects if they did so within a year. Very few availed themselves of the right, and after the end of the year those who remained were to take the oath of allegiance. They would doubtless have soon complied if left to them, but the French authorities of Cape Breton did their utmost to prevent them, and employed agents to keep them hostile to England; of these the most efficient were the French priests, who, in spite of the treaty persuaded their flocks that they were still subjects of King Louis.

It was not till seventeen years after the treaty that the Acadians could be brought to take the oath without some qualification which made it useless. The English authorities seemed to have shown throughout unusual patience and forbearance; at length, about 1730, nearly all the inhabitants signed by crosses, as few of them could write, an oath recognizing George II as sovereign of Acadia. This restored comparative quiet till the war of 1745, when some of them remained neutral while some took up arms against England. The Fortress of Louisburg taken by the English (New England colonists) during the war, had been restored by treaty.[*] The French at once prepared to make it a military and naval station more formidable than ever; upon this the British ministry resolved to establish another station as a counterpoise. The harbor of Chedabucto, on the south coast of Acadia, was chosen as the site for it. Thither in June 1749 came a fleet of transports with emigrants, composed of mechanics, tradesmen, farmers, laborers also sailors, soldiers and subaltern officers thrown out of employment by the peace. Edward Cornwallis, uncle of Lord Cornwallis of the revolutionary war, was made Governor and Commander-in-chief. Wolfe called him a man of approved courage and fidelity. Before summer was over the streets were laid out, and the building lots of each settler assigned to him; before winter closed the whole were under shelter. Succeeding years brought more emigrants, till 1752 the population was four thousand. Thus was founded the city of Halifax of our day. The French, who never reconciled themselves to the loss of Acadia, were resolved by diplomacy or force to win it back. The Acadians were therefore kept in a state of disaffection towards the English; it was not that they had been ill used by the English, the reverse was the case. Constant efforts were made to stimulate Acadian emigration to French territory—Cape Breton and

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[*] The Society is now in possession of copies of this treaty.

Prince Edward Islands—and thus strengthen the French frontiers. Some 2,000 are reported to have left by the end of 1751.

The English governor, Cornwallis, appears to have been a man of good judgment and temper. His attitude towards the Acadians remained patient and conciliatory. It is interesting to read what he said to a deputation of them asking a general permission to leave the Province. "My friends," he said, "I am not ignorant of the fact that every means has been used to alienate the hearts of the French subjects of his Britanic Majesty. Great advantages have been promised to you elsewhere, and you have been made to imagine that your religion is in danger. Threats even have been resorted to in order to induce you to remove to French territory. The savages are made use of to molest you; they are to cut the throats of all who remain in their native country attached to their own interests and faithful to the government. You know that certain officers and missionaries who came from Canada last autumn have been the cause of all our trouble during the winter. Their conduct has been terrible without honor or conscience, their aim is to embroil you with the government; I will not believe they are authorized to do so by the Court of France, that being contrary to good faith and the friendship established between the two crowns. When you declared your desire to submit yourselves to another government our determination was to hinder nobody from following what he imagined to be his interest. We know that a forced service is worth nothing, and that a subject compelled to be so against his will is not far from being an enemy. We confess, however, that your determination to go gives us pain. We are aware of your industry and temperance and that you are not addicted to vice or debauchery. This province is your country; you and your fathers have cultivated it, naturally you ought yourselves to enjoy the fruits of your labors; such was the design of the king and master. You know that we have followed his orders; you know that we have done everything to secure to you not only the occupation of your lands but the ownership of them forever. We have given you also every possible assurance of the free public exercise of the Roman Catholic religion, but I declare to you frankly that according to our laws nobody can possess lands or houses in the province who shall refuse to take the oath of allegiance to the king when required to do so. You know very well there are evil disposed and mischievous persons among you who corrupt others Your inexperience, your ignorance of the affairs of government, and your habit of following the counsels of those who have not your interests at heart, make it an easy matter to seduce you In your petition you ask for a general leave to quit the province , the only manner in which you can do so is to follow the regulations already established and provide yourselves with our passports, and we declare that nothing shall prevent us from giving such passports to all who ask for them the moment peace and tranquility are established " He declares as his reason for not giving them at once, " that in crossing the frontier you will have to pass the French detachment and savages assembled there, and that they compel all inhabitants who go there to take up arms against the English "

The continued disaffection of the Acadians and their stubborn refusal to take the oath of allegiance required of them at last caused their removal from Acadia. It was resolved to distribute them among the various English colonies along the Atlantic coast, New England, Virginia, etc , and to hire vessels to carry out that purpose

Our New England humanitarianism, melting into sentimentality at a tale of woe, has been unjust to its own Whatever judgment may be passed on the cruel measure of wholesale exportation, it was not put in execution till every resource of patience and persuasion has been tried in vain The agents of the French Court civil, military and ecclesiastical, had made some sort of force a necessity We have seen by what vile practices they produced on Acadia a state of things intolerable and impossible of continuance They conjured up the tempest and when it burst on the heads of the unhappy people they gave no help , the government of Louis XV began by making the Acadians its tools and ended with making them its victims At Grand Pre 418 unarmed Acadians were summoned to church to hear an official order—Winslow the New England commander stood in the centre and said

" You are convened together to manifest to you His Majesty's final resolution to the French inhabitants of this Province Your lands and tenements, cattle of all kinds and live stock of all sorts are forfeited to the Crown, and you yourselves are to be removed from this Province I am, through His Majesty's goodness, directed to allow you liberty to carry off your money and household goods as many as you can without incommoding the vessels you go in." The men were then made prisoners and the stern order of expatriation carried out, 7000 in all being sent on board ship to be taken southward and scattered among the New England colonies from Hampshire to Georgia, where under different influences and surroundings some of their descendants live and flourish. It may not be generally known or remembered that Louis XIV, without any other provocation or pretence than the ambition of conquest, gave orders that the whole population of the colony of New York numbering about 18,000, should be seized, despoiled of their property, placed on board his ships and dispersed among the other British colonies in such a way that they could not reunite. Want of power alone prevented the execution of the order.

PATERNAL GOVERNMENT

In 1665, as has already been observed, the Company of One Hundred Associates abandoned their charter rights and privileges to the king, Louis XIV, and Canada became henceforth a Crown colony. The government was formed mainly on the model of a French province. In France the government of provinces had long been held by great nobles; the power of these nobles in a former age, the age of feudalism, was co-equal with that of the Crown, and at times controlled it. They formed an aristocratic republic, and the king was one of their number whom they chose to be their chief, but in the course of many succeeding reigns the power of the king became greater and that of the nobles declined. The triumph of royalty culminated in Louis XIV. The feudal nobles were still governors of provinces, but their power ceased to be dangerous, it was no longer co-equal with that of the Crown; titles, honors and ceremonials, they still had in abundance, but they were deprived of real power. Another official, the Royal Intendant, was associated with them; he was the king's agent, of modest birth, springing from the legal class, learned in the law and trained to administration, and in the name of the king holding the reins of government. It was by such means that the centralization of the monarchy enforced itself throughout the kingdom and penetrating beneath the crust of old usages and privileges, supplanted without seeming to supplant them. The Governor looked down with the pride of rank on the busy man in black with a troop of officials at his beck, controlled finance, the courts, public works, and all the administrative business of the province.

It may here be of interest to make some reference to Canadian feudalism, known as the seignorial tenure which was an offshoot of the feudalism of France. The seignorial tenure continued to exist down to our own times and was finally abolished in 1854, the seigniors receiving compensation from the government of the Dominion. It was Richelieu who first planted feudalism in Canada. As the feudal tenure prevailed in old France it was natural it should prevail in the new. Canadian feudalism was meant to serve a double end, to produce a faint and harmless reflection of French aristocracy, and simply and practically to supply agencies for distributing land among the settlers. The seigniors were denied any voice whatever in the directing of government. The seignior usually received his land gratuitously from the Crown. In a few cases he made grants to other seigniors inferior in the feudal scale, and they in turn to the habitants or cultivators of the soil. Sometimes the habitant held directly from the Crown. The seignior held by the tenure of faith and homage, the habitant by the inferior tenure—*en censaire*—one condition was imposed upon him which may be said to form the distinctive feature of Canadian feudalism, that of clearing his land within a limited time on pain of forfeiting it. The object was an excellent one of preventing the lands of the colony from laying waste, and he was forbidden to sell any part of it which he had not cleared. He must grant it without price on condition of a small perpetual rent. This brings us to the cultivator of the soil, the censitaire, the broad base of the feudal pyramid.

The tenure *en censaire* by which the censitaire (habitant) held of the seignior consisted in the allegation to make annual payments in money or produce, or both. These payments known as *cens et rente*, were strangely diverse in amount and kind, but in the early period of the colony were ludicrously small. The rents were commonly paid on St. Martin's Day when there was a general muster of tenants at the seignioral mansion, when the consumption of tobacco was prodigious with a corresponding retail of neighboring gossip. The seignior had judicial powers, which however were carefully curbed and controlled. His jurisdiction when exercised at all extended in most cases to trivial ones. So long as the censitaire brought in on St. Martin's Day his yearly capons and handful of copper his title against the seignior was perfect, and farms have thus passed from father to son for a period of 200 years.

The question of these seigniories or the seignioral tenure, as they were properly called, furnished a topic for public discussion and controversy for many years in the history of Canada down to our own day, until it was finally settled in 1854 by an agreement for compensation between the seigniors and the government as already stated.

The organization appointed for the government of Canada in its main points resembled that of a French province. It consisted of a Governor General, Intendant, and a Supreme Council or Court, who were absolute masters of Canada under the pleasure of the King—legislative, judicial, and executive power all centered in them. In 1675 the number of councillors was increased to seven, and again in 1703 to twelve. The councillors were rarely changed and they usually held office for life. It was a post of honor mainly, the salaries were very small and coupled with a prohibition to receive fees. The Governor General was a military noble, the Intendant, as in France, was usually drawn from the bar, the legal profession. The Governor General was superior in rank, he commanded the troops and conducted relations with foreign colonies and Indian tribes, unlike a Provincial Governor in France, he had great and substantial powers. The Intendant was required to make a report to the King on the Governor General's proceedings, and all that took place. The relations of the Governor and the Intendant to each other were so critical and perfect harmony so rare, that they might almost be described as natural enemies. There were as a matter of course Judicial Courts, with their judges and other officers for the administration of justice.

This brief summary will tend to convey a general idea of the organization adopted for the government of Canada from the date of its being made a Crown colony, under Louis XIV, down to the conquest in September, 1759.

DELEGATES REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

Of the Celebrations held to Commemorate the Centennial of Upper Canada, at Niagara Falls, July 16th 1892

Resolution of the Wentworth Historical Society, relative to the Centennial Celebration

Resolved, That the Wentworth Historical Society hereby endorses the patriotic sentiment that has prompted the celebration of the 100th anniversary of the first Parliament of Upper Canada, the establishment of which, by the wisdom of our Mother Country is, in the judgment of this Association, the primary source whence we are this day in the full enjoyment of a constitution and laws conferring liberty and protection to the subject, unsurpassed by any nation or country in the world

Carried 17th Sept , 1892 Geo H Mills, *President*

Taking action on the foregoing resolution, and desiring to place on record its quota of contemporary and corroborative testimony of historic current events, the delegates, sent as your representatives to take part in the various centennial and annual commemorative ceremonies which have taken place during the past summer, beg leave to return the following report

Niagara-on the-Lake may be well called the Alma Mater of all historic associations connected with the early establishment of the Province of Ontario Traditions of the past cluster round the old town, St Mark's and St Andrew's churches, old records and burial places, and seem to breathe even from the rocky sides of the rapid river, which here mingles with our own beautiful lake On this historic spot (1784) the United Empire Loyalists planted our Canadian constitution and sowed the seeds of a patriotism which has sprung up and developed into a nationality which stretches from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and claims as its heritage of loyalty the greater half of the continent of North America.

By Constitutional Act July 16th, 1792, Upper Canada, now the Province of Ontario, was formed into a separate Province, and granted from the Mother Country certain powers of self government Col J Graves Simcoe was appointed first Governor of the new Province, established in the old town of Niagara his headquarters, and there met his first Parliament on the 17th Sept., 1792. The writs were issued in Kingston, the session lasting four weeks. The Upper House or Legislative Council consisted of seven members, and a Lower House or Legislative Assembly consisting of sixteen members. Niagara-on-the-Lake can date historic memories farther back than one century of time. Nearly two centuries ago Champlain discovered Lake Ontario, but the marked hostility of the Iroquois, the most powerful confederation of native tribes, in its opposition to French exploration, rendered navigation on Lake Ontario very dangerous, and not until 1675 do we read of the bold and intrepid Robert Cavelier de La Salle, Seignior of the Seigniory of Cataraque, in his enthusiastic search after fame and fortune, constructing and launching from Fort Frontenac, now Kingston, the first decked and rigged vessels which floated on Lake Ontario. To extend French power another fort had to be constructed to shut off if possible the attempts of the New England colonists from western trade possessions. In 1678, in the month of November, La Salle, Tonti, and the celebrated Father Hennipen, started from Fort Frontenac in full sail for Niagara, or the head of the lake. Here they were met by a large number of Indians hastily gathered together to witness the marvellous white winged visitant approaching the shore with all the calm and dignity of a relentless fate!—the French upon their part, as profoundly astonished at the majestic spectacle of a river a mile in width, precipitating itself from a height of 160 feet into a fathomless abyss!

La Salle immediately set himself to constructing the fort despite the indignant protests of the Iroquois, and in midwinter began to build "Le Griffon" on a dock yard which he had constructed at Cayuga Creek, a short distance above the Falls. This was the first vessel constructed on Lake Erie, and called "Le Griffon," as a compliment to Count Frontenac, who carried two Griffins on his coat of arms. "Le Griffon" was at last launched early in the month of August, 1679, amid volleys of artillery—the chaunting of the Te Deum by the rejoicing Frenchmen, mingling with the symphonies of the rushing rapids and reverberating roar of the Falls, while the mist, jewelled by nature's crowns of rainbow, rose from the milky "chaudron" as incense on high.

During the reign of terror instituted by Dennonville, which lasted until the beginning of the eighteenth century, Dennonville, in spite of the remonstrances of Governor Dougan, of New York, built at Niagara a stone fort capable of garrisoning from 400 to 500 men, thus making Canada mistress of the lakes, but during the war of "Retaliation" carried on between Indian and French and French and English, which culminated in the terrible massacres of Lachine and Schenectady, the French garrison of Fort Niagara was cut to pieces, and the fort razed to the ground by the infuriated Senecas in 1687. In 1721 a block house, to which, in 1726, bastions were added, was built and last of all, in 1749 a stone fort erected, garrisoned and maintained by the French in pursuance of the Home Government's determination to check the New England colonists in their efforts to secure the peltry trade of the North and North West, and to confine English colonization to the Atlantic sea board. Thus passed the century of French possession of the Niagara peninsula, followed by forty years tenure of England. In 1796, by Jay's treaty, Fort Niagara passed to the United States. During the war of 1812-13 our forces regained the coveted heritage, which they only held for the space of one year, the treaty of Ghent restoring Fort Niagara to the United States.*

The severance of the New England colonies from the Mother Land by the Declaration of Independence, gave back to Britain a new nation—but a nation sown in the bitter yet sacred tears of the exile.

You will ask wherein lies the connection between the early discoveries, migrations and struggles of the seventeenth century and Canada of 1892? Strange as it may seem the descendants of the contending French and British hereditary and rival powers on land and sea of the seventeenth century, through the cosmopolitanism of their heredity and eclectic force of unprecedented environments, by following after, selecting from, and finally uniting of the Best, in each mother land, have evolved the true Canadian of the nineteenth century. It is no longer as French Canadian or British Canadian that we compete as a young nation in almost every avenue of development with the old emporiums of the world, but take rank by the more inclusive term—Canadian.

For a century and a half the fleur de lys of France floated

from primitive Fort Niagara, and claimed homage from the native tribes of our own Province The "Common" at old Niagara served as a regular Indian encampment, upon which wigwams were set, the shores of the river being strewn with bark canoes, while councils were held, gifts distributed, and strings of wampum exchanged, the pipe of peace smoked and the "war dance" danced for the edification of the pale faces gathered to witness the scene The Duke of Kent witnessed such a scene when Brant, in full regalia as Chief of the Mohawks led off the dance in the presence of the father of our beloved Queen And all this a century and less than a century ago!

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* Niagara on the Lake in 1812 when the United States sent armies to invade Canada was destroyed by fire by the Americans. Many valuable records of historical importance perished in the flames of the then prosperous town.

By Constitutional Act, 1791, Upper Canada was formed into a separate government

The Centennial celebration of this event took place on July 16th, 1892 The Niagara, Lundy's Lane, York Rangers and Wentworth Historical Societies, by members and delegates, all took part in this provincial demonstration At old Fort George Lieutenant-Governor Kirkpatrick read a synopsis of the first Proclamation of 1792 Prayers were read by the chaplain, Rev Canon Bull of Lundy's Lane Society, who, upon the occasion, used the Common Prayer Book (1774) which had belonged to Mohawk Chief Brant, whose Indian name was Tyendienega. The book was printed on one page in English, on the opposite in the Mohawk tongue, and had been prepared and translated by Brant himself, printed and illustrated in English Each Gospel lesson is illustrated by a quaint wood cut In some of these the Devil is to be seen fleeing before Christ These illustrations no doubt having been used as object lessons in teaching the Indians the truths of Christianity Most patriotic addresses were delivered by Sir Oliver Mowat, Premier, Dr Ferguson, Col Dennison Dr Tyendienega (Mohawk Chief and lineal descendant of Brant) and Sheriff McKellar, of Hamilton The delegates from the W H S were Sheriff McKellar, Alex McKay, Esq, M P, and Mrs J Rose Holden.

Sunday, July 17th, on nearly all of the churches on the Niagara peninsula the national flags were raised on the steeples, and memorial services held suitable to the occasion

ANNIVERSARY OF THE BATTLE OF LUNDY'S LANE, 25TH JULY, 1814

Owing to the recent celebration of various Historical Societies at Niagara on the Lake, there was no general public demonstration at Lundy's Lane as in former years. The anniversary this year (1892) of the famous battle which took place there seventy-eight years ago, the event, however, was suitably commemorated on the immediate scene of the never-to-be forgotten contest.

The Lundy's Lane Historical Society, together with a number of delegates from sister organizations, assembled on the old battle-field to decorate the graves of the dead who fell on the memorable 25th of July, 1814. Rev. Canon Bull, President of the L. L. H. S., addressed the assembly at length on the subject of the work of the Society during past years. The delegate from W. H. S., presented, in the name of the Society, wreaths to be laid on the graves of Laura Secord and Capt. Hull, of the 9th Regulars, United States army, the latter bearing the inscription "Entente cordiale entre Canada et Etats Unis." Captain Hull was the son of General Hull, who surrendered to the British forces at Detroit early in the war of 1812-14. The graves and trenches wherein rest the remains of the fallen heroes were lavishly decorated with flowers.

Reference must be also made to the general celebrations, more particularly in the United States of the 400th anniversary of the landing of Christopher Columbus on one of the West India Islands.

America had of course been known to the barbarous tribes of eastern Asia for thousands of years; but it is singular that it should have been visited by one of the most enterprising nations of Europe five centuries before the time of Columbus without awakening the attention of either statesmen or philosophers. Iceland was discovered in 860, and colonized by Norwegians in 874. About fifty, or according to other accounts, one hundred years later, the same people planted colonies in Greenland. Into the disputes respecting the situation of these colonies we have not room to enter. Sir Charles Giesecke, a good authority, states that their ruins exist near the southern part of the peninsula. It is obvious that the same adventurous spirit which enabled these northern mariners to discover the southern extremity of the country would not permit them to stop short without visiting what is now known to be the most habitable part of it, the western coast, and the fact has been established by an inscription in *runic* characters found on a stone four miles from Upernavik, at the 73rd parallel, intimating that "Erlong, son of Sigvat, and Enride Oddsoen, had cleared that place and raised a hillock on Friday after Rogation day." The marking of the date is indistinct, but it is supposed by Professor Rask, the translator, to be either 1135 or 1170, and the runic characters show at any rate that it was anterior to the Reformation, when this mode of writing was prohibited. Whoever looks at the map of Greenland and reflects on the fact that the Norwegians must have been ascending through Davis' Straits, as high as the latitude mentioned, annually, perhaps for two or three centuries, will admit that with half the spirit of enterprise which had carried them so far, the discovery of some portions of the west coast of those straits was almost unavoidable. Now the position and direction of this coast once known, it required no great effort to trace it southward to Labrador and Newfoundland. We mention these particulars because Mr. Murray, one of the few who grounded his disbelief chiefly on the hypothesis that the colonies and navigation of that people at the period alluded to were confined to the east coast of Greenland. In 1001 an Icelander sailing to Greenland, was driven away by tempest far to the southwest, where he saw a level country covered with wood. The wind abating, he turned his course homeward, and on his arrival gave such a flattering account of the country he had seen as induced Lief, the son of the founder of the Greenland colony, to undertake a voyage thither. Lief and Byorn, who sailed together, first reached a rocky island, to which they gave the name of Hellwland; then a low country, thickly wooded, which they called Markland; and some days afterwards they found trees, loaded with fruits, on the banks of the river. They spent the winter in the country; and one of them, who was a German, having found wild vines growing, they called it Vineland. They had some intercourse and traded for furs with a people who came in leathern boats, and were called Skroelings, from their dwarfish size. A colony was planted, and remained for many years in the country, the situation of which is indicated by a fact casually mentioned, that the sun remained nine hours above the horizon at the shortest day. This indicates the 41st parallel of latitude, and the actual latitude of Rhode Island, the country which every collateral circumstance would lead us to fix as the seat of the colony is from 41° to 42°. The Skraelings were of course the Esquimaux. The vine appears to be the fox grape (Vitis Valpina), which grows wild in that part of America. Only a few unimportant particulars respecting the settlement are preserved; but it was probably abandoned or destroyed like the Greenland colony, of which it was an offset. The account, though meager, is distinct and consistent. Its authenticity can scarcely be disputed, and it is almost equally obvious that the country it referred to under the name of Vinland is in the vicinity of Rhode Island. A conclusion resting on such strong ground scarcely requires to be supported by the high authority of Humbolt and Malte-Brun. That the colony disappeared, and that the discoveries were not prosecuted farther, are not circumstances which will shake the credit of the narrative in the minds of those who know the numerous reverses which befell the early colonies in New England and other parts of America, the hostilities of the Skraelings no doubt being the principal cause of the abandonment of the colony. The Norsemen described Vinland as a rich country with a delightful climate. Helluland, Markland, and Vinland, were no doubt regarded as countries either connected with, or similar to Greenland, the flattering descriptions of which, given by the first discoverers, were sadly belied by later experience.* The interest excited by the obscure account of these countries was probably such as the announcement of a new island eastward of Spitsbergen would produce at the present day. No reasonable doubt can exist however that the north eastern portion of America (considering Greenland a distinct country), was familiar to the Norwegians in the eleventh century.

Christopher Columbus deserves to be remembered as a great man in that he *restored* the lost knowledge of the American continent to Europe, and from the enterprise shown in landing to seek the lost "Atlantes."

John Cabot discovered Newfoundland and coast of main land, 25th June, 1497.

Columbus first saw America on 30th May, 1498.

Respectfully submitted.

MARY E. HOLDEN,
ARCHIBALD MCKELLAR,
ALEXANDER MCKAY.

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*NOTE.—M. Rafn, a Dane, who at one time was much engaged in researches respecting these early voyages, announced that he had ascertained from original documents various facts previously unknown, among others that America (first discovered in 985) was repeatedly visited by the Icelanders in the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries, that the embouchure of the St. Lawrence, and in particular the Bay of Gaspe, were their principal stations, and that they penetrated along the coast as far as Carolina.

THE CRUSADE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Historical Sketch prepared for the Wentworth Historical Society

BY MRS. JOHN ROSE HOLDEN

THE epoch of Canadian history immediately following the death of Champlain, dating from 1635 to 1666, when the charter of the Hundred Associates was abolished in Canada, tells of a continuous struggle for existence on the part of the French colonists. The form of Christianity which had taken root among the wild inhabitants of the woods now seemed to wither and die. The internecine wars of the savage aborigines forshadowed the annihilation of all that had tended towards civilization, and threatened to a return of the barbaric pall of superstition which had brooded originally over the continent of North America.

The Iroquois or Five Nations not only had sworn to extirpate the Hurons, Algonkins and Montagnais Indians who lived on the north shore of the St. Lawrence, but had also determined with unrelenting hatred to drive the new ally of these tribes (the French), from Canada, and to free the country from the foreigners' rule and sway.

The colonization of Canada by the Europeans at this time seemed futile. We read now not so much of the influence of kingly power and patronage, leading too often to colossal frauds in monopoly. For a time the riches and mimic pomp of vice regal authority, and the cupidity of the money maker, seemed to have flown from the country. Commercial monopoly and even national glory having failed so disastrously in the undertaking—what motive power could prevail? An irresistible and sacred impulse, felt by many pious and devout men and women to be the direct influence and inspiration of the Holy Spirit of God, gave rise to the formation of a company called "Les Associes de Montreal," with the noble aim of extending the glory of God to the savage tribes of Canada. The dark and terrible deeds of the aborigines recorded on this page of history throw into startling splendor the daily lives of a consecrated band of men and women. "Sprung of the Saint and Chevalier,"—the forlorn hope of the Roman Catholic church—but a "hope" composed of those who with holy enthusiasm devoted their possessions, talents and lives in carrying Christ's salvation and message of "good will towards men," to the most cruel and ferocious of savage tribes. A distinctive feature and powerful factor in what may be called the crusade of the seventeenth century, portrays to us the beneficence of woman's influence when embodied into living action. A class of women endowed with the true womanly personality which influences the higher natures of all with whom they were thrown into contact, whose finely organized and perfected womanhood did so much towards shaping with royal power the times they lived in—not by the clamorous assertion of "Woman's Rights," but through the more potent and powerful benediction of their daily lives consecrated upon the altars of religion, loyalty and patriotism—missionary zeal supported by individual philantrophy supplied the necessary means, and crucifixion of self became the medium for undertaking and sustaining the chivalric crusade of the seventeenth century in North America.

The Jesuit martyrs, who devoted themselves to this cause, suffered such inhuman persecutions and martyrdom from the malignant Mohawk, that recital of the slow and fiendish tortures they endured with steadfast courage, sublime and glorious faith, yielding up their lives with rejoicing that they were thought worthy to wear the martyr's crown for Christ's sake, take us back to the cruel martyrdoms of Nero. This crusade was the power that saved Canada to France and the greater half of the continent of America to Christianity and civilization.

Canada is not the outcome of ambitious and despotic personalisms, or aggrandizing power, and, if true to the heredity and tradition of her Cosmos, in the evolution of the future, must rank high among the nations of the world.

The aims of the "Associes de Montreal" are distinctly laid down in the charter of the company, and cover a comprehensive field of aggressive Christian work. Christianizing the savages was not to lead to pauperizing them, but rather to educating and training the converts to habits of industry and independence. Schools were established for the manual training of Indian children, girls and boys—the adults were taught practical agriculture—an hospital was built for the sick, infirm, aged and wounded. The company maintained clergy, who were specially educated as priests and teachers among the Indians. Translations of prayers and of portions of Scripture were made into the Indian tongue, and every effort was put forth to convert the savages to the truths of Christianity. The company stood pledged to observe the Common Law of Paris in civil matters, and in suits of justice to recognize the authority of the King's Court already established at Quebec. Trading in furs with the Indians was strictly prohibited, except what was absolutely needed for private use and comfort. Forty men chosen with great care, of good character, and thoroughly equipped with all necessaries for such an undertaking, were to be sent as an advance guard to settle in the country, two gunboats were to run between Quebec and Montreal to carry supplies and colonists to the new home in the lone wilderness, and fortified protection was to be given and provided to the settlers against the savage foe. For the first four or five years necessary supplies, ammunition, seed and cattle, were to be sent out from France, as time and labor would be necessary in clearing the land and building. All expenses were to be defrayed by the Associates, no assistance having been promised by the King or home government.

To act as leader and commander of such an expedition, the Associates were most fortunate in securing the services of Paul de Chomedy, Sieur de Maisonneuve. Taught from his earliest infancy that the fulfilment of his destiny in life lay in the performance of his duty to God, king and country, he at the early age of 13 entered the army. During the war in Holland he gave signal proof of his courage and bravery, and, amid all the social temptations which for so many years surrounded him, he retained and cherished the love of God in his heart, his highest ambition being that of serving God as a soldier in some distant land, where he would be free from the the worldly influences by which he felt himself environed. When the command of the crusade was offered him, he replied, "I gladly devote my purse and my life in this enterprise satisfied with the honor bestowed upon me of thus being able to serve God and king in my profession."

Recruits were selected with great care, skilled mechanics and artizans, and as far as possible, men trained as soldiers, yet equally fitted to handle the axe and hoe. Several noble ladies of France, interesting themselves in the aims of "Les Associes," gave generously of their means to support the work, and selected Melle

Mance to carry on Christian woman's influence and Christian woman's work to the inhuman inhabitants of Canadian wilds Melle accompanied the expedition and became the foundress of the Hotel Dieu of Montreal A *hospitaliere* nurse and the wives of two of the colonists were the only women who accompanied the flotilla, which consisted of three vessels

On the 8th of August, 1641, Melle Mance, after a long and tedious voyage, arrived at Quebec, and M de Maisonneuve twelve days after, to the great joy and delight of the feeble colony stationed at Quebec Governor M de Montmagny entreated the expedition not to proceed higher up the river The colony stationed at Quebec at this time consisting of only two or three hundred persons, this reinforcement of new life, means and supplies, would very much have increased the strength of Stadacona, and strong pressure was brought to bear upon the commander to remain in the vicinity of Quebec, and as a last inducement to join forces, the island of Orleans was offered to these soldiers of the Cross as a desirable site for a new settlement, while in the hope of intimidating the party from proceeding on to the intended destination, terrible tales of the ferocity of the dreaded Iroquois were told—tales of the triumphant savages now victorious over the once powerful Huron and Algonkin races

Maisonneuve's reply was characteristic and worthy of himself "Sir," said he, "I am not come to deliberate, but to execute if there were as many Iroquois as trees at Montreal it is my duty, and a matter of honor, that I go there and establish a colony

As the season was late he determined to winter if possible at Quebec, and proceed with the colonists to Montreal early the following spring During the month of October M de Maisonneuve, accompanied by a party of his men, sailed up the river to reconnoitre the approaches of the new home and select a favorable spot on the island on which to land his followers. Upon landing M de Maisonneuve claimed possession of the isle in the name of God, the King of France, and the "Associes de Montreal," and set at once to erect a fort, which was nearly completed before the party returned to Quebec for the winter At St Foy, accommodation was obtained for all the party, and during the winter months of waiting the band employed itself in making boats furniture and portable material to be in readiness for the spring movement.

The 9th of May, 1642, the crusade started by boat for Montreal, and after nine days sailing and rowing, sighted Mt. Royal, when the company burst forth into hymns of grateful praise to God, for safe conduct and guidance to their new home. For more than half a league before landing they found the meadow lands skirting the bank of the river clad in pristine beauty of spring verdure, enamelled with loveliest flowers, which by their luxuriance of growth, variety of species, and exquisite colors presented a most enchanting scene, and seemed by their beauty and brilliancy to breathe a welcome to the longing pilgrims.

A unique scene in the world's history unfolds to our view. The site and environments of Ville Marie looked their fairest and loveliest that natal May day. Mt. Royal, decked in shaded, varied greens and fragrant blossoms, moved by the gentle southern winds, wafted her tribute of sympathy and gladness upon the scene while between her feet and the mighty rushing river stretched leagues of thickly wooded plains and smiling prairies. "St. Helene," like an emerald jewel sparkled in the sunshine, embosomed on the sweeping waters, which had just received new life and fresh impetus from the dashing frolicking rapids of Lachine. Boucherville, Rougemont and St. Hilaire, purple in the distance, stood like giant sentinels emblems of protecting power, and all nature seemed to throb in unison with the high aims and aspirations of the devoted band.

Upon landing, M. de Maisonneuve and his followers fell upon their knees and thanked God for all His mercies bestowed upon the expedition. Surrounded by M. de Montmagny, the Governor General of Canada, Melle. Mance and Madame La Peletrie, who at Quebec had joined the party, priests, soldiers and followers, M. de Maisonneuve erected a large cross on "La Pointe à Calliers." A portable altar was speedily set up, and all things being now ready the Crusaders sang the "Veni Creator," which was immediately followed by the celebration of "la gran Messe." All was simple,—solemn old Gregorian chaunts, echoes from Solomon's temple, rose and fell in sad but glorious antiphonial cadence on the breeze, and heralded to the new world the approach of a greater power than that of the many ferocious and powerful savage tribes which for so many ages had ruled the continent of America.

Thus was forged on the 18th May, 1642, the first link in the

subtle and indestructible power of religion which binds Europe, Asia, Africa and America together.

Not having oil with which to fill a lamp to burn before the altar, a number of a very curious and brilliant kind of fire-fly was caught and enclosed in a clear glass vial, the scintillations of which kept up a bright and shining light, and since that day, nearly 250 years ago, the lamp before the altar of "Notre Dame" in Ville Marie now Montreal, has been kept burning night and day. Tents were set up for shelter from the weather, and the next day trees were hewn down to form intrenchments and a moat was dug round the encampment. The honor of felling the first tree used in the fortifications was awarded to M. de Maisonneuve, who claimed this right as Governor of Ville Marie. A chapel of bark was erected, to use until such time as a proper and suitable church could be built.

The new colonists fortunately were able to accomplish a good deal in the way of fortifications, storing supplies and making clearings, before the Iroquois became aware of their presence on the island. D Aillebout, a man of high rank and great wealth, accompanied by his wife and sister, came out from France the same year bringing fresh supplies, necessaries, ammunition, church and altar ornaments, and twelve new colonists; being practically conversant in the art of fortification, he was specially charged with the duty of preparing the defences necessary for protection against the Iroquois.

December, 1642, the colonists witnessed one of the great inundations to which the St. Lawrence is yet at intervals subject. The waters seem to rise from the bed of the river, and overflow its banks. The fort was soon surrounded by the angry flood; the waves rolled in one upon another, until the moat overflowed and the waters reached the threshold of the fort. During this time of anxiety and trial, the community devoted itself to fasting and prayer to God for deliverence from this unexpected danger. M. de Maisonneuve vowed a vow, that if deliverance were granted to the colony he would, as a memorial of that deliverance, plant a Cross on the summit of Mt. Royal. At the hour of midnight on the day of our Lord's Nativity, the waters began to abate, and soon the colony was free from danger. With a heart full of gratitude, M. de Maisonneuve set all the inmates, and assisted himself, in the necessary preparations to perform his vow; a road was cut and

cleared from the fort to the mountain top, and a large cross made.

The 6th of January, 1643 dawned clear and bright. Ville Marie now lay under winter's spell. The keen and bitter cold of January had followed swiftly on December's supreme effort to resist her icy spell, and the waters of St. Lawrence lay still and steel bound, under the influences of the arctic blast. The woods and mountain slopes now shorn of autumn's blaze of gorgeous color, stood grim and desolate. The stately pine and luxuriant sweeping hemlock, alone reflected glittering mist or fleecy snow in the dazzling sunshine. Nature's pale and unsullied mantle of rest and repose covered the country and lay in unbroken stretches, save where the processional path from the fort to the mountain wound, which patient hands and loyal hearts had cut through the brush wood and snow the day before. The Cross was blessed in the presence of the assembled garrison. Pere de Perron led the way, followed by Melle. Mance and Madame de Peltrie "chapelets en main," the whole community following, and as they marched, reciting a litany of praise. Maisonneuve bearing the cross on his shoulders brought up the rear. The pilgrims slowly walked their way through the bleak forest on to the mountain height where the brave commandant, in pursuance of his vow, planted the cross, which for years stood and became a shrine to the many devout pilgrims of Ville Marie.

The Crusaders adopted the earliest christian church as the prototype of the community. For eleven years the colonists lived as one family within the fort, having all things in common. The fort, in addition to forming a haven of defence, afforded a home to seventy persons, who lived harmoniously together under the direction of two Jesuit priests. Race, religion and language, each so often now a days looked upon as an ephemeral sentiment, in this instance welded together, formed a band of iron which could not be broken.

It was the spring of the same year before the Iroquois discovered the presence of the French on the island, and now, sure of their prey, they prowled in fierce and sullen bands of rage through the country between Montreal, Three Rivers and Quebec.

For a quarter of a century afterwards, the inhabitants of the settlement were subject to continual surprise and attack from these inhuman savages. The stealthy and treacherous Iroquois infested

the woods, always watching to kill or carry off into horrible captivity the laborers while at work inside the fort, or to seize and capture them while hunting or fishing. This scourge of the infant colony of Ville Marie stopped the passages of the rivers, upon checking the commerce of the company, waylaid the Huron and Algonkin pelletrie traders as they brought their loads of furs to Quebec and Three Rivers and determined by every means in its power to exterminate the French from the country, and grasp the trade out of the hands of the French to divert it over to the Dutch settlements on the Hudson river. During 1643-44 the colonists lived in an uninterrupted state of siege, and many gallant and precious lives were lost to the French. In spite of the discontent and dissatisfaction of his followers Maisonneuve persisted in remaining on the defensive, though a brave and fearless commander he was a provident general, who felt the responsibilities of his position, yet this laid him open to the charge of cowardice from his followers. Maisonneuve had brought with him from France several famous watch dogs, a species of blood hound, one of the most celebrated of these was named "Pilotte." Instinctively these creatures hated the Iroquois, and from their marvellous gift of scent, from afar off, recognized the presence of the enemy in ambuscade, and notified the inmates of the fort by their furious barking that danger was near. Daily these hounds acted as scouts and sentinels, scouring the neighborhood of Ville Marie in search of the wily lurking foe. On the 30th March, 1644, the deep and furious baying and howling of the hounds impelled the garrison to again urge the commandant to sally forth in quest of the enemy. "'Sir,' said one of the venturesome soldiers, 'the Iroquois are in the woods are we never to see them?' 'Yes, you shall see them,' was the reply of Maisonneuve. "See you follow where I lead.' At the head of thirty men, some on snow shoes, some floundering through the deep snow, Maisonneuve led his sortie forth, leaving M. D'Aillbout in charge of the fort, to whom he gave parting orders in case of meeting death in the encounter before him. The enemy numbered 200, perceiving the French advance, they at once divided into bands, placed themselves in ambush, and sheltered themselves behind trees. As soon as the French entered the woods, on all sides they were attacked. Imitating the tactics of the Indians, M. de Maisonneuve ordered his followers to seek shelter behind the trees, when the attack again was received with fresh vigor, and was kept up, until the supply of ammunition failing them, three of their number slain, and two taken captive, Maisonneuve ordered a slow retreat to the fort by way of a road which had been cut from the woods to the fort, from whence they had drawn the necessary lumber for the building of the Hotel Dieu. This road was firm and well beaten and enabled those of the party without snowshoes to retreat with greater safety. The order to retire was obeyed so precipitously that M. de Maisonneuve was left alone to face the pursuing enemy. Armed with a pistol in each hand, he covered his retreating soldiers at the peril of his own life by an act of valor that stands unequalled in heroic history. In this single-handed conflict he shot dead the Iroquois leader, then deliberately backed into the fort "Pistolets aux poings!" The enemy seeing their chief fall, instantly ran towards his body and lifting it on their shoulders, retreated to the woods, where, like angry wolves balked of their prey, they wreaked their disappointment and rage upon the hapless prisoners, whom they tortured in the most barbarous manner. This gallant action took place a little east of the present "Place D'Armes."

The next decade of years proved years of great trial to the colony,—trials which could only be met by the unswerving faith and confidence the colonists had in the sacredness of the work they had undertaken. The work was the work of God, and therefore should and would eventually succeed. After the defeat of the Hurons by the Iroquois, the latter became still more insolent, overbearing and threatening towards the French. Daily, and almost hourly, harassments kept the bourgade in an incessant state of seige, subject to sudden and unexpected attack and such at last was the extremity to which the inhabitants were put, that M. de Maisonneuve ordered all the families to leave their homes and take up their abode in the fort. The Hotel Dieu had to be abandoned as an hospital, garrisoned by a squad of soldiers, and made into a fortified armory. Even the chapel was used as a "magasin d'artillerie." Redoubts were stationed at intervals in the fields, and guarded by relays of soldiers, to give protection to the laborers while at work. In this deployment of his forces M. de Maisonneuve displayed great wisdom and foresight. During his absence from Canada in 1651, when he was obliged to return to France to obtain further reinforcements to maintain his hold of the country against the Iroquois, the wily savages managed to secrete themselves in the moat, which had been dug as a defence to the hospital. M. Lambert Closs, Mayor of Ville Marie, and now in command of the forces in Montreal, was fortunately at the time stationed at the hospital with twelve men. Unaware of the change made in the internal defence of the bourg, the Indians, suddenly rushing out from their hiding place, made a dash to seize the building, intending to raze it to the ground, and then set the settlement on fire. A vigorous defence was made against the obstinate attack of the enemy. The siege and defence lasted from six in the morning until sunset, when the Indians, finding themselves foiled and prostrated, and, always more or less timid and suspicions of the unknown power of the white man's fortifications, now utterly discouraged, withdrew, carrying away with them their dead and wounded. The population of Ville Marie, at this time, through the losses sustained from this guerilla warfare, had dwindled to fifty persons in the fort and seventeen in the hospital. For the past two years no fresh recruits or supplies had been sent from France, and isolated as Ville Marie was from Quebec and Three Rivers, no assistance could in the hour of sudden danger reach Montreal. Fear and consternation filled the minds of all, and clouds of despair hung over the settlement, when fortunately M. de Maisonneuve returned from France, bringing with him over 100 soldiers.

In October, 1653, the deep baying of the vigilant hounds again notified an ambuscade of the Iroquis. Major M. Closs, at the head of twenty soldiers, sallied out in the direction pointed to by the dogs, only discovering the hiding of the enemy by finding himself surrounded by a cloud of savages, triumphantly rushing on to conflict, uttering the most terrific yells of defiance. Undaunted the little band, sustained by a lofty enthusiasm, and believing that angels from on high came to their assistance, firmly and courageously stood fire, amid a perfect shower of bullets; not one of the French was harmed, while they were able to rout the foe and force the Iroquois to take refuge in the waters of the St. Lawrence. The Pere, in his "Relations," devoutly adds "ce que Dieu garde est bien gardé."

In 1662 the colony sustained a most serious loss in the death of the brave Major Lambert Closs, one of the most valiant leaders of the crusade, who was fatally wounded when leading a sortie against the Iroquois [illegible] as in the case of the Cid, of glorious fame, the news of his death was kept a secret for a long time after, and we read that the great grace was granted to him that his fame

‘When his soul had fled
Still did cause the foe to flee.’

Possessed of that ‘ good courage ’ which is sustained and perfected by pious zeal, he displayed an intrepid spirit in presence of great danger or an overwhelming foe The life he led, and the death he died, entitle him to rank as one of the heroes of that heroic age As in the unwritten law of classic lore and rhyme, martial valor was considered one of the noblest of human virtues, so in the lives of the heroes of Canada, we find that premier virtue illustrated, but intensified by humane and kindly generosity towards the most cruel and savage foe, ardent love to God and religion, patriotism and loyalty to king, a scorn of falsehood, fraud and dishonor, portray to us “ Le chevalier sans peur et sans reproche ’ We have not to fall back upon the myths or legends of classic shades for heroic examples to study and cherish, and whose spirit we mayhap try to follow even dimly in our daily lives Within the last two centuries and a half, in the clear light of modern civilization, we learn that Canadian river and lake shores have witnessed deeds to which we find no parallel in ancient or modern history

“The very gale their name *seems* sighing,
The waters *murmur* of their name
The woods are peopled with their fame
Their spirits *wrap* the dusky mountains,
Their memory *sparkles* o'er the fountain
Our meanest rill—*our* mightiest river,
Rolls mingling with their fame forever.”

Let us go back to the spring of 1660 The Iroquois were massing in large numbers on the Ottawa river and surrounding country, north and north-west of Montreal, in preparation for a final attack on Montreal, Three Rivers and Quebec When the news reached Ville Marie, Dollard des Ormeaux, a young officer of the garrison, formed the noble resolution of heading a chosen band of followers, imbued with the same spirit as himself, to challenge the foe, and by means of a brilliant *coup de main*, frustrate and check the plans of the enemy, and direct the savages from their dire purpose, at least until further reinforcements reached the colony from France.

Having obtained M. de Maisonneuve's permission to lead the sortie, Dollard and his sixteen soldiers of the cross, took a solemn oath before the altar to stand by each other in the undertaking, to give and take no quarter, to be loyal to God and the land of their adoption, and if necessary give up their lives in hopes of saving the community from destruction. Their arms being blessed—each man shriven by the priest, and the sacrament of the Lord partaken of—the small band of consecrated heroes, followed by the benedictions of the church and the prayers of the settlement, embarked in canoes and sailed for the Ottawa.

By the rapids of Longue or Chaudiere Sault they halted and landed. There to their joy they found the remains of an old moss-covered redoubt, which had doubtless been used in some struggle between native tribes. At night fall they were joined by forty Huron allies. Scouts and sentinels were stationed and shelter for the night taken within the redoubt. Soon they were warned of the approach of a band of 300 Iroquois warriors, thoroughly equipped for the war path. Like malicious demons they skimmed in their bark canoes the sparkling, foaming Sault; they landed on the same spot as Dollard and his band had landed but a few hours before, the empty canoes of the French a signal of their presence and refuge. Eagerly the Iroquois advanced to attack the position secured by Dulac, and were repelled with great slaughter, but being reinforced by 500 companions, the French and their allies found themselves surrounded by a force from which it was impossible to escape. Through hunger, thirst, sleeplessness and fatigue, for eight days they valiantly resisted their assailants, but at last, through the treachery of two Huron deserters, the real condition of the beseiged became known to the Iroquois, who now, with renewed ferocity, rushed to the onset and finally Dollard and his gallant band were all killed except four Hurons, who were captured and reserved for a less glorious but more terrible fate. Four Huron captives managed to escape independently of each other, and at last made their way to Quebec and Montreal, bringing with them the thrilling details of the terrible tragedy.

The heroism of the French made a deep impression upon the minds of the Iroquois. Judging that the resistance of the fortified

settlements would be equally courageous and sustained, they determined to give up what now appeared to them a hazardous attempt upon the French posts.

Dollard des Ormeux has been styled the "Leonidas," and the shores of the Longue Sault the "Thermopylæ" of Canada. Scant justice that. Leonidas of old stood on his native land, backed by his brave 300 Spartans, sheltered by rugged mountain walls faced by Xerxes, seated on his marble throne, from which he surveyed the sea covered with his navy, and on land his hosts of spearmen, horsemen, and hitherto invincible "Immortals." Spurred on by such inspiring surroundings the heroes of old fought and died.

Comparatively easy to "do and die," while "all the world wondered!" It required the far finer and purer courage of the crusaders of the seventeenth century to perform "to the death," with no witnesses but changeless nature, primeval woods, pale moon and solitary stars, accompanied by the sad, sounding symphonies of the forest, the hoarse Sault, and the dismal flappings of the wings of the carrion vultures gathered from afar. These were the spectators of what proved to be the supreme struggle for supremacy between the white man and red, Christianity and superstition, civilization and ignorance within nature's vast amphitheatre, now known as the Dominion of Canada.

In 1663, the company of Montreal was dissolved, transferring their rights to the religious order of St Sulpice, at Paris. Not long afterwards M. de Maisonneuve, notwithstanding his great services rendered to the colony, the affection, love and veneration in which he was held by the inhabitants, and the respect and recognition of his valor by the Iroquois, was forced to relenquish his command and to leave Canada, on account of the arbitrary and unjust proceedings of the Governor General at Quebec.

Maisonneuve stands forth on the pages of history as one of the grandest and most perfect characters of his age. The courage of the lionhearted, the humility and pure faith of a child, won him the immortality of an accomplished mission. He established on sure foundations the objects of the company he served so faithfully and represented so effectively, but in the securing of which, Ville Marie, as a mission of the church, passed through a *bapteme de feu*. "In perils of water, in perils of robbers, in perils by *mine own countrymen*, in perils by the heathen, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in weariness, in painfulness, in watchings often, in cold"

After twenty-three years of residence in Canada Maisonneuve retired to Paris where the seminary allowed him a pension, much of which was spent in acts of benevolence and charity

He died in his humble home in Paris on the 9th of September, 1676, and was buried in the cemetery of the parish church of St. Etienne de Mont, Paris.

To these heroes we may well apply the words of Sir Matthew Arnold—

> "Of knightly honor holding life in trust
> In God, and Lord and all things pure and just.

A VISIT TO BOSTON IN 1851—A REMINISCENCE OF LORD ELGIN, AND A TRIBUTE TO SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD.

BY THE PRESIDENT, MR. GEO. H. MILLS.

ALONG with many gentlemen I had the honor of an invitation to attend the Grand Jubilee held in Boston in the summer of 1851, to commemorate the completion of the Ogdensburg and Boston Railway. Accepting the invitation, and having been a partaker of the festivities of that imposing event, I think it may not be altogether uninteresting to present to this Society a few recollections of it, especially relating to the most prominent personage present.

Lord Elgin was then Governor General of Canada, and at the very zenith of his popularity. He had entirely out-lived the shadows under which he had fallen in the estimation of excited partisans on account of his constitutional assent to the Rebellion Losses Bill, and had become universally regarded—as he has by Canadians ever since been—the foremost statesman and most accomplished orator who at any time held the position of Governor General of Canada. Fillmore, who had lately succeeded Taylor, was President of the United States. In addition to thousands of strangers from all quarters of the United States and Canada there were assembled at Boston the chief statesmen, orators and military magnates of the great Republic. Among the most notable, and towering above all others, was the illustrious Daniel Webster. The names of Edward Everett, Boutwell and Quincy Adams, will long be remembered by the Americans present, as imparting to the fete a power and graceunsurpassed by any former gathering of the intellectual giants of the land. Sir Francis Hincks, Premier of Canada, and Joseph Howe, the old man eloquent, were present. Never before nor since had Boston commons been the scene of such peaceful brilliancy. Never since nor before have been congregated together on those historic grounds, such an array of distinguished representative men from army, navy, senate, bar and pulpit

A vast canvas tent had been erected on the commons Five thousand guests were comfortably seated underneath its cooling shades, who partook of the sumptuous repast prepared for them Crampton was the British Minister at Washington, Bigelow was the Mayor of Boston, and presided On his right sat President Fillmore and the Hon Edward Everett, on his left Crampton and Lord Elgin; to the right and left of these were ranged gentlemen of distinction

The perfect order, the dazzling uniforms of military men, coupled with the most captivating music from the several bands, and above all, the calm dignity of the countenances surrounding the chair, all conspired to make the scene most imposing The Queen's health was proposed and grandly honored When the cheering had subsided, and God save the Queen had been exquisitely rendered by the bands, the chairman rose and invited Crampton to respond to the royal toast The ambassador gracefully declined, stating that the pleasant duty would be far better performed by Lord Elgin The duty was accepted and sustained by his lordship in a manner that made every English and Canadian heart thrill with pride, as with calm grandeur the great representative of his Queen and Canada proceeded with his oration His lordship commenced by saying, "That in no one respect did he so well represent his countrymen as by his stammering tongue and embarrassed utterance,' and then proceeded to deliver one of the most masterly speeches I ever heard So distinct, so slow, and yet so musical were his utterances, that no one in that vast assemblage failed to catch his well chosen and impressive words

At the conclusion of the oration, the five thousand guests, as one man, rose to their feet in a frenzy of delight; they could not have expected such a treat they had indeed never heard anything to approach it The Americans were patted on the back with the utmost skill and grace of diction Their President was eulogized possibly far beyond his merits, but the praise was gratifying to the audience Their ladies were not forgotten, but his lordship, eloquent as he was, could scarcely do justice to their beauty and intelligence From recollection I faintly reproduce part of his reference to President Fillmore "It ill becomes me," he said, " as

Governor General of Canada, to eulogize the public conduct of President Fillmore, but as a spectator, a bystander, I do not hesitate to predict that he will occupy a proud position on the roll of illustrious individuals upon whom the mantle of Washington has fallen." He also in a facetious way pointed out how the Americans might successfully invade Canada, a result as he said, though with trepidation in the presence of so many warlike men, they had more than once failed to accomplish. He advised that the ladies of Boston should be placed in the front columns of the invading army, and assured them that if this device were practically attended to, every Canadian youth would desert without striking a blow for his country.

This memorable speech having been concluded, the Hon. Edward Everett then one of the most cultured and accomplished gentlemen in the Union, and if I mistake not, Secretary of State, rose and said, "Lord Elgin commenced by disabling himself, and immediately proceeded to deliver one of the most brilliant speeches that ever fell from the lips of man. After hearing that speech I am proud to say that Chatham's language is my mother tongue." Other speakers of note, including Sir Francis Hincks, Boutwell, Adams and Howe addressed the audience, but, worthy as their speeches undoubtedly were, nothing could lessen the deep impression produced by Lord Elgin's electrical oration. Speakers were indifferently listened to, and the vast concourse of people in an hour or so withdrew to their homes. On the day following the banquet all Boston was crazy to catch a glimpse of the great English nobleman and orator, who the day before had fascinated his intelligent hearers with his burning eloquence. Wherever he went he was followed by immense numbers of ladies and gentlemen, the former actually pelting him with rare, beautiful and costly bouquets, the latter deafening him with cheers and laudations. I had the honor of being one of a number of attendants who accompanied his lordship in this triumphal parade. Among other places of note visited was the mansion of Mayor Bigelow, and I well remember with what refined grace and courtesy that gentleman received his distinguished visitor, remarking as he cordially took his hand, "This, your lordship, very much resembles a nuptial feast." Quick as thought Lord Elgin replied, "It does indeed, and I can assure you I am not here to forbid the bans." So great was the pleasurable excitement, reaching almost to *furore*, that it was most difficult for the carriages

to pass through the delighted crowd, although every ameliorating effort was made by the well appointed police to maintain order.

At every street corner hung life-sized portraits of the Canadian Governor, while bunting, wreaths and flowers, decorated and floated from every window and balcony. The Bostonians never felt more pride in their British ancestry than on that day. The same evening was assembled a company of the *elite* and fashion of Boston, at a grand ball given in honor of the invited guests. The scene was dazzling; the glitter of jewels and female beauty rendered it simply enchanting. Still, Lord Elgin was the observed of all observers. Radiant with the glow of youth and vigorous manhood, stately, calmly, but yet with modest dignity, he gracefully acknowledged the flattering attentions bestowed upon him. But, as all things must have an end, so this gay and brilliant gathering, in the early morning hours, very reluctantly withdrew. The next day Lord Elgin took his departure from the "Hub," as Boston then was, and still is called, and we Canadians returned to our humble homes overflowing with pleasant memories of our visit, and these memories, I am sure, will never fade while a Canadian lives who took part in the festivities. Most of the bright stars in that galaxy of intellectual power have passed away, indeed, almost *all*. Elgin, Webster, Everett, Howe and Hincks, have been gathered to their fathers. Others, too, must have vanished, and it is doubtful if their places have since been filled by statesmen and orators as grand as they. The curtain drops, but memory cannot be deprived of of its tenacity. The pleasurable thoughts of youth remain as a support and solace of old age.

Lord Elgin afterwards became Viceroy of India, and filled that most responsible position with honor to himself and satisfaction to his sovereign. With the single exception of Lord Dufferin, Canada has not had a Governor General approaching him as a statesman and orator. He was a cultured gentlemen and a profound statesman, unostentatious in manners yet dignified and firm in his resolves, he endeared himself to the people of Canada and left the country the most popular of all its Governors.

Among the many Canadians I had the pleasure of meeting in Boston was one formerly of Hamilton, who since having made a name for himself, deserves notice. My reference is to Mr. Roderick W. Cameron, now Sir Roderick. There must still be many in this city who remember him well, because his genial off hand but refined manner everywhere attracted friendly attention. He came to Hamilton from Glengary, and engaged with our late and respected townsman, Robert Roy, as clerk or salesman in that gentleman's dry goods establishment, which at that time—about 1848—was the leading retail store in the city. He subsequently aspired to civic honors, and though he possessed no real estate, he qualified upon his rental. He ran for old St. Mary's Ward, and after two days voting—the order in those days—was defeated by a small majority. In less than two weeks after his defeat he turned his back upon the city, and has never returned to it except as a visitor. He has since assured me that his defeat was in fact the most auspicious event of his life. "Had I been successful," said he, "I should have felt in honor bound to remain in Hamilton for at least the year I held office, but having been defeated I had nothing to keep me there, and packing up my traps, none of real value, I migrated to New York city, where I at once found influential friends and opportunities to start me on the road to fortune."

He shortly after became prominently connected with gentlemen who inaugurated a line of steamships to run from New York to Melbourne, Australia. The enterprise was a success. He became a partner in the business, and subsequently, as I have learned, became the sole owner of the fleet.

Some years ago important services rendered by him in Australia, to Her Majesty the Queen, were rewarded by his being made the recipient of the honor of knighthood, and our Hamilton friend is now Sir Roderick.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD.

Now that the gentlemen who have charge of the monument shortly to be erected in commemoration of the late Right Honorable Sir John Macdonald, with commendable liberality, are providing a niche in the corner stone for the deposit of the proceedings of this Association, I ask permission to place a few words on record in memory of a life long friendship. But, at the same time, any responsibility that may attach to these words, I desire to wholly assume.

The Right Honorable Sir John Macdonald was by far the most distinguished and able statesman Canada has ever produced; produced because he was but five years old when his father, with his family, emigrated from Glasgow to this country. His educational advantages were such as the Kingston Grammar School, at that early day, could afford.

It would be doing him but scant justice to say that he possessed merely a high order of talents, for scarcely less than genius could have filled the history of our country for the past forty five years with the brilliant records stamped by that statesman upon its pages.

He was, in almost every sense, a remarkable man. He possessed largely a combination of qualities, apparently essential for the successful leadership of men. A clear, sound, unerring judgment, a memory marvellously retentive, a cordial, genial attractive manner, a profound knowledge of men, a total lack of arrogance or ostentation, a deferential respect for the opinions of others while maintaining his own; a comprehensive understanding and a happy way of imparting his own convictions, and satisfying others of their truth or importance. To his political opponents even when severe he was courteous. He was capable of framing measures of magnitude and forecasting their results with singular exactness. His discretion prevented a parade of his views in advance of public opinion, but his apparently intuitive knowledge of it, led him to seize the exact moment when to oppose him but added to his popularity. He perceived with acute vision, the shadows of coming events, and prepared himself to direct and control the substance, when sufficiently matured, for practical management. He readily detected, while his tact and judgment as readily frustrated, schemes, combinations and conspiracies, carefully and elaborately prepared for his political destruction. His skill in harmonizing discordant and heterogeneous elements was probably equal, if not superior, to that possessed by any statesman, living or dead. Roman Catholics, Orangemen, French, Canadians, English, Irish and Scotch, were brought through his influence to acknowledge that their several interests were safe under his guidance; safer than in charge of any other political leader, and, although widely differing upon a variety of subjects, they united in sustaining him and his principles. Courage formed no inconsiderable part of his composition. He was never known to falter, however trying, unlooked for, or complicated the emergency presented for his consideration may have been, but with steady determination he surrounded himself with every available means to meet and overcome the threatened danger. His firmness in carrying out the solemn judgment of the courts, when endorsed by the Privy Council, in the case of Riel, notwithstanding the fanatical outcry of his French supporters, which at one time seemed to threaten the very life of his government, amply indicates the total absence of cowardice or indecision, if it fails to establish that he placed the welfare of his country, by sustaining its laws, far beyond party or personal consideration.

Sir John's detractors contended that personal ambition was his guiding star, as they found it impossible to charge that pecuniary aggrandizement had been his object. If this be true, he certainly well concealed his design, by carrying along with him the ambitions and hopes of the people to see their country attain to national greatness. His political friends regarded such conduct in their leader as patriotic in the highest sense of the term, and cared not to lessen their own honor by disparaging the illustrious individual who had been chiefly instrumental in elevating the status of the country from which that honor was derived.

Sir John was not an accomplished orator; his delivery was neither smooth nor graceful, often halting; yet the genial play of his countenance when speaking, coupled with frequent happy and pointed illustrations, not only immediately attracted favorable attention, but imperceptibly impressed his hearers. As a parliamentary debater he had few equals. Sir Charles Tupper and the Hon. Mr. Blake might for the moment have appeared more effective, but they both use a superabundance of words when presenting their arguments; terse words they are, yet with fewer, and not less terse, Sir John reached the very pith and marrow of his subject. He made no attempt at flowing periods or polished diction, yet, when he had ceased speaking, the poorest understanding had grasped the drift of his contention, and become conversant with even its details. To substantiate what I state, an attentive perusal of the speeches of prominent members on the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway is recommended.

For the germs of liberty, the fruition of which we now enjoy; for the popularity of our constitution, and for our prospects of a permanent nationality, Canada is beyond question more largely indebted to the comprehensive genius of Lord Durham than any other individual. Although he was a resident of the country but for a few months, in that short time he clearly measured its capacity, and perceived the checks to its progress He found the provinces, after the rebellion of 1837, politically and socially disorganized and discontented, with laws imperfect, and administered by an irresponsible oligarchy. To him we owe in a large degree the responsibility of our executive. With singular prescience of results he suggested as a remedy for existing evils a political union of Upper and Lower Canada, to be ultimately followed by a federation of all the provinces From his thoughtful mind Canadian statesmen caught the inspiration which, when welded to practical form, procured the abolition of seignorial tenures and clergy reserves. Indeed, almost every important measure for the welfare of Canada foreshadowed by him, has since his death become a reality, and now forms part of our boasted constitution.

As evidenced by his public conduct, this nobleman was largely endowed with wisdom, courage, firmness and political sagacity These were qualities possessed in no less degree by Sir John In this respect there is a marked analogy between them But the latter for more than forty years was environed with circumstances and events far more difficult to shape and control than were ever presented to the former, such as plots combinations, conspiracies and rebellions, such as the forming and sustaining of governments, the federation of provinces, composed of political and religious elements and nationalities widely divergent in opinion and sentiment, such as the acquiring and organizing territories, the framing of a national trade policy, and the adjusting of treaties Yet, with patient unswerving perseverance and fidelity had he, almost single handed, directed public affairs with consummate skill, and brought Canada at last to the very threshold of national distinction, and at the age of seventy-six he still remained—till he died—Premier of this grand Dominion, covered with honors from his Sovereign, and sustained by the confidence of a majority of the people, but as poor in worldly acquirements as he was the day he selected to become a representative in the councils of his country.

Without claiming from the public records of these distinguished men, that our own possession was the greater statesman, it is safe to say, that since the first settlement of Canada, no name occurs in her history, however honored or patriotic or surrounded with brilliancy, that may fairly rank with the names of Durham and Macdonald When detraction has lost its power, and envy its malice, these two men will appear divested of their supposed frailties, and their genius will be universally regarded with admiration by succeeding generations, and their lives studied by aspiring statesmen with profit to themselves and advantage to their country

The crowning glory of this veteran statesman was the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway With the grandeur of this magnificent enterprise, his name will be inseparably associated as the moving spirit in its inception and the guardian of its progress Had his great talents been confined to securing the success of this single project, he should be honored, but, only when this, with his other patriotic achievements come to be rightly considered, will the gratitude of his countrymen become commensurate with his merits, and the time is rapidly approaching when this shall happen Monuments to his memory are already being erected in England and Canada

TOPOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF HAMILTON AS IT WAS IN 1830 AND 1881

By Thos H McKenzie

I left Cromarty, Scotland, on the 20th June, 1830, on board the ship "John," and arrived at Quebec on 12th August of the same year I then left Quebec for Montreal by steamer, thence from Montreal to Hamilton by battaux, steamer and stage, reaching Hamilton on the 23rd August, and landed at Hatt's wharf, now Browne's

I walked from there up James street to pay a visit to the village, the street being then about half corduroy and cedar swamps From the wharf to King street there were about six or seven houses. The house opposite Christ Church (and still there) was occupied by the late Judge Taylor, of the Gore District The other houses were small frame ones

At the corner of James and King streets was a two-story frame hotel, occupied by a person of the name of Miller Going west from Miller's hotel one house was occupied by a carpenter, next to that lived a Mr Kirkendall a farmer Where the market is now, was a fine orchard and farm owned by the same man. From there to what is now called Queen street there were three houses, the late Mr Hess lived in one, and owned the farm in rear of it On the west of what is now Queen street was a frame house used as a hotel Further west, on the south side of King street, was the first house, owned by the late Mr New, and occupied as a hotel, called the "Rising Sun" The next, on the same side of the street, was the property of the late Mr Mills, father of the late Hon Samuel Mills, and Mr Geo H Mills, our President. There were no houses on that side of the street until you reached a small stone building, occupied at that time by the late Mr Berry, who was then clerk of the old Gore District, and from there down to the corner of John and King there were no other houses

About where the Spectator office stands now on James street

south, was a two-story frame residence occupied by the late Peter Hamilton, beyond that were no other houses except one or two small ones further south.

On the east side of James street, commencing at the bottom of that street, there was one small house at the top of the hill, and from there for a long distance up there were no houses, and the greater portion of the ground was composed of cedar swamps and corduroy roads, until you came up near the old Post Office, where there was a small one-story building occupied as Post Office, and from there up to the corner there were two or three scattered houses.

At the corner of James and King street, east were the offices of the late Sir Allan Macnab, and from there to the corner of what is now called Hughson street there were two small houses, one occupied as a combined shoe shop and saloon.

At the corner of now Hughson and King streets was a two-story house, the lower part occupied as an office by the late Judge O'Reilly, and the upper story by the late Thomas Racey, as immigrant agent.

Between Hughson and John street, about the middle of the block, stood the store occupied by the Stinsons, and near the corner of John and King streets east stood a brick house occupied by a Mr. Brown, as a tailor's establishment and clothing store. From the corner of John to that street now called Catharine, there were four stores and a hotel, also a small printing office in which was published a paper called the "Gore Balance."

At the east corner of Catharine and King streets was a store kept by a Mr. Leonard, and from there to Wellington street were only two or three small houses, the street being all cedar swamp.

At the corner of Wellington and King street east stood a hotel carried on by a Mrs. Price; east of that was nothing but farms.

The properties from King street to the bay were also farms, occupied by the late Mr. Ferguson and Mr. Hughson, and then well down to the lake was a road to the late Abel Land's forwarding buildings, and near the property in that section.

Where the First Methodist church stands, stood a small frame church, occupied by the Methodist body. A potash manufactory was carried on west of this on a rising ground in the swamp. From there going west to nearly opposite the corner of now Catharine street, there were only two or three houses. Then from Catharine

to the corner of John were several small stores, selling different kinds of stock.

At the corner of King and John streets stood the frame store occupied by the firm of James Brown & Co. In the rear of that was a two-story frame building used as a storehouse in connection with their business. From there to where Jolley's saddlery establishment is now, was one house at the corner of Main and John streets, about where Jolley's store stands, and about fifteen or twenty feet from the street stood the old jail, built of logs. The lower part, for criminals, was constructed four logs thick, and the second story, set apart for debtors, was made of three logs, and the third story, used as a court house, two logs thick. In this court house divine service was held on Sundays by different denominations. On one occasion the service was conducted by a lady from Nova Scotia, who delivered a most beautiful address. The court house that was lately taken down to make room for the present one was then being built.

From there to where John McPherson & Son's factory stands was one small tavern. Further up was a building occupied by the late Mr. Ralston as a store and dwelling. Beyond that, nearer the mountain, stood the house of the late George Hamilton, which, I believe, is still there, and occupied by Mr. Barker.

Where the wood and hay market now is a general market was held on Saturdays. At the time I saw it there were on view one wagon, three or four wheelbarrows, and several baskets filled with supplies for the people.

On the east side of the Court House, on John street, there was a small house on the corner, and next to that was a blacksmith shop, and a house occupied by the late David Farley, and close to that, further north, was a shanty in which lived a colored barber and his wife.

About the west corner of where the Post Office now stands was a hotel, carried on by the late Mr. Carey, and from that to the corner of Hughson street were two or three stores and a hotel at the corner.

At the corner of King and Hughson street stood the establishment of the old firm of Colin Ferrie & Co., the Post Office being removed to a small building close to their store. From there to the corner was an open field on which a hotel was put up and occupied by the late Mr. Burley.

At the corner now covered by the Board of Trade rooms, Messrs James Turner & Co, and the adjoining property was occupied by C Ferrie & Co, as a lumber and store yard. On the south side of the same street was a stone cutting establishment occupied by a man of the name of Evans. Further west, about twenty feet from the road, stood the cottage of Mr A. K. Smith. Some distance from the rear of this place was a frame building occupied by the late John Law, and beyond that again was a small building occupied and used by a turner and carpenter of the name of Simpson.

In order that a comparison may be made as to prices of farm produce in 1830 and the present time, the following lists will give a fair idea

Oats, per bushel, 18c to 20c, Barley, per bushel, 25c to 30c, Wheat, per bushel, 50c to 56c. Butter, per pound, 10c, Eggs, per dozen, 8c, Firewood, $1 00 to $1.50 per cord.

THE BATTLE OF QUEENSTON HEIGHTS

A Patriotic Poem written on the Anniversary of that Great Victory

BY WILLIAM THOMAS WHITE

Ho! ye who are Canadians and glory in your birth
Who boast your land the fairest of all the lands on earth

To night go home with cheerful heart and lay all care aside
And set aglow your brightest lamps and throw the shutters wide

Heap high with coals the fire, till its merriest sparks you win
And send out all your messengers to call the neighbors in

Then when the evening well is spent with feast and mirthful sound
In circle deep about the hearth range girls and boys around

Bring forth the book of heroes deeds and to your listening flock,
Read reverently of Queenston Heights and the death of Isaac Brock

Oh, there are some among us who spurn the patriot's name
Who say our country has no past no heroes known to fame

They talk of bold Leonidas who held the pass of blood,
And how Horatius Cocles braved swollen Tiber's flood

They never tire of dark Cortez who spared not blood nor tears
Nor yet of Arnold Winkelreid who broke the Austrian spears

Their glory is of Waterloo, that crimson memoried fight
Of the "thin red line" of Inkerman and Alma's bloody height

For Canada their voice is mute yet history's pages tell
That braver blood was never spilt than where her heroes fell

To day o'er Queenston's lofty heights the autumn sky is drear
From drooping limbs the withering leaves hang bloodless, wan and sere

From fertile sward the plough has gone, and from the field the wain
In bursting barns the farmer views his wealth of garnered grain

Those fields are sacred and that sward shall be Canadians' boast,
The spot where valor's few hurled back the dark invader's host

The tale shall live while grow the trees, while rippling water runs
Of fame's bright birth to Canada from the life blood of her sons.

You know it well! The invaders crossed with the first grey dawn of light
And foot by foot their numbers told and gained the stubborn height

The guns are taken! on Dennis' flank the reinforcements pour,
While from the battery on the hill the crashing round shot tore.

And backward, surely backward the patriot heroes move
With death to left and death to right and death on high above

But hark! When hope has almost fled at the hour of sorest need,
Is heard the clatter of iron hoofs and the neigh of a coursing steed

Now let the martial music breathe its most inspiring notes
As bursts the shout of welcome from the faltering veterans' throats!

What spell so much could nerve them in that losing battle's shock
"Courage, boys! It is the General! Onward comrades! On with Brock!

Now forward to the battery!" They lend a ready ear
There's a hero's form to lead them and a hero's voice to cheer

And o'er the level plain they press and up the sloping hill
'Mid hiss of shot and volleys' smoke his cry is "Onward!" still

And now they pass the low ravine they clamber o'er the wall
The fatal death shot strikes him they see their leader fall

"Push on, push on York volunteers!" brave words—they were his last
And like the vision of a dream the charging column passed.

He heard their cry of vengeance as they reached the mountain's crest,
Then rushed in purpling tide the flood of life blood from his breast

You've read the rest their comrades came to stay their second flight
Dashed on to meet the foe in blue and hurled them from the height.

Then Canada was seen thy might! by equal ardour led
Fought Indians like white men and colored men like red

One spirit moved one thought inspired that gallant little band
That foot of no invading foe should e'er pollute their land

A thousand men laid down their arms to forces inferior far;
Blush fickle land of commerce, for thy myrmidons of war

Sleep heroes! Rest upon the hill where valor's deed was done,
No flower shall ever wither in a crown so nobly won—

While Canada can rear her sons the bravest of the brave.
From the tempests of Atlantic to the placid western wave.

So surely as shall come the day that tells your deathless fame
Shall future patriots mourn you and festal rights proclaim

And thou, whose sacred dust entombed on yonder summit lies,
Beneath that noble monument far reaching toward the skies

Thy name shall be a holy word, a trumpet note to all
When bravery's arm is needed and they hear their country's call

And future sires shall take their sons at evening on their knee,
And tell the old tale over, and thus shall speak of thee—

"His is the noblest name we have in all our bright array
He taught our youth to falter not tho' death might bar the way

He showed our might, he led our arms, he conquered, tho' he fell
He gave up all he had—his life—for the land he loved so well"

A LETTER FROM HON HENRY GRIFFIN

GRAND HAVEN, Mich, May 25, 1889.

JUSTUS A. GRIFFIN,

My Dear Nephew,—Many thanks for the copy of the Hamilton *Spectator*, received yesterday, dated May 3, 1889, and containing memoirs of the city of Hamilton in 1832, by Major Glasgow, in a paper read before the Wentworth Historical Society I was so much interested in the Major's reminiscences of the early days of your city that I propose to give you, for the benefit of the Historical Society, a statement about the city at a time five years before the major and his party arrived in Hamilton

First, I would say that Ebenezer C Griffin, mentioned by Major Glasgow as a Justice of the Peace, and who died in Oct, 1847, was my eldest brother, Rev W S Griffin, D D, of Stratford, Ont and E R Griffin, M D, of Brantford, Ont, are my nephews, Doctor H S Griffin, of your city, is my grand nephew My father, Smith Griffin Esq, who was a U E Loyalist, came to Canada, in 1788, at the age of 16 years, with his father, mother, and ten of his eleven brothers and sisters They came from Duchess County, N Y, and when they reached Rochester, there were only two buildings, a tavern and a blacksmith shop At ~~Oswego~~ the women and children were put into flat-bottomed boats and with part of the men coasted round the lake shore, while the rest of the men took the horses and cattle through the woods to Canada They all settled at Smithville, in the Township of Grimsby south, where I was born

In 1827, I purchased from Abraham K Smith, a store building, two story frame, 22 feet x 60 feet, for £300 It was situated on the corner of King and John streets I then went to Montreal and New York, and bought a general stock of merchandise My last purchase was at Rochester, N Y, 500 barrels of salt, which I shipped on the Hon James Crook's vessel, the Margaret, Capt Mitchell I ordered one half the cargo delivered at Hamilton, (there was no canal to connect the bay with Lake Ontario), the vessel anchored out a quarter of a mile perhaps, and a large flat bottomed boat brought the salt and other merchandise through the little channel and up to the Hamilton wharf I think a Mr Laud did that business The other half of the cargo I sent to Grimsby My business was dealing in all kinds of merchandise and produce

John Smith was my clerk at Hamilton I visited that store every week, by the old Troy stage and four, which carried the mail once per day, letter postage, 25 cents John Smith was in business on the south east corner of King and John streets a few years later, in Mr Sheldon's store, until he was appointed Sheriff of Brant County, where he died at an advanced age My store and Mr Sheldon's did the principal business Thomas Stinson had a little fancy dry goods store in a small dwelling house room Soon after purchasing this store I built a small brick tailor shop adjoining, this was the first brick store in Hamilton

In 1830, I sold my store, the brick tailor shop and about quarter of an acre of land to Thomas Stinson, where he built a large brick store subsequently Mr Carey had a good sized brick hotel on the corner opposite Sheldon's, only two brick buildings then in town, mine was the second

I well remember the names of my customers at Hamilton sixty years ago Richard Beasley was one, on a farm which I think he sold to Sir Allan McNab, then a young and popular lawyer from Toronto, and also a large customer McNab built a three story frame hotel on the corner at the west end of King street park It was a great building for that time It took fire and burned down before it was finished inside George and Peter Hamilton were also good customers. A K Smith and John Thorner, an auctioneer, were business men Dr Smith, on the mountain, another was Colonel Brown, of Waterdown, and sometimes customers from Ancaster, Grand River Saltfleet, Dundas, Nelson, and even Brantford, and farmers from Burford

The population of Hamilton was about 300 or 400 souls when I bought out A K Smith

At the time of the war of 1812, I was about six or seven years old My father was a captain in the Lincoln Militia and five of his brothers served in the same regiment The last battle my father was engaged in was Lundy's Lane, after that he had charge of the commissariat and I have seen our meadows at Smithville, filled with cattle for the army I remember seeing a squadron of U S cavalry pass our farm. One time I saw a company of American soldiers sleeping on our kitchen floor, and the next week a company of Canada Militia occupied the same place. That must have been about the time of the battle of Stony Creek.

With a good library, plenty of Canadian and American papers, and general good health, I enjoy life even at my advanced age.

Yours Truly,
HENRY GRIFFIN

N. B. The Hon. Henry Griffin, who wrote the foregoing letter, died at Grand Haven, Mich., July 16, 1891. He belonged to a family which, though never particularly distinguished in history, may be considered a type of a large class of Canadian Loyalists, having in almost every generation acted an honorable and patriotic part.

THE CALL TO BATTLE

BY GEORGE HAWKESWORTH ARMSTRONG

> Where is the coward that would not dare
> To fight for such a land? —Marmion

Ye sons of Canada! be first in danger's field
The sword of honor and of truth to wield;
Be prompt the injured to defend and save
Appal her foes and assist her brave

Ye sons of Canada! by your country's name,
Her crown of glory, her unsullied fame
By the bright laurels immortal Brock at Queenston won
Undaunted spirit, valor's favorite son

Oh! by the shades of Stony Creek's inviolate dead,
By warrior hands at Lundy's Lane who bled
By honors gained on Chrysler's fertile plain *
By those in victory's arms at Chateauguay slain
By Britain's thousand, thousand deeds sublime
Renowned from zone to zone, from clime to clime!
Ye sons of Canada! may your trophies raise
A deathless monument to future days

Oh! let your courage still triumphant rise
Exalt your red cross banner to the skies
Transcend the fairest names in history's page
The brightest actions of a future age
The reign of freedom let your arms restore
And bid invasion fall—to rise no more!

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* His father was at the battle of Chrysler's farm and received a medal

THE MAPLE LEAF FOREVER

BY ALEXANDER MUIR

In days of yore from Britain's shore
  Wolfe the dauntless hero came
And planted firm Britannia's flag
  On Canada's fair domain
There may it wave our boast, our pride,
  And joined in love together,
The Thistle Shamrock Rose entwine
  The Maple Leaf Forever

Chorus

The Maple Leaf The Maple Leaf
  The Maple Leaf Forever
God Save our Queen and heaven bless
  The Maple Leaf Forever

At Queenston Heights and Lundy's Lane
  Our brave fathers side by side
For freedom, homes and loved ones dear
  Firmly stood and nobly died
And those dear rights which they maintained
  We swear to yield them never
Our watchword evermore shall be
  The Maple Leaf Forever

Chorus—The Maple Leaf, etc

Our fair Dominion now extends
  From Cape Race to Nootka Sound,
May peace forever be our lot
  And plenteous store abound
And may those ties of love be ours,
  Which discord cannot sever
And flourish green o'er freedom's home
  The Maple Leaf Forever

Chorus—The Maple Leaf, etc

On merry England's far famed land
  May kind heaven sweetly smile
God bless old Scotland evermore
  And Ireland's Emerald Isle
Then sing the song both loud and long
  Till rocks and forests quiver
God Save our Queen and heaven bless
  The Maple Leaf Forever

Chorus—The Maple Leaf etc.

FORM OF SCHEDULE DISTRIBUTED BY THE WENTWORTH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

AS A MEANS OF COLLECTING HISTORICAL DATA

A schedule of facts furnished the Society by of the in the county of in the Province of Ontario

1 Place of birth of informant, age and date of birth
2 If born out of Ontario date of arrival in the Province
3 Occupations pursued by informant and locality
4 Father's name, age and date of birth
5 Father's residence
6 Mother's name, age and date of birth
7 Mother's residence
8 Ancestors' residence
9 Where informant was educated
10 Name of instructors
11 Subjects taught
12 Names of leading residents in Ontario with whom you have been acquainted
13 Personal reminiscences
14 Names of members of Legislature and of Parliament for your county or city and for what period of time they served
15 Names of Judges, Mayors, Magistrates and other officials
16 What military organizations
17 Names of officers
18. What military actions
19 Recollections, if any, in which you participated
20 Civic disturbances, if any, the cause and outcome of same
21 Recollections as to the early settlers in this province
22 Recollections as to the Indians
23 Their character and intercourse with the settlers
24. Do you possess any Indian or other relics or documents that would be interesting to examine?
25 Would you permit inspection of them by the society or

contribute the same towards the completion of the museum of the society?

26 Are you aware of any relics, documents or specimens that it would be to the advantage of the society to possess?

27 State fully any traditions you are in possession of, bearing upon the history of the province

28 Furnish the names and addresses of any persons whom you think could give any information as to traditions, relics, specimens, etc

29 Mention the occupations of prominent early settlers, also giving addresses

30 Furnish any information in your opinion desirable that the society should possess not embodied in above items

Dated at this day of 18

Signature of informant
Occupation
Residence

RESOLUTIONS OF THE WENTWORTH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

In 1890 application was made to the Council of the City of Hamilton for the purchase of a portion of the ground known as "Earthworks," constructed in 1813 on Burlington Heights, when the Executive Council of the Association passed the following resolution

'Whereas, having learned with surprise and regret, that the Cemetery Committee of the City Council are offering for sale a further portion of the grounds known as Burlington Heights Breastworks, to be used for private purposes, at the very time when petitions are before Parliament praying for the erection thereon of a suitable memorial to commemorate the spot constructed in defence of the country, whence a handful of brave men utterly routed an invading army, numerically four times their own strength, and preserved the whole of this southern part of Ontario And believing that such action was taken without full knowledge of the historic value of those grounds Therefore resolved that this Executive Council of the Wentworth Historical Society solemnly protests against such action of the City Council and against any further encroachment upon those memorable grounds '

At a meeting of the City Council subsequently held, a resolution was unanimously carried, endorsing the views of the Society and declaring that no further disposition of the grounds in question should be made

Petitions from the society have been forwarded to the Federal Government praying for the erection of suitable memorials on the Stony Creek battle grounds and on Burlington Heights and the society has fair reason for believing that the prayer of the petitions will be granted

Moved by Judge Muir, seconded by Richard Bull, and resolved

That the Wentworth Historical Society, while deeply deploring the loss it has sustained by the death of the late T C Mewburn, desires to express its high appreciation of the valuable services rendered by him to the society, in forwarding the objects of the same

And it also desires to express its great admiration of his unswerving loyalty to the Throne of Great Britain, his outspoken views on the subject of British connection, his intense love for Canada, his adopted country, and his untiring efforts to impress the growing generation of Canadians with the spirit of patriotism, and to commend to all Canadians his career in such respect, as an example worthy to be followed

Resolution of thanks to the Committee of the Sir John A. Macdonald Monument about to be erected in this city

Resolved—That this society, feeling much gratified to learn, that the Committee of the Sir John A. Macdonald's Monument has directed that a niche be made in the Corner Stone of the monument, in which the "Proceedings" of the society just published, shall be placed, desires to thank such Committee for the honor thus conferred

LIST OF PAPERS AND ARTICLES DONATED TO THE WENTWORTH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Royal Society of Canada—Copies of proceedings 9 Vols, 1882–1891, inclusive

Rev G A. Bull—Copies of papers read, and newspapers and clippings, from Lundy's Lane Society

J G Y Burkholder—3 Vols Anglo American Magazine, 1853

Adam Brown—Debates and proceeding House of Commons

Dr Bourinot—Debates and proceeding House of Commons

Dr Bourinot—Blue Books and Report of Canadian Archivist

T C Mewburn—Old Deeds, Letters, Documents, Books and Relics

Hon A McKellar—Photograph of Model of old Hand Mill

M Anderson—Documents re-settlement of Lundy's Lane

Hon J D Griffin—Documents and Reminiscences

Mr J Riddle—Sir Francis Bond Head's Narrative of 1837 8

Mr J Merritt—Life of Hon W H Merritt

Capt Barker—Old Newspapers, etc.

Major J Glasgow—Old Newspapers and Papers

J A Griffin—Old Newspapers, Papers and Pamphlets

I H Stinson—Old Newspapers, 1851

Mr Coombs—Canon Ball from Navy Island, 1837

Mrs C Lee—Sword, and other relics of 1812

Mrs Gregory—Old and Valuable Documents

Mrs R J Hamilton—Engraving, Death of Wolfe, and Proceedings of Parliament, 1828

Mr John W Jones—Observations on a trip through West Indies, United States and Statistical Account of Upper Canada 1836, by Dr Thomas Rolph

Indenture of B and S—Deed of Land, James Cameron, of Township Ancaster, U C, and his wife, to John Ross, of York, in Hume District Dated 7th October, 1833

Indenture—Chas S Perley of Township Burford, County of Oxford, District of London, U C, to John Ross Dated 12th April, 1834

Lieut.-Gen. Murray, with Thos. Street, Andw. Steven and Jno. Lyons, Esq., trustees. Parchment settlement on Mr. and Mrs. Radcliffe. Dated 23rd March, 1841.

Parchment exemplification of probate of will of James McLellan, deceased, in the eleventh year of translation of William, Archbishop of Canterbury. Dated 8th November, 1838.

Patent Grant from Peregrine Maitland, Governor, to John Andrew Stevenson. Dated 17th October, 1824.

Grant—Lieut.-Gov. Gore, to Jacob S. Ball, 200 acres in Town ship of Thorold, County of Lincoln. Dated 2nd May, 1810.

Grant—Lieut. Gov. Hunter, to Philip Ross. Dated 9th June, 1802.

LIST OF NEWSPAPERS

"The Spectator," St. Davids, U. C.	3rd May, 1816
" " "	17th May, 1816
" " "	31st May, 1816
" " "	14th June, 1816
"The Gleaner and Niagara Newspaper,"	18th May, 1820
Published by A. Heron	
" " " "	14th April, 1821
" " " "	3rd Mar., 1827
" " " "	23rd Sept., 1826
" " " "	28th Oct., 1826
" " " "	20th Jan., 1827
" " " "	6th Jan., 1827
" " " "	30th June, 1821
" " " "	10th Feb., 1827
" " " "	24th Feb., 1827
" " " "	12th Aug., 1826
" " " "	3rd Feb., 1827
" " " "	27th Jan., 1827
"Morning Banner," Hamilton, C. W., with full account of Desjardin canal accident. (Presented by Thos. H. Stinson, Esq.)	16th Mar., 1857
"The Herald of Truth," G. D. Griffin, Hamilton, C. W., publisher and proprietor, containing account of visit of Prince of Wales and Battle of Queenston Heights	15th Aug., 1860

"The Herald of Truth," .... 1st Aug., 1861
" " " .... 1st Sept., 1861

Printed article, "To the Electors of the County of Halton," by a farmer 1824
discussing qualification of four candidates, viz Geo. Rolph, Caleb Hopkins, James Crooks and M. O'Reilly, father of the late Miles O'Reilly. (Presented by Miles O'Reilly.)

Grant—Peregrine Maitland to John Ross, November 14th, 1825

Grant—Peregrine Maitland to Elizabeth Cameron, daughter of Jacob Summer, a U. E. Loyalist, June 6th, 1822

Grant—Sir John Colborne to Elsa Cline, daughter of Moses Williams, U. E. Loyalist, November 1st, 1832

Grant—Peregrine Maitland to Abraham Vannowan, December 1st, 1824

Selections—Public Documents of Province of Nova Scotia, by Thomas B. Akins, D. C. L. (Presented by Miss Minnie S. Neal, of Halifax.)

Houot's History of Canada, 1804. Presented by Robert Jarvis Hamilton.

Laws of Canada, 1804. Presented by Mrs. Nelson Mills.

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE WENTWORTH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Armstrong, Geo H
Alexander, John
Baker, Hugh C
Balfour, James
Barnard, Major P
Barr, John A
Barton, George M
Bartlett, Cameron
Beasley, Thomas
Bearman, F W
Begue, Theo H. S (Dundas)
Bickle, John W
Black, Henry John
Bowman, William
Brown, Adam
Bruce, Alexander, Q C
Bruce, John A
Bruce, Frank C
Buchanan, W W
Burton, Warren F
Buchanan, J G
Bruce, William
Bull, Richard
Bull, Eldon, J
Bull, George H
Burkholder, J G Y
Cahill, James
Cahill, E D
Calder, John
Case, H N
Charlton, B E
Chittenden, C S
Carpenter, F M, M P (Winona)
Carpenter, Henry
Carroll, Cyrus
Chisholm, James, M A.
Counsell, Charles M
Cummings, James
Davis, Samuel
Dayfoot, P W
Durand, Charles (Toronto)
Emory, C. VanNorman, M D
Fearman, F W
Williams, C J
Freeman, Ransom
Ferres, James
Gage, R R
Gates, F W, Senr
Gates, Arthur R
Ghent, S H
Gibson, Hon J M
Geddes, J Gamble, Very Rev
  Dean of Niagara
Gaviller, Alexander
Griffin, Justus A
Gunn, R L
Gunner, William
Gurnet, L. A. (Ancaster)
Glasgow, Major John
Hamilton, R J
Hillman, O S
Horning, O A
Jones, John W, L. L. B
Jones, Alva (Stony Creek)
Kelly, Daniel
Kennedy R Æ
Kenrick, E (Ancaster)
Kittson, Ernest E.

Kittson, H N
Kidner, Frank
Land, Col John
Land, John H
Land, Peter M
Land, R E A
Lazier, S F, L L B, Q C
Lees, William, Senr
Lees, William, Jr
Lees, George H
Lester, Thomas W
Lister, Joseph
Lottridge, Robert
Lottridge, James M
Lucas, R A
Magill, Col Charles
Malloch, A E, M D
Malloch, F S
Martin, Edward, Q C
Martin Richard S
Martin, Geo E
Martin, W G
Mewburn, Thomas Chilton
Mewburn, Sidney Chilton
Miller, Thomas, M D
Mills, George H
Mills, William H
Mills, James H
Mills, Francis H
Mills, Sidney George
Milne, W
Moore, Lyman
Moore, Major, Alexander H
Moore, J H
Morgan, William S
Muir, John, Judge C C
Mullock, Luke (Waterdown)
MacInnes, Hon Donald
McKellar, Hon Arch, Sheriff County Wentworth
McKenzie, Thos H (Dundas)
McLaren, Major Henry
McKay, Alexander, M P
Mackelcan, Frank, Q C
Macnab, Duncan A.
Mackelcan, Henry
McCullough, C R
New, Henry
Nisbett, J W, Q C
Nelles, H E (Grimsby)
O Reilly, Miles, Q C
O Reilly, Major J Edwin, Q C.
Pettit, M (Winona)
Ryckman, S S, M P
Pottenger, John
Plastow, J B.
Ramsay, A G
Ridley Henry T, M D
Rosebrugh, John W, M D.
Ross, F Samuel
Sanford, Hon William E
Scott John J
Stinson, Thomas H
Snider, F
Stewart, James
Stuart Philip H
Stuart, John
Smith, Edward E
Southam, William
Thomson, George C
Walker, W F, M A, L L B, Q C Dead
Walker, James
Wolverton Algernon, M D
Watkins, Thomas C
Zealand, Capt William

LIST OF LIEUT GOVERNORS FROM 1792 TO 1892

UPPER CANADA

Simcoe Col John Graves	July 8th 1792,	to	July 20th 1796
* Russell Peter	July 21 1796,		August 16, 1799
Hunter Peter	Aug 17 1799		Sept 10th 1805
* Grant, Alexander	Sept. 11 1805,	"	August 24 1806
Gore, Francis	Aug 25, 1806,		June 10th 1811
* Brock Sir Isaac	Sept 30 1811		Oct 13th 1812
* Sheaffe Sir Roger Hale	Oct 20 1812,	"	June 18th 1813
* Rottenburg Maj Gen Francis de	June 19 1813,		Dec 12th 1813
* Drummond Sir Gordon	Dec. 13, 1813,	"	April 24th 1815.
* Murray Sir George	April 24 1815		June 30th 1815
* Robinson Sir Fred Philipps	July 1 1815,		Sept 24th 1815
* Smith, Samuel	June 11, 1817		Aug 12th 1818.
Maitland Sir Peregrine	Aug 13 1818,		Nov 3rd 1828.
* Smith Samuel	March 8, 1820		June 30th 1820.
Colborne Sir John	Nov 4th 1828		Jan 25th 1836.
Head Sir Francis Bond.	Jan 25 1836,		March 22, 1838
Arthur Sir George.	March 23 1838		Feb 10th 1841

UNITED CANADA

Lord Sydenham	Oct 19 1839,	to	Sept 19th 1841
* Jackson Sir Richard Downes	Sept 24 1841		Jan 11th 1842
Bagot Sir Charles	Jan 12, 1842,		March 29 1843.
Metcalfe, Sir Charles Theophilus	March 29, 1843,		Nov 25th 1845
* Cathcart, Charles Murray Earl of	Nov 26 1845		April 23rd 1846
Cathcart Charles Murray Earl of	April 24, 1846		Jan 29th 1847
Elgin James Bruce Earl of	Jan 30 1847		Dec 18th 1854
* Rowan Lieut. Gen William	Aug 23 1853		June 10th 1854
Head, Sir Edmund Walker	Dec 19. 1854		Oct. 24th, 1861
* Eyre Sir William	June 20. 1857		Nov 2nd 1857
* Williams Sir William Fenwick	Oct 12, 1860,		Feb 22nd, 1861
* Monck Charles Stanley Viscount	Oct 25 1861		Nov 27th 1861.
Monck, Charles Stanley Viscount.	Nov 28, 1861		June 30th 1867
* Michel Sir John	Sept 30 1865		Feb 12th 1866.

ONTARIO

Stisted Maj Gen Henry William	July 8, 1867	to	July 31st 1868.
Howland William Pearce	July 22, 1868,		Nov 11th 1873
Crawford John Willoughby	Nov 12, 1873		May 13th 1875
Macdonald Donald Alexander	May 21, 1875		June 29th 1880
Robinson John Beverley	July 8. 1880		May 31st, 1887
Campbell, Sir Alexander	June 1 1887	"	May 24th 1892.
Kirkpatrick George Airey	May 30, 1892		———

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* Administrator

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Wentworth Historical Society

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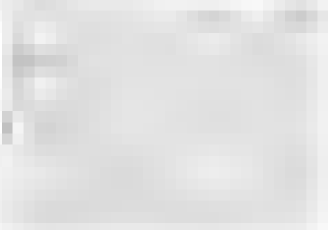

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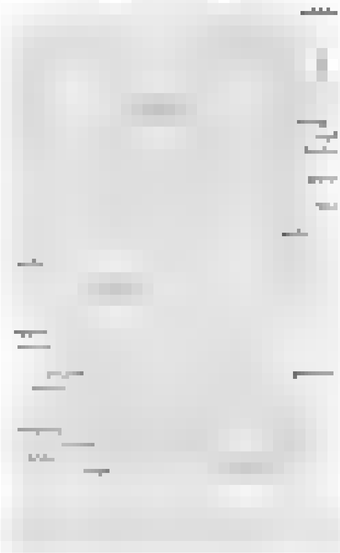

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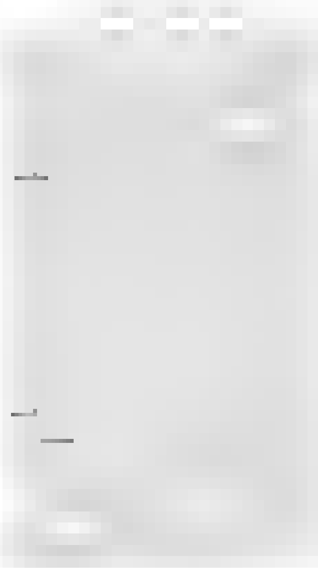

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